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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME XLI. (1921)

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of Candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the Candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of one guinea, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

This List includes members elected during the year 1921 only.

Considerable misapprehension still exists over the long list published in the last volume of the *Journal* (*J.H.S.* XL). That list, as stated on its opening page, was the list of members elected since the publication of *J.H.S.*, Vol. XXXVIII., and not the complete list of members of the Society.

- Allan, Miss Gladys B., 19, *Manor Road, Bishops Stortford.*
 Antonius, G., *Dept. of Education, Jerusalem, Palestine.*
 Atkinson, Rev. A. V., *St. Luke's Vicarage, Mersey Park, Birkenhead.*
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 Brundrit, D. F., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 Buncher, Llewellyn, 2, *Caroline Place, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C. 1.*
 Carbery, Mary, Lady, *Stafford Hotel, St. James' Place, S.W.*
 Caskey, Dr. L. D., *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
 Choremi, A. D., *c/o Davies Benachi & Co., Orleans House, Edmund Street, Liverpool.*
 Clarke, D. Harcourt, *Stancliffe Hall, near Matlock, Derby.*
 Cole, S. C., 30, *Regent Park Square, Strathbungo, Glasgow.*
 Cotterell, Miss M. F., *Royal School, Bath.*
 Dillon, Gerald D., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Elliot, Mrs. Scott-, 19, *Allen House, Allen Street, W. 8.*
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 Evans, Mrs. L. Conway, *Woodbury Lodge, Exton, Exeter.*
 Farrington, B., *The University, Cape Town, S.A.*
 French, the Lady, 45, *Lower Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.*
 Fitzpatrick, J. F. J., *Kabba, Northern Provinces, Nigeria.*
 Flecker, H. L. O., *Dean Close School, Cheltenham.*
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 Gatehouse, Miss R., *Abbot's Grange, Bebington, Cheshire.*
 Gaudet, Miss C., 120, *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.*
 Gidney, Mrs., 31A, *Kingsbury Street, Marlborough, Wilts.*
 Goddard, B. R., *The Training College, Winchester.*
 Gurner, C. W., I.C.S., *c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta, Bengal, India.*
 Gutman, P., 47, *Kempsford Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W. 5.*
 Harvey, J. D. M., 42, *Castelnau Mansions, Barnes, S.W. 13.*
 Haydon, J. H., *The Grove, Mill Hill School, N.W. 7.*
 Jolowicz, Herbert F., 70, *Compayne Gardens, West Hampstead.*
 Kerr, R. Browne, *The University, Edinburgh.*
 Le Roux, Prof. Th., *The University, Cape Town, S.A.*
 Levy, Miss G. R., 40, *Rotherwick Road, Golder's Green, N.W.*
 Lorimer, W. L., 19, *Murray Park, St. Andrews.*

Elected 1921 (*continued*)

- Lynam, A. E., *School House, Bardwell Road, Oxford.*
 Manning, F., *Edenham Bourne, Lincs.*
 Martin, Robert F., 18, *Cranley Gardens, Muswell Hill, N. 10.*
 Montgomery, Marshall, 302, *Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
 Ogden, H. L., *Alproham, Torporley, Cheshire.*
 Pierce, Miss Elizabeth D., *Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A.*
 Powell, Miss M. H., *St. Michael's Hostel, Grove Park, Lee, S.E. 12.*
 Reynolds, Miss R. M., *Bincleares House, Weymouth.*
 Riches, T., *Kitwells, Shenley, Herts.*
 Russell, Miss Phyllis, 17, *Manor Court Road, Hanwell, W. 7.*
 Sawaki, Professor, *Keio University, Tokyo, Japan.*
 Shackle, R. J., *The Warders, Feltham Avenue, East Molesey, Surrey.*
 Spencer, Col. Maurice, C.M.G., *The Old Rectory, Lower Hardres, Canterbury.*
 Stobart, J. C., *Elmdene, Ruislip, Middlesex.*
 Woodhouse, R. K. E., *c/o Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney, 18, Birchin Lane, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.*

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

Elected 1921.

GREAT BRITAIN

- Beckenham**, The Library of The County School for Girls, *Beckenham, Kent.*
Edinburgh, The Library of St. George's Training College, *Garscube Terrace, Edinburgh, W.*
Holborn, The Holborn Public Library, 198, *Holborn, W.C.1.*
Loughton, The Library of The Loughton High School for Girls, *Loughton, Essex.*
Preston, The Library of The Park School, *Preston.*
Southampton, The Library of The University College, *Southampton.*

FRANCE.

- Strasbourg**, La Bibliothèque Universitaire et Régionale, *Strasbourg, France.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

- Beloit**, The Library of Beloit College, *Wisconsin, U.S.A.*
Bryn Mawr, The Library of Bryn Mawr College, *Bryn Mawr, Penn., U.S.A.*
Cleveland, The Cleveland Public Library, *Cleveland, U.S.A.*
Columbus, The Ohio State University Library, *Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.*
Greencastle, The De Pauw University Library, *Greencastle, U.S.A.*
Haverford, The Library of Haverford College, *Haverford, U.S.A.*
Michigan, The Michigan State Library, *Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.*
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Portland, The Library of Reed College, *Portland, U.S.A.*
Princeton, The Library of Princeton University, *Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.*
Providence, The Brown University Library, *Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*
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 „ The Library of the Catholic University, *Texas, U.S.A.*
Washington, The Library of the University of Washington, *Scattle, Washington, U.S.A.*
 „ The Library of the Catholic University of America, *Washington, U.S.A.*

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1920-1921

During the past Session the following Papers were read at Meetings of the Society :—

October 13th, 1920. Mr. A. J. B. Wace : *Mycenae, with some account of the recent excavations of the British School at Athens.*

November 9th, 1920. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong : *The imagery of the recently discovered basilica near the Porta Maggiore, Rome.*

December 15th, 1920. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong : *Recent archaeological research in Italy* (see below, p. xviii).

February 8th, 1921. Mr. H. B. Walters : *Red-figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum* (see *J.H.S.*, xli. pp. 117-150).

March 1st, 1921. Mr. Jay Hambidge : *Further evidences for Dynamic Symmetry in ancient architecture* (see below, p. xviii).

March 15th, 1921. Mr. G. F. Hill : *The Greek theory of portraiture* (see below, p. xix).

May 10th, 1921. Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. F. N. Pryce : *Two recently discovered Minoan bronzes* (*J.H.S.*, xli. pp. 86-90).

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 28th, 1921.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Treasurer, moved the adoption of the following

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1920-21.

In one way only, but that the most important of all, can the efforts made last year to put the Society on a firmer basis be counted a success. Whether tested by its many meetings, the use made of its library and slide collections, its publications, or the mere numbers on its roll, Hellenic Studies have been more actively promoted during the past session than heretofore.

But the Society suffers from its old difficulty, and for that the Council can only recommend its old remedy. Though the position is eased for the time by Sir Basil Zaharoff's donation of £1000, expenditure still exceeds regular income by £300 a year. The best remedy still seems to be, not to curtail this or that activity, but to make them all easier in working, larger in scope and more fruitful in result by increasing our resources, *i. e.* by adding more and more members to our list. Exclusive of our subscribing Libraries we have now 1370 members, double the number with which we were left at the end of the war. Another 300 would make us safe and solvent. Something is done daily officially in this direction, but the best and surest foundation is the approval and interest of our existing members and their consequent efforts for fresh recruits. If there are fewer learners of the Greek language in England to-day than last year, there are more people who are appreciative on general grounds of the legacy that Greece has left us. We have, anyhow, a cause worth the pleading—the retention, as a permeating influence in a sick and troubled world, of the immemorial freshness and charm of ancient Hellas.

Changes in the Society.—Among the losses by death which the Society has sustained, special mention should be made of Dr. C. B. Heberden, formerly Principal of Brasenose, Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer, Mr. W. R. Paton, Prof. E. Petersen, Prof. G. G. Ramsay, Mr. Arthur Sidgwick and Mr. W. Warde Fowler.

Mr. E. R. Bevan, Mr. F. M. Cornford, and Prof. Flamstead Walters have retired from the Council. To fill the vacancies so caused, and that resulting from the death of Dr. R. M. Burrows, Mr. H. M. Last, Mr. F. H. Marshall, Mr. J. T. Sheppard and Prof. W. Rhys Roberts have been nominated for election. Mr. Penoyre has returned to his duties as Secretary and Librarian, and the Council wish to place on record the Society's great obligation to their Hon. Secretary, Miss C. A. Hutton, for having carried on the work at Bloomsbury Square during his absence.

The Council recently circulated a formal enquiry among ex enemy hon. members asking whether they wished again to receive the Society's publications. The answer was unanimously in the affirmative, and the *Journal* will accordingly be sent to them as from January 1920.

Meetings.—Seven Meetings have been held in the course of the Session.

On Oct. 13th, 1920, at the first Students' Meeting, Mr. A. J. B. Wace delivered a lecture on 'Mycenae,' with some account of the recent excavations of the British School at Athens.

On Nov. 9th, at the first General Meeting, Mrs. Arthur Strong read an illustrated paper on 'The imagery of the recently discovered basilica near the Porta Maggiore, Rome.' This paper will appear in the Society's *Journal*. Sir Frederic Kenyon (who presided), Sir Rennell Rodd,

Mr. Arthur Smith, Mr. Hill, and Sir Arthur Evans took part in the discussion which followed.

On Dec. 15th, at the second Students' Meeting, Mrs. Strong gave particulars of recent archaeological research in Italy. The slides, lent for the purpose by the Italian authorities, illustrated letters in the Press from the Director of the British School at Rome, Dr. Ashby. They included views of the recent excavations at Veii; 5th-century walls of a Lucanian hill fortress; photographs from aeroplane of Ostia, showing interesting details of the streets with blocks of flats and a 'bar'; the recent excavations at Cyrene, including a photograph of the Nike; the Sepolcreto San Paolo in Rome; plans for the excavation of the imperial fora in Rome; and the fine series of 4th-century terra-cotta figures from Falerii, now in Florence.

On March 1st Mr. Jay Hambidge, at a Special Meeting, gave an illustrated communication on 'Further evidences for Dynamic Symmetry in Ancient Architecture.' This was a joint meeting of the Society and of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and was held at the Royal Institute.

After introductory remarks by Sir Charles Walston, who presided, Mr. Hambidge began by arguing that with the Greeks of the classic period it was customary to study arithmetic with the aid of simple geometrical diagrams. Plato, in the *Theaitetos*, supplied a lesson in this method of study wherein root rectangles are used. If we used this method of arithmetical study, and the same diagrams, the result was the same dynamic symmetry as the speaker had worked out from the best examples of ancient Greek architecture and general craftsmanship.

During the past year some of the most important of the classic buildings in Greece had been re-measured and examined in detail for the purpose of determining precisely the methods used by the ancient master builders in fixing their proportions, or, as they termed it, symmetry. These buildings included: The Parthenon at Athens, the temple of Apollo Epikurios at Bassae in Phigaleia (both by the Periclean architect Iktinos), the Zeus temple at Olympia, the temple at Sunion, and the temple of Athena Aphaia at Aegina. It is the speaker's belief that the results of this labour showed conclusively that we had recovered the classic Greek method of fixing building proportions.

An interesting situation was revealed by a comparison of the two buildings designed by Iktinos—the Parthenon at Athens, and the temple of Apollo at Bassae. The symmetry of the Parthenon was characteristic of the building; it was subtle, refined, and modified in many ways by the introduction of curvature. The building at Bassae was without curvature, except that of the circular columns and their capitals. The Parthenon column has an extremely delicate entasis, while that at Bassae is perfectly straight. Of all examples of Greek design so far found to conform to dynamic symmetry, that furnished by the Bassae temple was the simplest.

As was explained in lectures of last year, the highest type of symmetry was furnished by areas which are fixed by a diagonal to two squares in relation to a side of one of the units.

If a side of one square equals 1, two sides equal 2.

And a diagonal of the two units equals $2\cdot23606$ plus, or root 5.

The mystery of classic Greek proportion will, therefore, be found in an area the end of which is 1 and the side $2\cdot23606$ plus.

Iktinos seemed to have thoroughly understood this, as the nave, the column centring, and the placing of the statue of Athena were arranged in strict accord with the proportions inherent in this peculiar figure. The proportions of the Parthenon unfolded from the centre of the statue of the goddess like those of a flower.

The proportions of the Bassae temple were another evolution of this basic form of $\cdot236$.

The overall plan at Bassae was $2\cdot236$ plus $\cdot236$ or $2\cdot472$, *i. e.* four whirling square rectangles or $\cdot618$ multiplied by 4.

The stylobate proportion was $2\cdot618$ or $1\cdot618$ plus 1.

The naos proportion was $3\cdot236$ or $1\cdot618$ multiplied by 2.

The cella proportion was $2\cdot472$ or a similar figure to the whole.

If they divided the length of the temple by $2\cdot36$ they obtained the length of the cella. If they divided the width of the temple by $2\cdot36$ they obtained the width of the cella.

The Zeus temple at Olympia and the temples at Aegina and Sunion showed variations of the same basic ideas of proportion found in the Parthenon and the temple at Bassae. It should be remembered that the proportions of all details in these buildings conformed strictly to their general proportions.

The lecture was illustrated by particularly beautiful lantern slides, a selection from which have been presented to the Society.

The paper was discussed by Sir Charles Walston, Mr. P. W. Hubbard, Mr. George Hubbard, Mr. Cloudesley Brereton, and Mr. Theodore Fyfe. Thanks were accorded to Mr. Hambidge for his paper, and to the Royal Institute for kind hospitality.

On Feb. 8th, 1921, at the second General Meeting, Mr. H. B. Walters gave an illustrated description of the red-figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum. Mr. Walters' paper, which will be published in the *Journal*, was discussed by Sir Frederic Kenyon (who presided), Professor Ernest Gardner, Sir Henry Howorth, and Sir Charles Walston.

On March 15th, at the third Students' Meeting, Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper to illustrate 'the Greek theory of portraiture.' He thought that portraiture made its appearance in ancient art at an earlier period than was generally supposed. Early portraits were not now easily recognised as such, partly because the artist had not developed the power of seizing individual traits, but also because we were unfamiliar with his method of giving them expression. He was, further, critical of another widely held opinion, that the art of the 5th century expressed

character, and that of the 4th century passion. In the 5th-century heads associated with the name of Polyclitus pathos was, if anywhere else, discernible; while the 4th-century Demeter of Knidos could hardly be more ethical.

With portraiture he would give an earlier date than was generally assigned to the rise of naturalism generally. The fact was the greater arts had been studied to the exclusion of the minor, and it was in these latter that its early appearance was found. Returning to portraiture, he pointed out that it was earlier and better developed in the countries where the Hellenic element was partly barbarised or subjugated.

Among the illustrations discussed were a fine 5th-century male head from Copenhagen, which might be an Apollo, an athlete, or, as he was inclined to think, an early portrait; coins of Cos on which the head of Herakles showed some resemblance to the head of Mausollos, in whose principate they were struck; the 4th-century bronze head of a Berber prince in the British Museum; and the bronze head of an old man recovered from the sea at Cerigotto.

On May 10th, at the third General Meeting, Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. F. N. Pryce offered illustrated papers on 'Two recently discovered Minoan bronzes.' The papers, which will be published in the *Journal*, were discussed by Sir Frederic Kenyon (who presided), Mr. Hogarth, Dr. Leaf, Mr. Seager, Mr. Forsdyke, and Prof. Ernest Gardner.

The Joint Library and Photographic Collections.—The following figures indicate the scope of the Society's work in this department for this session and its predecessor.

	1919-20	1920-21
Visitors to the Library	1,564	2,000
Books taken out	815	1,382
*Books added to the Library	387	315
Slides hired	3,709	6,125
Slides sold to members	672	621
Photographs sold to members	110	127
Slides added to the collection	283	213

The accommodation for books in the Main Library continues adequate, additional space having been provided in the premises on the top floor. Here a room has been made ready for the Society's collections of larger drawings: this will be open in the course of the session. The reference collection of larger photographs is also being transferred thither. A complete outline index to the *Journal* has been added to the Library, and an index of the individual essays in collective *in honorem* works is in preparation. Improvement has been made in the arrangement of pamphlets, opuscula and current numbers of periodicals.

* Exclusive of periodicals.

Among the more important accessions are the following: Antoniades, *Ἐκφρασις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας*; the Byzantine Research Fund's publication of the *Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates at Paros*, by H. H. Jewell and F. W. Hasluck; the definitive publication of the excavations at Miletus; the records of the Princeton archaeological expeditions to Syria; the facsimile reproductions of the papyri in Berlin, Giessen and Strassburg; and Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*.

The Library has added the following to the periodicals which it receives in exchange for the Society's publications: The *Antiquaries Journal*, the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Bulgare*, the *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* and the French Government publication on research in Syria. All the series of foreign periodicals which were interrupted by the war are now complete to date.

The Council acknowledge with thanks books from H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Cyprus, the British Academy, the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, L'Association Guillaume Budé, and the University Presses of Oxford, Cambridge, California, and Columbia.

The following have also kindly given books: Messrs. J. T. Allen, W. C. F. Anderson, Prof. A. Andreades, Signor G. Bagnani, Messrs. E. R. Bevan, W. H. Buckler, S. Casson, Prof. E. Drerup, Mr. A. W. Gomme, Prof. B. P. Grenfell, Prof. W. R. Halliday, Mr. J. Hambidge, Mrs. F. W. Hasluck, Sir T. L. Heath, Messrs. G. F. Hill, M. Holleaux, Miss C. A. Hutton, Rev. Gifford H. Johnson, Dr. K. F. Kinch, Messrs. L. Laurend, J. G. Milne, Mrs. J. G. Milne, Signor S. Mirone, Mrs. Ludwig Mond, Prof. J. L. Myres, Messrs. E. T. Newell, M. P. Nilsson, Dr. F. Poulsen, the Hon. Misses Russell, Messrs. R. B. Seager, G. A. S. Snyder, Dr. F. Studniczka, Dr. J. Sundwall, Messrs. W. W. Tarn, M. D. Volonakis, A. J. B. Wace, Dr. J. Wackernagel, Mr. R. J. Walker, Prof. T. Wiegand, Dr. A. Wilhelm, Prof. P. Wolters, and the Librarian.

The following have also presented copies of recently published works: Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, B. H. Blackwell, Butterworth & Co., H. Champion, Chatto & Windus, Jacob Dybwad, G. Franz, P. Geuthner, W. Heinemann, S. Hirzel, A. Holder, Macmillan & Co., F. Meiner, Picard, F. Schoningh, Seemann, Topelmann, and Weidmann.

The Library is specially indebted to Mr. W. H. Buckler and Mr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne for the gift of valuable books.

The collection of lantern slides increases in utility, over 6000 having been lent during the session. Members are reminded that they can now borrow slides in two ways. They can make their own selection from the pictures arranged for the purpose in the Library, which is the better way for detailed scientific purposes, or, for more general lectures, they can order one of the special sets that have been compiled for the purpose. Recent additions to these sets comprise Ancient Life (a second set); Greek Papyri; Greek Architecture; and the travels of St. Paul. The Roman Society has similar sets in preparation. Difficulties in the photo-

graphic trade continue to hamper the production of slides for sale to members, but the Council have kept the charge for hire at its pre-war figure of 1d.

Gifts to the collections are acknowledged from the British School at Athens, Prof. H. E. Butler, Mr. T. Fyfe, Prof. Ernest Gardner, Mr. Jay Hambidge, Mr. M. Holroyd, Miss C. A. Hutton, Mr. H. Lang Jones, and Dr. Whatmough.

The reference collection of photographs has received large additions and is being rearranged on the top floor. There is no more attractive or informing task than the turning over a large number of photographs and original drawings, arranged in a strict subject order, illustrating the results of excavation and museum research. This collection has involved considerable cost and labour, and the Council think that, when it is more accessible in its new home, it should be of greater use and enjoyment to members.

It will be within the recollection of members that, to cope with the Society's increased activities without multiplying officials, a rota of voluntary workers was established in the Library. The Society is indebted in this way to generous help given by Mr. E. P. Baily, Mrs. Culley, Miss M. Davidson, Miss C. A. Hutton, Miss A. Lindsell, and Mrs. Grafton Milne. Unfortunately the Library has lost its most constant helper, it is hoped only temporarily, by Miss Davidson's illness. Meantime there is very much to do and few to do it. Any member who can spare a morning or an afternoon regularly once a week, and does not mind what she or he does for the good of a good cause, will be very welcome.

Finance.—The last financial year has been a critical one in the history of the Society. With every effort at economy, the preceding year had ended with a deficit of over £250 on the ordinary Expenditure and Income account. But, encouraged by the response to the appeal for the War Emergency Fund, which was inaugurated to provide means for the immediate future, it was decided to adopt a bold policy. The *Journal* has again been issued in two parts, while in other departments the aim has been to recreate and extend all former activities. To raise the revenues to meet the necessary increase in expenditure, effort was made to obtain new members and increased subscriptions. It was felt that if the objects and aims of the Society justified its existence, funds would be forthcoming to enable it to carry on the work it had undertaken.

The result has been good as far as it goes. The membership roll has been raised to 1370, and the list of subscribing libraries to 280, bringing an increase to the revenues for the year of between £600 and £700. Further donations to the War Emergency Fund have provided £181. (New members paying life compositions have contributed a total of no less than £393, but this of course cannot be treated as revenue, and a sum has been invested to cover this and contributions to the Endowment Fund.) The

Council desire to express their best thanks to all the members who have contributed to bring about this result.

But the expenditure during the year has necessarily been heavy, the cost of the *Journal* overshadowing everything else. Other headings show considerable increase, some part of which has been incurred in the effort to extend the list of members. The net result is that the increased receipts of £700 have failed to balance the increased expenditure of £800, and the Society is left with a slightly larger deficit than last year.

A further annual income, therefore, of about £300 is still required to ensure relief from financial embarrassment. It is hoped that every effort will be exerted to bring about this desired result, and to this end members are earnestly invited to (1) introduce new members; (2) increase their subscriptions wherever possible; (3) contribute to the War Emergency Fund, which provides additional funds during the present unsettled times; or (4) send donations to the Endowment Fund, which is intended by investment to provide a source of permanent revenue.

Mr. Angelo Hayter seconded the motion for the adoption of the report which was formally put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Vice-Presidents of the Society and the members of the Council retiring by rotation (Messrs. J. D. Beazley, W. H. Buckler, M. Cary, E. J. Forsdyke, E. N. Gardiner, H. R. Hall) were re-elected, and Messrs. H. M. Last, F. H. Marshall, J. T. Sheppard, and Prof. W. Rhys Roberts were elected as members of the Council.

Votes of thanks to the auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. F. Macmillan, were moved by Sir Charles Walston and Mr. Penoyre.

The President, Sir Frederic Kenyon, K.C.B., P.B.A., D.Litt., then delivered the following address on "The Requirements of a Law of Antiquities."

It is impossible to begin an address to-day to a gathering of students of the classics without reference to the loss which British scholarship has sustained through the death of Mr. Warde Fowler. It is true that his mark was made in connexion with Roman rather than Hellenic literature; but the provinces cannot be strictly demarcated. A Virgilian scholar is necessarily a Hellenist as well as a Latinist; and Mr. Warde Fowler knew and loved the literature of Greece as well as that of Rome. There are some men who to the knowledge which other scholars possess add a certain spirit which we instinctively recognise as that of the true humanist, of the "happy warrior" of scholarship, whom every scholar would wish to be. Such a one was Henry Butcher, and such was Warde Fowler. In men of this temper lifelong familiarity with the classics has given a peculiar insight into their spirit, so that they are able to interpret them to others with something like prophetic strain. Warde Fowler exemplified this, not only in his writings on Roman religion, of which his sympathetic knowledge made him an unequalled interpreter, but perhaps especially in that Virgilian trilogy which was his reaction from the strain of the years of war. One had hoped that there might be more of them; for it is seldom that there arises a scholar who has in himself so much of the delicate charm, the *curiosa felicitas*, of the poet whom he interpreted.

I pass now to some general considerations on the work of our Society, and to a particular topic which I wish to lay before you.

The past year has been for our Society, as for so many other institutions, a year of attempted reconstruction. We have been trying to accommodate ourselves to the new conditions, and this is for us, as well as for the world at large, a slow process. One cannot yet say that the conditions have reached stability. We do not yet know how or when we shall reach economic equilibrium; we cannot judge what will be the value of money six months hence. Finance is necessarily at the bottom of everything. Before we can tell what we can do to promote Hellenic studies, we must know with some approach to accuracy what our income is likely to be, and what is the amount of our office expenses. Next after them comes the expenses of the *Journal*; for the production of the *Journal* is the form of our activities which takes precedence of all others. In this respect the prospects are improving. The cost of paper has already begun to come down, and it is difficult to believe that wages in the printing trade will escape from the general downward tendency as the cost of living falls. When we have reached stability in our office expenses and in the cost of the *Journal*, we shall be able to judge what balance we have in hand for the other departments of work.

Finance therefore is the key to the whole position, and it is finance which has been the first concern of our officers. No words of praise can be too high for the exertions of our Secretary and Librarian, Mr. Penoyre (very efficiently seconded by our Sub-Librarian, Mr. F. Wise), to bring in fresh subscribers. I hope the Society realises, as those who are most closely associated with its work realise, that without Mr. Penoyre we should have been in danger of extinction. He has devoted the energy, which during the war was directed to the well-being of our soldiers, to setting the Society on its legs again. It has been a laborious and uphill task, and he has strained himself to the utmost limit of his powers, and at serious risk to his health. I should not be doing my duty to the Society if I did not put in the forefront of my annual address an expression of our gratitude to him.

The extent to which these efforts, which have been loyally backed by the personal influence and ungrudging services of our Honorary Secretary, Miss Hutton, have been successful, has been set out in the Report, and I will not dwell further upon them here. I want rather to look forward, and to consider what shall be the programme which we should put before us.

As I have said already, our first duty is the *Journal*. It is the main organ of classical archaeology in this country, and without it our scholars in this field of learning would be voiceless. I believe I am right in saying that there is no lack of material to fill its pages. Our archaeologists have now returned from the war duties which so many of them performed with such conspicuous success, and are getting to work again with all the more zest because of their enforced abstinence. The men (and the women too) are there, and are ready to work, if the material is forthcoming.

That is the problem which we now have to solve. We shall not have restored our pre-war standard until the machinery for archaeological field-work is again in working order, and is again putting out its full quota of results. That is not yet the case. It is only slowly that the regions affected by the war are becoming once more open to the explorer and the excavator. Mesopotamia, in which valuable work was done during the concluding stages of the war, has been closed for two years through the unsettlement of the political situation. No work has been possible during the past autumn and spring at Carchemish, which lies in the debatable area between the French and the Angora Turks. On the other hand the Palestine Exploration Fund has been able to begin work at Ascalon, and the Egypt Exploration Society at Tell-el-Amarna. But Asia Minor is still closed, pending some settlement between the Greeks and the Turks, and labour difficulties, we are told, prohibit the resumption of exploration in Crete. The British school at Athens has got to work at Mycenae, and the results of the past season have been recounted to us by Mr. Wace; but we can hardly say yet that the School has resumed its full

activity. The supply of students, arrested by the war, is only beginning to flow again, and it will necessarily take a year or two before we have the necessary numbers of trained directors and enthusiastic learners. The same is the case with the School at Rome.

This then is the ideal which we have to keep before us, and for the present we must be content to record advance rather than achievement. Work has been begun and projects put forward; it is our duty now to see that the work begun is maintained, and that projects are considered and brought to feasibility. Two projects in particular may be mentioned. One relates to the site of Colophon. In this neighbourhood the French are already proposing to work; but Mr. Wace, recalling from the past a somewhat nebulous scheme of excavations there by the British Museum, has put in a claim for leave to revive it, and has ascertained that the French are quite willing to agree to a division of the area, which would leave Old Colophon to us, while they would undertake New Colophon, or Notium. All recognition is due to the courtesy of our French friends in this matter; whether we shall be able to take advantage of it is another question. So far as the Museum is concerned, there are two rather serious fences to be surmounted. In the first place it is doubtful whether any funds would be forthcoming; for if the country is ever to be relieved from a six-shilling income tax, the Civil Service Estimates will have to be cut down rather drastically, and it may well be that little or nothing will be forthcoming for such luxuries as excavations. And secondly there is some obscurity as to the conditions under which excavations would be made in the part of Asia Minor which has been placed under Greek administration by the Treaty of Sèvres (if it is ever ratified). On this point I shall have something to say presently.

The other project which has been brought to our notice is a more ambitious one. It is no less than the excavation of Constantinople. A high political and diplomatic authority, and a good friend of art and the classics, has urged that the time is opportune for the excavation of the Hippodrome of Constantinople, the site where stood the famous monument of Plataea. In one sense the time is indeed opportune for excavation at Constantinople; for the extensive fires which ravaged the city during the war have laid bare great areas which before were covered with buildings. On the other hand, the political conditions are still so unsettled that it might be very difficult to obtain authority for the work, even if we could obtain the funds for so extensive and costly an undertaking. If the work is to be done by any one, we have a good claim to priority, since a concession of the site had been given before the war to Dr. van Millingen, who was anxious that England should undertake it; nor could there be any justification for international jealousies, since there is room and to spare in Constantinople for all the countries that are likely to want to work there. But finance and diplomacy stand as two lions in the path.

Now as to the desirability of our allied institutions, the Hellenic Society and the British School at Athens (with or without the co-operation of the British Museum) resuming active field-work, I do not think there can be two opinions. Activity is the life-blood of a Society, and field-work is the basis of Archaeology. The discovery of new material, the training of a new generation of workers must go hand in hand with the study of the materials discovered. Each is essential to the other, and healthy progress is only possible if both flourish. On the other hand, the possibility of it, as I have said already, depends upon finance. But while the desirability is admitted and the possibility doubtful, I should like to take this opportunity to consider under what conditions archaeological work ought to be regulated in regions such as those of which we are speaking.

The treaty of peace with Turkey imposes on that country the duty of abrogating its existing Law of Antiquities, and of enacting a new law upon lines which are laid down in a series of eight propositions. These propositions, which were drafted by an international sub-committee, after consultation (so far as this country was concerned) with the Joint Archaeological Committee, indicate what, in the opinion of the Western Powers, shall be the principles of archaeological administration in

the historic lands of the Near East. The Powers cannot, without stultifying themselves, lay down one set of principles for Asia Minor, and another for Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. The essential conditions are in each case the same. In each case the inhabitants are either indifferent to antiquities altogether, or are interested in them solely as a potential source of wealth. In each case the land contains antiquities of the highest interest to those Western countries whose civilisation is based upon the civilisation of which they are the record. It is therefore necessary, first, that the inhabitants should be enlisted on the side of the preservation and scientific investigation of these antiquities, and next that the scientific investigation of them by trained Western archaeologists should be encouraged and facilitated. These are the two principles which underlie the provisions of the Treaty of Sévres; and it is because British officials do not always appreciate them and their implications that it appears desirable to take any opportunity that presents itself to explain and enforce them.

First with regard to the inhabitants of the lands in which we desire to dig. They have a material interest, which they fully appreciate, and a moral interest, which for the most part they do not. Their material interest is to be allowed to make as much money as they can out of the antiquities which their land contains, just as if they were a crop which the land produced by nature. This interest is best served by allowing free traffic in antiquities; by permitting foreigners to buy any objects that are brought to light by the searches of the natives, and by encouraging foreign tourists and explorers to come and spend money freely in the country. There is no question, and experience has amply proved it, that the interest of the native, as he himself sees it, lies in the fullest freedom of traffic.

On the other hand the moral interest of the native lies in his education to take a higher view of the records of the past history of his country. It is the duty of every country which holds another in tutelage to educate it up to a higher appreciation of moral and intellectual values. The tutor country is bound to look forward to a time when the pupil country will have reached a higher stage of development, and to see that the heritage of its past is not destroyed meanwhile. When a people arrives at years of discretion, it should not find that during its minority its guardian has allowed it to be plundered of the possessions which it has too late learned to prize. This is a consideration which tends to action in a direction exactly contrary to that which has previously been put forward, and, if pressed to extremes, would lead to the retention in the country of every object of antiquity which might come to light in it. The moral and material interests of the country appear therefore to be at odds with one another.

At this point, as another factor in the problem and as a contribution towards solving the apparent antinomy, may be brought in the consideration of the interests of countries other than the country of origin. A people that inhabits a given area of the earth's surface is not merely the proprietor of the objects found therein; it is a trustee for them in the interests of humanity, just in proportion as they are of value for the well-being of humanity. It is not entitled to preserve solely for its own use the goods of which it is the fortuitous possessor, although it is entitled to make a profit out of them. The moral claim of foreign nations varies according to the closeness with which the objects desired are associated with the population which now inhabits the land in which they are found. If the Greek race had been obliterated by a Mongol invasion, the claim of the Western nations which derive their civilisation from ancient Greece to the possession of the antiquities found in the soil of Greece would be much greater than that of the Mongol residents. The claim of the modern inhabitants of Mesopotamia to an interest in the Mohammedan antiquities of the country is very much greater than their claim to an interest in the Sumerian and Babylonian antiquities which throw light on the books of the Pentateuch.

However this may be, it is clear that the Western nations have a very legitimate interest in the antiquities of the Near and Middle East, both as elements in the advance of knowledge in general, and particularly as monuments of the civilisation

on which their own is based. It is plain, also, that their interest in connexion with the administration of antiquities in the lands of which we are speaking lies, first, in the preservation and scientific investigation of these antiquities, so that no portion of their evidence or their significance may be lost; and next in having them placed where they can best be studied, and where they are accessible to the largest number of persons who can profit by the sight and examination of them. The vote of this interest would be in favour of the removal of antiquities from the country of origin just in proportion to the inaccessibility of that country from the centres of modern civilisation, and the absence of inhabitants capable of studying them and making their value known to the civilised world.

We have therefore three forces to take into account in framing a just Law of Antiquities in lands of archaeological importance: first, the material interests of the country of origin; secondly, the moral (or intellectual) interests of the country of origin; and, thirdly, the moral (or intellectual) interests of countries other than the country of origin, which may be more compendiously described as the advancement of knowledge. A settlement which ignores any of these claims will be defective, and it is the business of archaeologists and official administrators to endeavour to find a solution which will satisfy all of them to the fullest extent possible.

I do not think that a satisfactory solution is hard to find, if only intelligence and toleration could be presupposed among administrators and scholars. I believe it is possible to satisfy both the interests of the country of origin and the interests of other countries in the advancement of knowledge. But it seems necessary to repeat what to many, if not all, here are almost truisms, because we know by bitter experience that they are by no means always realised by those in whose hands important decisions lie.

In the first place, there are certain solutions which should be ruled out at once as incompatible with the principles which have been laid down. A law which prohibits all export of antiquities is only defensible—if at all—in countries which are able to make the fullest provision for their preservation, for their accessibility, and for their study. The best example, perhaps, is Greece. Greece is well aware of the moral, as well as the material, value of its antiquities; it makes good provision for their exploration and for their preservation; it permits excavation (though not exportation) by foreign scholars; and it is reasonably accessible to the nations most vitally interested in the study of these antiquities. Nevertheless I do not think it can be denied that the world would have been the sufferer if such a law of exclusion had always existed and been enforced. Greece has been and is the schoolmaster of the world because the products of its great age went abroad to Italy in the past and to Europe and America now; and although Greece may at times lament over its vanished treasures, the name of Greece stands higher, and even its political position is stronger, because the influence of its artistic genius has been spread throughout the civilised world.

A policy of exclusiveness is bad for the world, and bad for the country which practises it. How much does not Italy owe, in reputation and in the affection of other peoples, to the fact that its pictures have been spread broadcast in Europe and America? On the other hand, the artistic reputation of England has suffered because our artists are so poorly represented in the galleries of France and Italy. Except in rare isolated instances, I do not grudge the migration of English pictures to America; not merely because America has a right to a share in England's past, but because I believe that the increased appreciation of English art and literature adds strength to the bonds which unite England and America. What is needed is not exclusiveness, but an equitable balance between the claims of the mother country and of other lands.

And if exclusiveness is a doubtful policy in the case of countries like Greece and Italy, which possess trained scholars of unquestioned competence and educated publics which fully appreciate their artistic treasures, it is wholly bad in the case of less advanced countries. I enumerated just now three interests which have

to be taken into account—the material interest of the country of origin, the moral and intellectual interest of the country of origin, and the advancement of learning. In the case of such countries as Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, two of these interests suffer by a policy of exclusion, and the third does not benefit. The material interest of the country of origin suffers; and consequently one invariably finds the natives, in whose interest the law of exclusion is supposed to be enforced, using all their ingenuity to evade it, and joining hands with the smuggler and the foreign agent against their own government. The interest of the advancement of learning suffers, because scientific exploration is discouraged, while smuggling, which obscures the history and significance of the objects found, is encouraged. Finally, for the moral and intellectual interest of the country of origin exclusiveness is not necessary, because there are in all these countries a supply of antiquities amply sufficient to meet the needs of the country and at the same time to supply a good representation of its art to lands outside.

It is very hard to get this truth into the minds of administrators who have little knowledge of archaeology; and therefore I would ask the members of this Society to use all their influence to spread the light, and to make it a matter of common knowledge. Museum officials and excavators who preach this doctrine are apt to be suspect, and to be regarded as plunderers who would cloak their nefarious designs under a specious veil. It is those whose motives are recognisably disinterested who can best convince the suspicious; and when they have, as members of this Society have, sufficient knowledge of the facts to support their doctrine by concrete instances, their testimony will carry weight, and may eventually discredit the error which is so full of danger to archaeology and civilisation.

Another error which should be ruled out at the start is the delusion that a Law of Antiquities works best by terrorism. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the past, both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, the law has tried to work by penalties and prohibitions. One would be glad to think that this procedure was wholly extinct now. Some penalties no doubt there must be; but they should be kept in the background. The consequences of terrorism are wholly bad. If a native realises that the possession of an antiquity may lead him into trouble unless he conforms to a procedure which he does not understand and which may be inconvenient to follow, he will either hide what he has found or destroy it. If he preserves it, he will expect a higher price for it to compensate him for the risk. Either way, science suffers.

It is for this reason that the first of the principles laid down in the Annex to article 421 of the Treaty of Sèvres runs as follows: 'The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat'; and this is amplified by the provision that 'any person who, having discovered an antiquity, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.' If this provision (to which it is legitimate to add the warning that 'any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty') can be carried into effect and become generally known, the interests of the native population will be enlisted on the side of the preservation and notification of antiquities, and we may hope that the sad tragedies which have been recorded in the past will not be repeated.

The first principle of a Law of Antiquities therefore is to secure the preservation and notification of objects found. The second is to encourage the finding of them by scientific methods. And the third is to secure that they be so disposed of as to satisfy the needs alike of the country of origin and of the advancement of knowledge in general. The securing of these two latter principles depends on the regulations which may be made to govern the distribution of the results of excavation. This is a somewhat delicate matter, but it is of vital importance that a clear understanding should be arrived at with regard to it by those who are responsible for the areas in the Near and Middle East which are now under civilised administration.

What is needed is to reconcile two conflicting interests. It is desirable that

excavation by competent archaeologists should be encouraged; and it is right that the country of origin should have first consideration in the disposal of the objects discovered. If the excavator is allowed to take everything, the country is denuded of the relics of its past history; and if the country of origin is too grasping, foreign archaeologists and societies will not dig, except in those rare instances where the honour and glory of discovery and publication are likely to be sufficient compensation for their labour and expenditure.

The Treaty of Sèvres does not undertake to lay down any very precise ruling. It says merely that 'the proceeds of excavation may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.' The main principles are, however, indicated: the right of the excavator to a part of the proceeds; the right of the Department representing the country of origin to determine what objects must be retained for the local museum; and the right of the excavator to be compensated if the needs of the local museum leave him too small a residue.

In Egypt, for many years past, the working understanding has been that the proceeds of excavation should, so far as possible, be divided equally between the excavator and the Cairo Museum, the latter having the power to claim objects of special importance for its collections, but being expected to see that the excavator nevertheless receives an approximate half of the value of the total finds. This understanding has worked satisfactorily on the whole, so far as so rough-and-ready a rule can; and I think it indicates a correct apportionment between the two interests concerned. The museum is secured in the possession of the objects most needed by it; and the excavator receives a sufficient share of the results of his labour and expense to make it worth his while to undertake the work. Any apportionment which departs widely from this proportion is likely to defeat its own object; for if the excavator does not receive enough to induce him to dig, excavation will not take place (except surreptitiously, by the natives) and the museum consequently will not benefit, while the cause of science will suffer. I therefore regarded with some apprehension the draft ordinance of antiquities for Palestine, which enacted that the local museum should first take all that it required, and then that the residue should be divided equally between the museum and the excavator. Unless the museum was very moderate in its initial claim, the excavator would be likely to come off very indifferently under this regulation. The ordinance has been the subject of discussion, and I hope it will be modified so as to admit of an approximate half-and-half division, while preserving the right of the museum to a first choice.

The Palestine ordinance is of special importance, because it is the first to be drawn up for the territories recently liberated from Turkish rule, and is likely to serve as a model for the others. It is therefore satisfactory that it has been based upon, and in most respects conforms with, the recommendations of the Archaeological Joint Committee. The Committee, after consultation with the Director of Antiquities at Jerusalem, has suggested certain modifications in details, and there is reason to hope that they will be accepted. We trust that similar regulations will be enacted by our French friends in Syria. With regard to Asia Minor, it is impossible to speak with precision in the present indeterminate position of affairs. It may, however, be presumed that part of it will remain under Turkish administration, and possibly part under that of the Greeks. We are, I think, entitled to hope that the area which may be placed under Greek administration will be treated on the same principles as the areas which come by mandate under British or French control. The doctrine of exclusive ownership, which Greece is entitled to apply to the territory which belongs to it in full ownership, can hardly be claimed as applicable to territories of which it is, in effect if not in name, the mandatory.

This brings me to the last principle to which it seems necessary to call attention in connexion with the administration of antiquities. It is embodied in the final words of Article 421 of the Treaty of Sèvres:

' The Turkish Government undertakes to ensure the execution of this law on a basis of perfect equality between all nations.'

In matters of archaeology, international jealousies should be ruled out. The civilisations of the ancient world are the common heritage of the modern nations. The fact that a European nation is administering a portion of Asia or Africa does not give it the right to exclude members of other nations from all share in the work of exploration or in the products of such exploration; and if any nation were to claim such exclusive rights in the territories under its control, that should be a sufficient reason for refusing to allow it the privilege of working in the areas controlled by other nations. In Asia Minor, in Syria, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, in Egypt, there should be a fair field and no favour, and similar Laws of Antiquities should regulate exploration and excavation in each of them. So far as I have had communications with the representatives of the other nations concerned, I believe that this principle would be accepted by them; but it is important that it should be laid down clearly at the outset, and put into force without reserves or qualifications. We in this country, who have control in areas so important as Palestine and Mesopotamia, have the opportunity of setting a good example, and I trust and believe we shall make use of it. The only ground on which the exclusion of the representatives of any country could be justified would be if archaeological exploration were made a cloak for political designs; and this is only a particular case of the general principle that archaeology must not be made the cat's-paw of politics. It has been so sometimes in the past. Let us do what we can to guard against it in the future.

I have taken the opportunity given to me to-day to deal with principles of international archaeology which concern all civilised nations. I would conclude with a corollary which concerns ourselves alone. Our duty is not ended when we have thrown open the gates for international activities in the areas committed to our charge. It is likewise our duty to be foremost in undertaking such activities ourselves. It would be a shame to us if we permit other nations to do all the work in countries such as Palestine and Egypt and Mesopotamia, or if we failed to do our share in the further exploration of Greek lands. The times are difficult for all work which needs money, and our Government does not take the same view as other European Governments of the value to a nation of such contributions to knowledge and civilisation. All the more is it the duty of societies such as our own, on which falls the representation of our country in these spheres of activity, to take up the burden courageously, and to lose no opportunity of bringing home to others the greatness of the need, and the high privilege of assisting to enlarge the heritage of the past, and to increase the intellectual wealth of the human race.

After a question from Mr. N. H. Baynes on the archaeological position in Rhodes the proceedings terminated.

Dr. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1920. CR.

[illegible]

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1920.

To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	£	s.	d.
" Slides for Hire	64	0	4
" Photographs for Reference Collection	5	17	5
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account.....	1	7	3
	9	19	0½
	£81	4	0½

By Receipts from Sales and Hire	£	s.	d.
" " Sale of Catalogues	73	9	6½
" " "	7	14	6
	£81	4	0½

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1920.

To Purchases	£	s.	d.
„ Binding	110	7	4
	45	14	6
	<hr/>		
	£162	1	10

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1920.

Expenditure.		Income.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Rent	205 5 0	By Members' Subscriptions—	
Salaries—		Arrears	45 0 0
Librarian and Secretary	140 0 0	1920	1183 10 1
Assistant Treasurer	46 5 0		1228 10 1
Librarian	190 11 0	Members' Entrance Fees	51 9 0
Typist, &c.	376 16 0	Libraries' Subscriptions—	
Insurance	16 17 4	Arrears	25 4 0
Miscellaneous Expenses	98 1 4	1920	226 16 0
Stationery	138 4 9		252 0 0
Postage	104 8 0½	Life Compositions brought into Revenue	
Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members,		Account	10 10 0
Notices, &c.	89 9 8	Dividends on Investments	81 2 8
Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library		Interest on Deposit Account	45 9 7
Premises	58 16 4	Contributed towards Rent by British School	
Grants—		at Athens and British School at Rome for	
British School at Athens	100 0 0	use of Society's room	20 0 0
" "	10 10 0	Rent of room occupied by the Royal Archaeo-	
		logical Institute	10 0 0
Balance from Library Account	110 10 0	Rent received from Lady Roberts' Field	
Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies'		Glass Fund	20 0 0
Account	142 7 10	Contributed by the Society for Promotion	
Depreciation of Stocks of publications	819 13 2	of Roman Studies—	
	6 0 0	Rent	26 16 0
		Use of Library	32 10 0
			59 6 0
		Donation from Greek Government	79 14 0
		Sale of Aristophanes. Codex Venetus	7 7 0
		Sale of 'Excavations at Phylakopi',	1 0 0
		Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo-	
		graphs Account	9 19 0½
		Balance to War Emergency Fund	284 8 1
			£2160 15 5½

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WAR EMERGENCY FUND

To Balance from Income and Expenditure Account		By Balance brought forward	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
284 8 1		751 19 0	
648 14 11		181 4 0	
£933 3 0		£933 3 0	

Received during year (for list of contributions see p. xii) ...

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1920.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		£	s.	d.
To Debts Payable		680	17	11½
" Subscriptions paid in advance		42	16	0
" Endowment Fund		799	8	0
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)				
" Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture)				
Total Received		394	18	6
" Life Compositions and Donations—				
Total at Jan. 1, 1920	1878	9	0	
Received during year	393	15	0	
	2272	4	0	
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Member deceased	10	10	0	
Surplus Balance at Jan. 1, 1920	5	0	7	
Add Balance from War Emergency Fund ...	648	14	11	
Surplus Balance at December 31, 1920		653	15	6
		£4833	9	11½

<i>Assets.</i>		£	s.	d.
By Cash in Hand—Bank		1088	14	6
Assistant Treasurer		29	7	11
Petty Cash		41	19	5½
		1160	1	10½
" Debts Receivable			276	12
" Investments (Life Compositions)	1384	3	11	
" (Endowment Fund)	770	0	0	
		2154	3	11
Less Reserved against Depreciation	100	0	0	
		2054	3	11
" Emergency Fund—Total Expended		426	0	0
" Valuations of Stocks of Publications		447	4	0
" Library		350	0	0
" Expenses ' Strabo ' carried forward		1	10	0
" Paper in hand for printing Journal		118	5	6
		£4833	9	11½

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

INCREASED SUBSCRIPTIONS

As a result of the information communicated last year the following members have increased their annual subscriptions.

Abercromby, Lord	McKenzie, Rev. H. W.
Anastasiadi, P.	Macmillan, George A.
Barge, Mrs. M.	Mavrogordato, J. J.
Baring, Thos.	Millingen, Mrs. A. van
Beck, Horace C.	Minet, Miss Julia
Bell, Edward	Orpen, Rev. T. H.
Berry, James	Petrocochino, D. P.
Bevan, E. R.	Richter, Miss Gisela
Churchill, E. L.	Ridley, The Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Cookson, C.	Robinson, W. S.
Corning, Prof. H. K.	Rotton, Sir J. F.
Courtauld, Miss S. R.	Seager, R. B.
Dickson, A. G. M.	Seeböhm, Hugh
Dobie, M. R.	Seligmann, Prof. C. G.
Eumorfopoulos, N.	Shewan, Alexander, M.A., LL.D.
Fleeming-Jenkin, Mrs.	Tarn, W. W.
Ford, P. J.	Ure, Prof. P. N.
Gidney, A. R.	Vellenoweth, Miss
Greene, H. W.	Vlasto, Michael P.
Hogarth, Miss M. I.	Walston, Sir Charles
Kipling, Mrs.	Ward, W. Henry
Lamb, Miss W.	Wood, J. R.
Laurie, G. E.	Woodhouse, Prof. W. J.
Lindsell, Miss Alice	Woodward, A. M.
Lloyd, Miss M. E. H.	Wynne-Finch, Miss Helen
MacIver, D. Randall	Wyse, W.

DONATIONS

The following have sent donations to help the Society through the financial crisis caused by the War.

1920

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Anderson, James ...	1	1	0	Henn, The Hon. Mrs. ...	1	10	0
Baker-Penoyre, Miss ...	1	1	0	Holroyd, Michael ...	15	15	0
Barr, Mark ...	5	0	0	Jones, T. E. ...	10	0	0
Booth, His Hon. Judge ...	2	2	0	Kenion, T. D. ...	5	0	0
Buckler, Miss L. R. ...	1	1	0	Lethaby, Prof. W. R. ...	1	1	0
Buckler, W. H. ...	100	0	0	Low, Miss Janet I. ...	5	0	0
Buren, Mrs. Van ...	3	3	0	MacIver, D. Randall ...	10	0	0
Caton, Richard, M.D. ...	1	1	0	Murray, Miss S. W. ...	2	2	0
Chitty, Rev. G. F. ...	1	1	0	Myers, Ernest ...	2	2	0
Courtauld, Miss S. R. ...	5	5	0	Oldham, J. B. S. ...	1	0	0
Cripps, Reginald ...	4	4	0	Ormerod, H. A. ...	1	1	0
Davies, John ...	1	1	0	Rose, Prof. H. J. ...	1	1	0
Esdaile, Mrs. A. ...	10	6		Sharpe, Miss C. ...	5	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N. ...	1	0	0	Swallow, Canon R. D. ...	1	1	0
Hazzidaki, Dr. J. ...	1	0	0	Walters, W. H. ...	10	6	

The following additions have been made to the permanent Endowment Fund.

1920

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Berry, James ...	1	1	0	Pope, Mrs. G. H. ...	5	0	0
Lamb, Miss W. ...	10	0	0	Scott, G. F. ...	1	1	0

The Council consider this permanent Endowment Fund of the greatest importance to the Society, and would welcome further donations to it.

EIGHTEENTH LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY
SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.

1920—1921

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by R.S.

NOTE.—The supply of the original Catalogues (1903) is now exhausted, but copies may be had on loan. The accession lists can still be purchased on application.

- Adai.** See Liturgy of Adai and Mari.
- R.S. Adams (L. E. W.)** A study in the commerce of Latium [Smith. Coll. Class. Stud. 2.]
9 × 6. Northampton, Mass. 1921.
- Aeschylus.** Eschyle I. Les suppliantes—Les Perses—Les sept contre Thèbes—Prométhée enchainé. Ed. and transl. P. Mazon. [Assn. Guillaume Budé.] 8 × 5½. Paris. 1920.
- Aeschylus.** The Oresteia. Agamemnon, Choephoroi, Eumenides: the Greek text as arranged for performance at Cambridge with an English verse translation by R. C. Trevelyan.
7¼ × 5. Cambridge. 1920.
- Aldenhoven (C.)** Gesammelte Aufsätze herausgegeben von Dr. A. Lindner. 9¾ × 6¾. Leipsic. N.D.
- Allbutt (T. C.)** Greek Medicine in Rome.
9 × 5½. 1921.
- Allen (T. W.)** The Homeric catalogue of ships edited with a commentary. 9 × 6. Oxford. 1921.
- R.S. Allison (R.)** Translations into English verse mainly from the Greek anthology. 7 × 5½. 1921.
- Alt (A.)** Griechische Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia. See Denkmalschutz Kommandos.
- American Numismatic Society.** American Journal of Numismatics. From vol. 45 (1911).
11 × 8¼. New York. *In Progress.*
Numismatic Notes and Monographs. From No. 1 (1920).
6½ × 4½. New York. *In Progress.*

R.S.=the property of the Roman Society.

- Andreades (A.)** De la population de Constantinople sous les empereurs byzantines. 9 × 6½. S. L. 1920.
- R.S. *Id.* Another copy.
- R.S. **Antiquaries Journal, The.** From Vol. 1 (1921). 10 × 6½. *In Progress.*
- Antiquaries, Society of.** A short account of some particulars concerning Domesday Book.
A short account of Danegeld.
An account of the copper table discovered, 1732, near Heraclea. By P. C. Webb.
The Latin inscription on the copper table. By J. Pettingal.
A dissertation upon the Tascia. By J. Pettingal.
[Five dissertations, 9 × 8, 1756-73, bound together.]
- Apelt (O.)** *Translator.* See Diogenes Laertius.
- Apicius.** Apici Caeli de re coquinaria libri decem. Edited by C. T. Schuch. 8 × 5½. Heidelberg. 1867.
- Aristotle.** Atheniensium Respublica. Ed. F. G. Kenyon. [Script Class. Bibl. Oxon.] 7¾ × 5¼. Oxford. 1921.
- Aristotle.** Oeconomica : Atheniensium Respublica. Translated into English by E. S. Forster. 9 × 5¾. Oxford. 1920.
- Aristotle.** Politica. Translated by B. Jowett. 9 × 5¾. Oxford. 1921.
- Aristotle.** Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst (German translation by A. Gudeman). 7½ × 5. Leipsic. 1921.
- Athens.** Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, Vol. II. By S. Casson. With a section upon the terra-cottas, by D. Brooke. 7½ × 5. Cambridge. 1921.
- R.S. *Id.* Another copy.
- Aufhauser (J. B.)** Das Drachenwunder des Heiligen Georg in der griechischen und lateinischen Ueberlieferung. [Byzant. Archiv. 5.] 10 × 6¾. Leipzig. 1911.
- Aurelius (M.)** Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου Αὐτοκράτορος τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιβ". 5¾ × 3¾. Glasgow. 1744.
- R.S. **Avramow (V.)** La voie de Trajan du Danube jusqu'à Philippopoli. (In Bulgarian, with French précis.) 10½ × 7¼. Sophia. 1915.
- Baalbek.** Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905. Herausgegeben von T. Wiegand. Vol. I. By B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld and others. Text and Plates. 14 × 11. Berlin and Leipzig. 1921.
- Bachmann (W.)** Petra. See Denkmalschutz Kommandos.
- Bauer (A.)** Lukians Δημοσθένους Ἐγκώμιον. 9 × 6. Paderborn. 1914.
- Bent (J. T.)** See Hakluyt Society.
- R.S. **Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission.** [Deutsches Archäolog. Institut] From Vol. I. (1904). 11 × 7½. Frankfurt. *In Progress.*
- Berlin, Archaeological Institute.** Geschichte des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1829-1879. 9 × 7. Berlin. 1879.
- Berlin, Royal Museums.** Aegyptische Urkunden aus d. K. Museen : Griechische Urkunden, Vols. I.-IV. 12½ × 11. Berlin. 1894-1912.

- Berlin, Royal Museums.** Inschriften von Priene. Herausgegeben von F. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 10. Berlin. 1906.
- R.S. Biblica.** Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico. From Vol. I. 1920. 10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Rome. *In Progress.*
- Bieber (M.)** Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum. 11 × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$. Berlin and Leipzig. 1920.
- Blackman (A. M.)** The rock tombs of Meir. See Egypt, Archaeological Survey. 24th Memoir.
- Blackman (A. M.)** Les temples immerges de la Nubie. Temple of Bigh. See Cairo, Supplementary Publications.
- Bohn (R.)** See Jahrbuch d. Kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, Supp. publ., No. 2.
- Boissonade (J. F.)** *Editor.* See Poetae Graeci gnomici.
- Boston.** Museum of Fine Arts, 1870–1920. 9 × 6. Boston. 1920.
- Bouchier (E. S.)** A short history of Antioch, 300 B.C.–A.D. 1268. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5. Oxford. 1921.
- R.S. Braeunlich, A. F.** The Indicative Indirect question in Latin. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Chicago. 1920.
- Bréhier (L.)** Sculpture Byzantine :—Études. [Nouvelles Archives, No. 3.] 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Paris. 1913.
- Bréhier (L.)** Sculpture Byzantine :—Nouvelles recherches. [Nouvelles Archives, No. 9.] 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Paris. 1913.
- Brenot (A.)** Recherches sur l'Ephébie attique. [Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, 229.] 10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Paris. 1920.
- Brooke (D.)** See Athens, Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.
- Brusa.** Catalogue des Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines du Musée de Brousse. 10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Athens. 1908.
- R.S. Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Islorice.** From Vol. I. (1908). 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. Bucharest. *In Progress.*
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Bulgare.** [In Bulgarian with short précis of the articles in French.] From Vol. IV. (1914). 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. Sophia. *In Progress.*
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 C 83 Minoan bronze statuette, woman praying (?), two views (Hall, *Aeg. Arch.*, pl. 19).
 C 84 Minoan bronze statuette, male figure, two views (Hall, *Aeg. Arch.*, p. 68, fig. 14).
 C 65 Parts of a gold sceptre (?) (Schliemann, *Myk.*, p. 287, Nos. 451, 452).
 C 66 Parts of a bronze and silver sceptre (?) (Tsountas and Manatt, fig. 64, drawing).
 C 67 Sceptres (?) silver plated with gold (Schliemann, *Myc.*, p. 201, Nos. 309, 310).
 C 68 Rock crystal knobs, possibly sceptre handles (Schliemann, *Myc.*, p. 200, Nos. 307, 308).
 C 69 Decorated gold cylinder, possibly part of sceptre (Schliemann, *Myc.*, p. 251, No. 366).
 C 70 Silver cup with gold heads inlaid, from Mycenae (*Eph. Arch.*, 1888, pl. 7).
 C 85 A tribute bearer, outline drawing from the tomb of Rekhmara at Thebes.
 C 63 Painted terra-cotta head of a sphinx, from Mycenae (*Eph. Arch.*).

INSCRIPTIONS.

- B1636 **Colechester**, Roman altar dedicated to the Sulevian Mothers.
 B6391 **Peak**, (Yorks), late Roman inscription (*J.R.S.*, II, p. 210, fig. 31).
 B 678 **Rome**, dedicatory inscription of Basilica Iulia to Lucius, grandson of Augustus.
 B 589 „ Second-century altar to Keraunian divinities and Nymphae Furrinae, on the Janiculum (cf. *Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1907).
 B 590 „ *id.* Another view.
 B 591 „ Inscribed part of fountain dedicated by Gaiones (2nd century), Janiculum.

PAPYRI.

- c 122 Writing materials of the ancients (Schubart, *Einf. in d. Papyruskunde*, figs. 12-14).
- c 124 Papyrus plant growing in Kew Gardens.
- c 120 Sample of prepared papyrus (end column of Timotheos, *Persae*).
- c 121 Papyrus roll, open and sealed, letters sealed (Schubart, *Einf. in d. Papyruskunde*, figs. 3-11).
- c 117 Sarcophagus with three groups of figures holding books both closed and open, Vatican (Birt, *Die Buchrolle in d. Kunst*, fig. 41).
- c 116 Relief of four scribes holding rolls, Florence (Birt, *Die Buchrolle in d. Kunst*, fig. 13).
- c 118 Attic grave relief, a boy reading (Birt, *Die Buchrolle in d. Kunst*, fig. 90).
- c 123 A reader in his library, relief on sarcophagus, Villa Balestra, Rome (Clark, *Care of books*).
- c 125 Sketch map of Egypt to illustrate the principal Papyrus finds.

Uncials on Papyrus.

- c 126 **Aristotle**, constitution of Athens, B.M. facsimile, pl. xi. cols. 16 and 17.
- c 103 **Bacchylides**, 1st century B.C., B.M., Pap. 733 (4), last 2 cols. but one.
- c 101 **Comedy**, fragment of a, early 3rd century B.C., B.M., Pap. 1824 (1), 1st col.
- c 113 **Euripides**, fragment of the *Cretes*, 2nd century A.D. (Schubart, *Pap. Berol.*, pl. 30a).
- c 115 **Herodas**, (B.M., facsimile of Papyrus, 135, pl. 10).
- c 111 **Hesiod** and **Homer**, 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. (Schubart, *Pap. Berol.*, pl. 19).
- c 105 **Homer**, *Iliad*, II., 2nd century A.D., B.M., Pap. 742; best fragment, *Iliad*, II., 770-803.
- c 155 „ *id.*, the printed text.
- c 110 „ *Iliad*, A.D. 1431, B.M., Kings, 16 f., 137.
- c 104 „ *Odyssey*, 1st century A.D., B.M., Pap. 271, 5th col., *Odyssey* III., 457-497.
- c 154 „ *id.*, the printed text.
- c 107 „ B.M., Pap. 46, col. 4, verso, lower part.
- c 102 **Plato**, 1st half of 3rd century B.C., B.M., Pap. 488, (1), bottom fragment.
- c 114 „ Anonymous Commentary on the *Theatetus* of Plato, 2nd century A.D. (Schubart, *Pap. Berol.*, pl. 31).
- c 119 **Timotheos**, *Persae*, portion showing the author's name.
- c 127 Letter from Nearchus, B.M., Papyrus 854.
- c 177 *id.*, the printed text.
- c 112 *Epistula Apionis ad Epimachum patrem*, 2nd century A.D. (Schubart, *Pap. Berol.*, pl. 28).
- c 162 *id.*, free translation.

Uncial on Vellum.

- c 108 **Codex Alexandrinus**, 5th century A.D., B.M., I, D. viii. p. 76.

Minuscules.

- c 109 Gospels, 9th or 10th centuries A.D., B.M., 11300, f. 120.
- c 106 Sayings of Jesus, 3rd century A.D., B.M., Pap. 1531, Verso.

SCULPTURE.

**=taken from original or adequate reproduction.*

- c 406 5th century male head * from Copenhagen, 2 views.
- 8908 Mausoleum, the frieze * (B.M.). Kneeling warrior defending himself with shield against an Amazon.
- c 410 Mausollus,* head in profile. B.M.
- B 677 Aphrodite (Hellenistic), brought from Alexandria in 1810. B.M.

VARIOUS LATER RELIEFS.

- c 79 A scene from a Comedy.* Naples Mus.
- c 75 Euripides, seated, between Dionysos and 'Skene.' * Constantinople.
- B1575 The Column of Trajan * (Cichorius, pl. lxxv. 268-270), *Lustratio exercitus*.
- B1580 „ „ „ „ * (Cichorius, pl. lxxx. 286-289). Columns advancing.

- B8336 Roman sarcophagus,* the slaying of the Niobids. Mus. Lateran.
 B 514 Carved panel,* naturalistic plant forms, Rome, 1st century
 B 573 Mithras relief,* Saalburg.
 B 578 " " * Heddernheim.
 B 580 Relief of feast,* Neumagen. Trier Mus.
 B 583 Relief of ship loaded with barrels,* Neumagen.
 B 587 Panel of Jupiter Säule.* Mainz Mus.
 B 586 " " " " * Mainz Mus.
 B 588 Jupiter Säule, views of all four sides of the monument. Mainz Mus.
 B 569 Relief of teacher and pupils,* Trier.
 B1713 Cippus of Titulenus Isauricus * (B.M., *Cat. of Sculpt.*, 2377).
 B1714 " " Vernasia Cyclas * (B.M., *Cat. of Sculpt.*, 2379).
 B1716 Roman altar with relief of Diana and Vulcan * (?). Mainz.
 B1718 The tomb of the Haterii,* shewing workmen engaged on a crane. Lat. Mus.
 B1654 Centurion Monument,* 1st century A.D. Colchester Mus. (Joslin Coll.).
 B1627 Sphinx.* Colchester Mus.
 B6386 Bone relief,* probably a 'Mater' goddess, from Corstopitum.

PORTRAITS.

- C 74 Statue of a tragic poet,* possibly Aeschylus. Vatican.
 B1711 Head of Domitian * (?).
 B1633 Head of Domitian * (?), from a statue, found at Shoebury. Colchester Mus.
 C 76 Head of Menander.* Boston.
 B1710 Male portrait, head, Constantinian period.

BRONZE WORK.

- C 407 Bronze head * from Cyrene, 4th century, B.M., 2 views.
 C 78 Grotesque comic actor.* Bronze statuette from Dodona.
 B1674 Bronze antefix,* head of Silenus, 1st century A.D. Colchester Mus.
 B1675 Bronze bust of Caligula.* Colchester Mus.
 B1619 Bronze helmet found at St. Alban's. Colchester Mus.
 B1646 Bronze mirrors. Colchester Mus. (Joslin Coll.).
 B1655 Mirrors of white bronze, 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Colchester Mus. (Joslin Coll.).
 B1656 Bronze mirror and brooches. Colchester Mus. (Joslin Coll.).
 B1653 Gallo-Roman brooches, latter half of 1st century A.D. Colchester Mus. (Joslin Coll.).
 B1616 Bronze pins. Colchester Mus.
 B1639 *id.*
 B1625 Bronze flagon, found containing hoard of silver denarii from Nero to Alexander Severus. Colchester Mus. (General Coll.).

TERRA-COTTAS.

- B1658 Antefix tile, Gorgon's Head. Colchester Mus. (Joslin Coll.).
 B1649 Clay figurines from burial group 124. Colchester Mus. (Joslin Coll.).
 B1622 Lamps. Colchester Mus. (General Coll.).
 B6387 Pottery in relief from Corstopitum, fragments of a god with battle-axe.

VASES.

* Denotes a photographic view of the whole vase from the original.

¶ Denotes a reproduction of the picture subject only from an adequate illustration.

- 2571 Funerary vase from Villanuova. Geometric ornament, metal technique (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 23).
 1068 A sea goddess, ¶ design from a Corinthian alabastron (Rayet and Collignon, pl. 4).
 2584 Aryballos from Cameiros. ¶ Bearded, winged figure (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 32).
 4590 Archaic amphora. ¶ Heracles and Eurystheus (the Erymanthian boar) (Gerhard, 97).
 4539 Early B.F. amphora. ¶ Judgment of Paris (*J.H.S.*, 1886, pl. 70).

- 4489 Marriage Procession (*J.H.S.*, Vol. I. pl. 7).
- 4580 Kylix and amphora from Vulci.* Nereus on a sea-horse; Triton holding a dolphin and a wreath; Two men seated (Gerhard, 8, 1, 2, 3).
- 4500 Kylix from Rhodes.* Combat of two warriors (*J.H.S.*, 1884, pl. 42).
- c 1 Kylix * combining B.F. and R.F. techniques, B.M. Interior (B.F.). A slinger.
- c 2 *id.* Exterior (R.F.). A mule.
- c 25 Two Kylices * from Deepdene. Views showing their external geometric decoration, in the B.F. technique. B.M.
- c 53 Krater * from Deepdene. Youthful Apollo on swan. B.M.
- c 37 Oinochoe.* Mystical marriage of Dionysos, and the Basiliinna (much repainted). B.M.
- c 42 Crater * (Paestan style). Dionysos and his train, B.M. (cf. C41 for reverse picture).
- c 46 Calyx Krater * in the style of Meidias: the court of Dionysos, B.M. (cf. C47 for reverse).
- c 49 Pelike * (Attic, 4th century). Satyrs and Maenad. B.M.
- c 43 Cylix * with the signature of Hermaios. Int., Hermes making libation. B.M.
- c 52 Krater * from Deepdene. The return of Iacchus (?). B.M.
- 7496 Heracles and the Lernaean Hydra * (Gerhard, 148).
- 4594 Deianeira presenting her son Hyllos to Heracles * (Gerhard, 116).
- c 21 Stamnos * by the vase-painter Polygnotus. Heracles and Nessos. B.M.
- 7493 „ from Vulci.* Heracles received into Olympus (Gerhard, 146-7).
- c 24 Kylix,* exterior. Theseus and the Minotaur. B.M.
- 2655 Aryballos from Cumae.* Theseus fighting the Amazons (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 91).
- c 47 Calyx Krater * in the style of Meidias, the choice of Paris, B.M. (cf. C46 for obverse).
- 7500 Gaia, rising from the ground,* presents Erichthonios to Athena (Gerhard, 151).
- c 38 Squat lekythos.* Gryphons guarding a heap of gold. B.M.
- c 41 Crater * (Paestan style). Orestes and the Eumenides, B.M. (cf. C42 for reverse picture).
- 2586 Red-figured vase. Death and Sleep carrying off the body of Sarpedon, B.M. (cf. Rayet and Collignon, fig. 78).
- c 27 Krater.* Palaestra scene, boxing. B.M.
- c 7 Cylix * with the signature of Euergides. B.M. Ext. Palaestra scene, watching the javelin-thrower (cf. C5 and C6 for other subjects of this vase.)
- c 26 Krater * with the signature of Nikias. Torch-race scene. B.M.
- c 22 Stamnos * from the Morrison collection. Combat between Greek and mounted Amazon. B.M.
- c 3 Kylix * with the signature of Pamphaios. B.M. Int., a hoplite.
- c 4 *id.* Ext., a parade of hoplites.
- c 11 Kylix * (severe style). B.M. Int., youthful warrior with crescent-shaped shield.
- c 12 *id.*, nude hoplites exercising.
- c 13 *id.*, the same scene continued.
- c 20 Oinochoe.* Two views: Seythian on foot; Seythian riding a mule. B.M.
- c 44 Alabastron.* Horse-taming scene. View of the whole vase. B.M.
- c 10 Design on an alabastron * (rotated photograph). Horse-taming scenes. B.M.
- c 6 Kylix * with the signature of Euergides. B.M. Ext., youth leading a pair of horses. Sphinxes (cf. C5 and C7 for other subjects of this vase).
- c 14 Kylix * (severe style). Int., boy playing with bird in cage. B.M.
- c 18 Nolan amphora.* B.M. Flying Eros with torches.
- c 19 „ „ „ Boy retreating (reverse of the above).
- c 15 Kylix * parodying the style of Douris. B.M. Int., Banquet scene. Ins. ω δια τῆς θυπιδος (Jacobsthal, *Göttingen Vasen*, pl. 22).
- c 16 *id.* Ext., Banquet scenes. Ins. $\phi\alpha\sigma\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha$ (*id.*)
- c 17 *id.* „ „ „ Ins. $\tau\omicron\iota\iota$ (*id.*)
- c 48 Pelike.* Flute-players. B.M.
- c 50 Lucanian Kotyle.* The game of Kottabos. B.M.
- c 51 „ „ Youth and maiden (reverse of the preceding).
- c 39 Lucanian Guttus * with comic scenes of revelry. B.M.
- c 40 *id.* (reverse of the preceding).
- c 32 Pyxis * with bridal scenes. B.M. The procession from the house.
- c 33 *id.* Torch-bearer.
- c 34 *id.* The bridal chariot.
- c 35 *id.* The return to the house.

- c 36** *id.* Scenes on the cover : possibly Helios, Eos, Selene.
c 31 Miniature model * of a loutrophoros. B.M.
c 30 Fragments * of a loutrophoros. Bride, bridegroom and Eros. B.M.
c 29 Pair of lekythoi * (possibly a wedding present): on one, the bride; on the other, Eros with a gift. B.M.
c 9 Alabastron * of the period of Epiktetus. Two views : a lady at home; a lady abroad. B.M.
c 5 Cylix * with the signature of Euergides. B.M. Int., Maiden dancing with castanets (cf. **c6** and **c7** for other subjects of this vase).
c 23 Hydria.* Toilet scene. B.M.
c 45 Stamnos * from the Morrison collection. Two ladies entertaining a guest, B.M. (reverse of **c22**).
c 28 Two Oinochoae.* Baby in chair with rattle : two children at table. B.M.
c 8 Fragments of a cylix with the signature of Cachrylion. B.M.
1069 Rhyton in the form of a bull's head (Rayet and Collignon, p. 278, fig. 106).
2591 Athenian Lekythos. Woman seated beside a stele between two attendants (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 88).
2587 Lekythos from the Peiraeus. Woman at a tomb (Rayet and Collignon, pl. 11).
9100 Mourning youth and woman at the tomb of a mother and child (cf. Riezler, *Weiss grundische Lekythen*, Tafel 22).

VASES ETC. IN THE COLCHESTER MUSEUM.

- B1614** 'Samian' ware.
B1660 " bowl. Form 29, c. 60-70 A.D. (Joslin Coll.).
B1642 " " partly restored, Domitian period (Joslin Coll.).
B1629 " " No. 37. East Gaulish ware. With potter's stamp IOENALIS. c. 100-110 A.D.
B1671 Castor ware. The 'Colchester vase.' Early 2nd century A.D.
B1672 " " *id.*
B1673 " " *id.*
B1679 " " Beaker. 3rd century A.D. (Jarmin Coll.).
B1617 Buff ware. Amphora with upper portion detached to admit burial, 1st century A.D.
B1618 " " 'Face urns,' from various Burial groups.
B1634 " " Flagons, 1st century A.D.
B1640 " " " *id.*
B1621 " " " 2nd century A.D.
B1648 " " " 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.
B1647 " " " (Joslin Coll.).
B1680 " " Triple Flower Vase (Jarmin Coll.).
B1635 " " 'Incuse Tazzas.'
B1628 " " Lagenae, 1st and 2nd centuries.
B1641 " " Unguent (?) Pots. ? 2nd century A.D.
B1623 Small globular beakers with pellet and scale decoration in relief, 1st and 2nd centuries.
B1631 Infants' feeding-bottles in buff, grey and sigillate wares, 1st and 3rd centuries A.D.
B1645 Colour-coated beakers with painted decoration, 3rd to 4th century (Joslin Coll.).
B1624 Beakers, 3rd century.
B1678 'Smith's Vase' of Buck Red ware (Jarmin Coll.).
B1637 Red ware flagons, modelled on bronze examples.
B1652 Burial group, No. 30, c. A.D. 50 (Joslin Coll.).
B1650 " " 1st century A.D. (Joslin Coll.).
B1665 " " " " " (Taylor Coll.).
B1668 " " " " " " "
B1669 " " " " " " "
B1677 " " " " " (Jarmin Coll.).
B1659 " " c. 50-100 A.D. (Joslin Coll.).
B1664 " " c. 80-100 A.D. (Taylor Coll.).
B1667 " " c. 110-120 A.D. " "
B1630 " " 2nd century A.D. (General Coll.).
B1661 " " " " " (Joslin Coll.).

- B1662** Burial group, 2nd century A.D. (Joslin Coll.).
B1663 " " " " " " "
B1666 " " " " " " (Taylor Coll.).
B1670 " " " " " " "
B1657 " " " probably 3rd century A.D. (Joslin Coll.).
B1644 Child burial group, 1st century A.D. Glazed St. Remy ware (Joslin Coll.).
B1643 " " " 2nd century A.D. (Joslin Coll.).
B1651 Glass flask or amphora, c. 250 A.D. (Joslin Coll.).
B1632 " ware.
B1615 Silver spoons.
B1620 Roman lead coffins.
B1681-1709 (28 slides). Pieces from the hoard of 4th-century Roman silver found at Traprain Law, Haddingtonshire, and now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

PAINTING AND MOSAIC.

- C 77** **Naples Mus.**, Fresco : Tragic actors : lady and attendant.
B 568 **Darmstadt**, mosaic of sea god from Viebel.
B 584 **Kreuznach**, mosaic of gladiators fighting.

COINS.

CITIES.

- C 339** **Æ. Argos**, Corinth (grazing Pegasus), Phaestus (Talos) (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 11).
C 340 **Æ. Caria**, uncertain of Cnidus, Rhodes (*Num. Chron.* 1919, pp. 11 and 12).
C 340 **Æ. Cnidus**, uncertain of Caria, Rhodes (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pp. 11 and 12).
C 339 **Æ. Corinth** (grazing Pegasus), Argos, Phaestus (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 11).
C 402 **Æ. Cos**, 366-300 B.C.
C 331 **Æ. Croton**, Nola, Metapontum (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pl. 1, 1⁻¹).
C 321 **Cydonia**, Phalasarna, Polyrrhenium. **Æ.**
C 323 " and Sybrita. **Æ.**
C 333 **Æ. Gela**, Leontini, Segesta (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pp. 4-5).
C 333 **Æ. Leontini**, Gela, Segesta (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pp. 4-5).
C 404 **Lykia** : Khārāi.
C 331 **Æ. Metapontum** (head of Heracles), Nola, Croton (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pl. 1, 1⁻¹).
C 331 **Æ. Nola**, Metapontum (head of Heracles), Croton (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pl. 1, 1⁻¹).
C 324 **Phaestus** **Æ.** Resting Heracles.
C 325 " **Æ.** Velchanos.
C 330 " **Æ.** and **Æ.** Talos and his dog.
C 339 " **Æ.** (Talos), Argos, Corinth (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 11).
C 321 **Æ. Phalosarna**, Cydonia, Polyrrhenium.
C 321 **Æ. Polyrrhenium**, Cydonia, Phalasarna.
C 340 **Æ. Rhodes**, Caria, Cnidus (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pp. 11 and 12).
C 333 **Æ. Segesta**, Gela, Leontini (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pp. 4, 5).
C 335 **Æ. Siculo-Punic** tetradr. : Syracuse (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 6).
C 332 **Æ. Scylacium** (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pl. i. p. 5). **Æ.** Tarentine Horseman (*id.*, p. 3).
C 323 **Æ. Sybrita** and Cydonia.
C 334 **Æ. Syracuse**, early to mid-fifth century, tetradr. (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 6).
C 335 **Æ.** " Euaenetus decadr. : E.L. 4th century. **Æ.** Siculo-Punic tetradr. (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 6).
C 332 **Æ. Tarentine** horseman. **Æ.** Scylacium (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 3).
C 336 **Æ. Thasos** : Philip II. **Æ.** and **Æ.** (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pp. 7 and 8).

DYNASTS.

- C 341** **Æ. Alexander I.** Bala : Seleucus I. (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pl. 2, 1⁰, 1¹).
C 337 **Alexander III.** **Æ.** and **Æ.** Philip IV. **Æ.** (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 8).
B5371 **Allectus** **Æ.** London. **Carausius** **Æ.** London.

- C 401 **Antiochus I, R.** Three portrait heads showing the king young, middle-aged, and old.
 C 326 **Antiochus IX** of Syria (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pls. x., xi.).
 C 327 " " " " " "
 C 328 " " " " " "
 C 329 " " " " " "
 B5372 **Augusta** (London): Theodosius: Mag. Maximus.
 B5371 **Carausius A.** London. Allectus A. London.
 C 405 **Eumenes I., R.** (*B.M. Guide*, V.A. 9).
 C 403 **Flaminius, T. Quinctius A.**
 B2189 **Hadrian, Æ.** Sesterce. Ob. portrait, Rex. Britannia.
 B5374 **John VIII.**, 1488: Leo III.: John Zimisces.
 B5374 **John** Zimisces, 969-976; Leo III.; John VIII.
 B5374 **Leo III.**, 716-741; John VIII., 1488; John Zimisces, 969-976.
 C 322 **Lysimachus R.** tetradr.: Magistrate Aithon.
 C 338 " A. and R. (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 9).
 B5372 **Maximus** (Mag.) A., 383-388. Theodosius Augusta.
 C 336 **Philip II., R.** and A. Thasos R. (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pp. 7 and 8).
 C 337 **Philip IV. R.**: Alexander III. A. and R. (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 8).
 C 341 **R. Seleucus I.**: Alexander I.: Bala (*Num. Chron.*, 1919, pl. ii. 10, 11).
 B5373 **Tetricus**, British imitations of coins of.
 B5372 **Theodosius A.**, 379-395: Mag. Maximus A., 383-388: Augusta (London).
 B5375 Terra-cotta moulds for casting *folles* of Constantius Chlorus, Caesar, and Maximus II.
 Caesar.
 B5376 Gaulish coin: impression from die.

MISCELLANEA.

- 4836 St. Paul's Cathedral, W. front.
 4837 The old Divinity Schools, Oxford.

SETS OF SLIDES FOR LECTURES.

When the main Catalogue was published in 1913 there were included, to meet the demand for more elementary lectures, sundry selected lists of slides which could be ordered by quoting the name or number of the set. These sets were:—

I. Greece.	V. Pompeii.	IX. Greek Vases.
II. Athens.	VI. Prehellenic Age.	X. Greek Coins.
III. Olympia.	VII. Greek Sculpture.	XI. The Ancient Theatre.
IV. Rome.	VIII. The Parthenon.	XII. Daily Life.

The success of the experiment has been such that it has been decided to add the following sets:—

SET XIII.

DAILY LIFE.

(*Second Set*)

PUBLIC LIFE, BUILDINGS, ETC.

5453	Assos, a Greek agora, restored.	B 661	Baths at Bath.
B9101	Pompeii, the market-place.	B9110	" " Pompeii.
5189	Temple of Concord at Agrigentum.	B9118	Houses at Pompeii.
7454	Unfinished temple at Segesta.	B2653	" " windows.
7195	Theatre at Pergamon.	9395	" " decoration of.
1301	" " Athens.	A 12	" " "
5659	" " Segesta, restored.		

ATHLETICS.

4693	Stadion at Delphi.	7883	Group of four-horsed chariots: decoration of a prize vase found at Sparta.
4952	" " Athens.		
9942	Athletes entering the arena to take part in the pentathlon. (Vase painting.)	7134	Bronze strigyl.
C 27	Boxing. (Vase painting.)	5000	Physical exercises. (Vase painting.)
9944	A youthful discobolos. (Vase painting.)	1754	A victor's wreath of ivy carved on his tomb.

HOME LIFE.

9039	The bath-room. (Vase painting.)	2093	Kitchen utensils.
2235	Earthenware wool-carder.	B1614	Cups, saucers, etc.
2236	Sketch on a vase showing how the above was used.	2176	Household scales.
2091	Brushes and combs.	A 29	An early Greek cook at work: coloured statuette from Boeotia.
2090	Scissors and knives.	6548	Greek coins.
B 627	Visit to a butcher's shop. (Relief.)	7074	Greek seals.

SCHOOL.

977	Interior of a Greek school: a reading lesson. (Vase painting.)	2087	Spelling exercise, enlarged drawing of
9384	A music lesson. (Vase painting.)	2174	Multiplication exercise, enlarged drawing of.
2173	Spelling exercise: multiplication table, etc., from originals.		

RECREATIONS.

799	A game of knuckle-bones. (Fresco.)	C 14	The birdcage. (Vase painting.)
5889	An intimate conversation. (Terra-cotta group.)	C 28	A baby's chair and rattle. (Vase painting.)
691	A game of pickaback. (Terra-cotta.)	2092	Earthenware and rag dolls.
C 5	A lady dancing. (Vase painting.)	6573	Toys from a bride's grave.
9023	The game of koltabos. (Vase painting.)		

1112	A boy mourner at a tomb. (Vase painting.)
1111	Grave relief: a girl with her doll.

SET XIV.

ARCHITECTURE.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1039 | The pyramids of Giza. | } Introductory (for comparison). |
| 1663 | Jain temple, Mount Abu. | |
| 6321 | Unfinished Greek temple at Segesta. | |

- 7916 Sketch map of the Ægean area.

TEMPLE BUILDING AND COLUMNAR ARCHITECTURE.

DORIC.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------|--|
| 5716 | Archaic temple at Corinth. | 7184 | Olympia, temple of Zeus, restored. |
| 7910 | Athens, the Acropolis, plan. | | |
| 6561 | " " " restoration. | | |
| 5656 | The Parthenon from N.W. | 7605 | Stylobate of Parthenon, showing curvature. |
| 6306 | " " restored. | 9843 | Olympian pediment, restored. |
| 5814 | " " N.E. angle. | A 3 | } Coloured decoration in Doric architecture. |
| 7607 | The Theseion, colonnade. | A 6 | |
| 5182 | Paestum, temple of Poseidon. | | |

IONIC.

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|------|-------------------------------|------|------------------------------------|
| 7606 | Erechtheion, N. porch. | 3940 | Erechtheion, N. Porch, decoration. |
| 8949 | Temple of Nike Apteros. | 1934 | " " detail of. |
| 8235 | Temple at Aezani, Asia Minor. | 7129 | " " Porch of the Maidens. |
| 4589 | Ionic capital at Eleusis. | | |

CORINTHIAN.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|------|--|
| 6535 | Acanthus growth. | 4568 | Olympieion, fallen capital, continued. |
| 1957 | Capital from Epidaurus. | 5721 | Baalbek, octagonal temple. |
| 682 | Olympieion at Athens. | 5760 | " details of decoration. |
| 4567 | " fallen capital. | 5751 | " " " |

ROMAN MODIFICATIONS.

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| B 472 | The Pantheon, exterior view. | B 473 | The Pantheon, interior. |
|-------|------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|

RENAISSANCE ADAPTATIONS.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------|
| 4836 | St. Paul's Cathedral. | 4837 | The old Divinity Schools. |
|------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------|

ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE OTHER THAN TEMPLE BUILDING.

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| 1180 | The walls of Aegosthena. | B 53 | The Pont du Gard. |
| B9101 | The Forum at Pompeii. | B 523 | " " " nearer view. |
| 1954 | Theatre of Epidaurus. | B9014 | Arch of Constantine. |
| 1956 | " " nearer view. | B6044 | Column of Aurelius. |
| 4693 | Stadion at Delphi. | 8268 | The Mausdeion, restored. |
| B9046 | Coliseum, distant view. | B 661 | Roman bath at Bath. |
| B 451 | " interior. | B9118 | Pompeii, House of the Vetii. |

SET XV.

GREEK PAPYRI.

(1) INTRODUCTORY: GREEK WRITING OTHER THAN THAT ON PAPYRI.

- 1378 Pedestal (marble) of a lost statue by Bryaxis. Athens, Nat. Mus.
- 2233 Helmet (bronze) dedicated by Prince Hieron of Syracuse at Olympia.
- 6640 Slab (bronze) recording a treaty for 100 years between Elis and Herea. B.M.
- 983 Fragments (terra-cotta) with painted inscriptions in the Corinthian alphabet.
- c 16 Inscription on a vase caricaturing the style of the painter Douris.
- 1302 Inscription (mosaic) from Delos in honour of Apollo Kynthios.
- 9337 A Greek fortune-teller's signboard, from Egypt.

(2) WRITING MATERIALS, ETC.

- c 122 Specimens of wooden and wax tablets, an ostrakon, pens, styli, etc.
- 2173 Sherd with spelling exercise: tablet with multiplication table and reading lesson.
- 2086
- 2174 } Larger views of these. For details see B.M. *Guide to Greek and Roman Life Exhibition*.
- 2087 }
- 977 School scene: music and reading lessons. (Vase painting by Douris.)
- 4998 The writing master. (Vase painting.)

(3) THE PAPYRUS ROLL.

- c 124 A group of papyrus plants at Kew Gardens.
- c 120 Sample of prepared papyrus (end column of the *Persae* of Timotheos).
- c 121 Papyrus rolls, opened, and sealed: sealed letters.
- c 117 Roman sarcophagus, with group of figures holding books closed and open.
- c 116 Egyptian authors with their books. (Relief.)
- c 118 Attic tombstone: a boy reading.
- c 123 Roman sarcophagus: a reader in his library.

(4) PAPYRI FOUND BY EXCAVATION.

- c 125 Sketch map of Egypt showing where the papyri were discovered.
- 2742 Dr. B. P. Grenfell directing the excavation of papyri in the desert at Oxyrhynchus.
- c 126 Aristotle: a page of the *Constitution of Athens* (1st cent. A.D.).
- c 103 Bacchylides (1st cent. B.C.).
- c 101 Comedy, anon. (3rd cent. B.C.).
- c 113 Euripides' lost play, the *Cretes* (2nd cent. B.C.).
- c 115 Herondas: a page of the *Mimes*.
- c 111 Hesiod and Homer: fragments (1st and 2nd cents. A.D.).
- c 105 Homer, *Iliad* II., 770—803 (2nd cent. A.D.).
- c 155 „ *id.*, the printed text.
- c 110 „ *Iliad*, minuscule on vellum, A.D. 1431.
- c 104 „ *Odyssey* III., 457—497 (1st cent. B.C.).
- c 154 „ *id.*, the printed text.
- c 107 Magic formularies (4th cent. A.D.).
- c 102 Plato, *Phaedo*, pp. 68B—69A (3rd cent. B.C.).
- c 114 „ anon. commentary on *Theatetus* (2nd cent. A.D.).
- c 119 Timotheos, *Persae*: portion showing author's name.

-
- c 127 A letter from one Nearchus describing his travels up the Nile.
 - c 177 *Id.*, the printed text.
 - c 112 A soldier's letter from the Egyptian front.
 - c 162 *Id.*, free translation (H. L. J.).

-
- c 108 Codex Alexandrinus: closing words of the *Acts* and beginning of *Epistle of S. James*.
 - c 109 Gospel in minuscule (9th or 10th cent. A.D.).

-
- c 106 Part of one of the newly recovered "Sayings of Jesus" from Oxyrhynchus.

SET XVI.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

- 4521 Coins of Philip II., father of Alexander : Olympian Zeus and Macedonian cavalry.
 743 Head of Demosthenes.
 5318 Coin of Thebes (inscribed Epameinondas).
 848 Bust of Aristotle.
 8496 Coinage of the Great King.
-
- 7101 Sketch map illustrating the Eastern campaigns of Alexander.
 5601 Troy, the walls.
 5599 " the great ramp.
 3702 Ephesus, sculptured pillar from the great temple of Artemis : the return of Alcestis.
 6434 " head of Hermes from the above.
 6435 " head of Thanatos " " "
 C 73 " the theatre.
 1399 Halikarnassos : the mediaeval castle.
 8268 " the mausoleion.
 3690 " mausollos.
 539 " charioteer from the mausoleion.
 2007 Afium Karahissar (Nicopolis).
 2983 Cilician gates.
 1085 Battle of Issus : mosaic from Pompeii.
 1083 *Id.*, detail, figure of Darius.
 B9143 " " " " Alexander.
 1061 Damascus.
 1062 Among the cedars of Lebanon.
 1072 Shepherds at Gaza.
 1045 Giza, during inundation.
 7118 Scene in the desert.
 5780 Euphrates, bridge near Kiakhtha.
 5782 " " " "
 5805 " at Khalfat.
 2381 Tigris, circular boats made of skins (cf. Herod. I. 194).
 6294 Babylon, gate of Ishtar : frieze in moulded brick.
 6295 *Id.*, detail.
 5277 Susa, procession of archers : frieze in encaustic brick.
 1047 Persepolis, Palace of Darius : gateway.
 1051 " Royal tomb.
 1055 " Propylaea of Xerxes.
 1664 The Khyber Pass.
 7103 View in the Hindu Kush mountains.
 7186 Kashmir, view on the Canal of Sweet Waters.
 7102 Amritsar, the Golden Temple of the Sikhs.
 1661 Mount Abu, Jain temple, interior.
 1663 Bailoor, Indian temple.
 1642 Coin of Antimachus, Baktrian with Greek inscription.
 1636 Coin of Ptolemy I., Soter.
 8497 Coins of Seleucus I.
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- 7597 Alexander, the Louvre herm, profile.
 3707 " the B.M. bust, full face.
 7124 " hunting : sarcophagus from Sidon.
 1087 " head of the king.
 4678 " coin of Lysimachus, with idealised head of Alexander.

SET XVII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TRAVELS OF ST. PAUL.

- | | | | |
|------|--|-------|---|
| 8471 | General map. | 2614 | Ephesus , coin, the statue of Artemis in her temple. |
| 2015 | Attaleia (Adalia), the city wall. | 2599 | Iconium , monastery near. |
| 7473 | " detail of the arch of Hadrian. | 4468 | Jerusalem , from Mount of Olives. |
| 3710 | Antioch : statue of the city of Antioch by Eutychides; her foot rests on the river god Orontes. | 1062 | Lebanon , the cedars of. |
| 5453 | Assos , restoration of market-place. | 3760 | Myra , cliff of rock-cut tombs. |
| 8943 | Athens , Acropolis, from Pnyx. | 3759 | " theatre. |
| 6561 | " " nearer view, re-stored. | 2400 | Neapolis (Kavalla), aqueduct. |
| 4451 | " Areopagus and Theseion from Acropolis. | 2542 | " (near), a forest village. |
| 5716 | Corinth , early temple of Aphrodite and Acro-Corinthus. | B9005 | Rome , the Forum: view across the house of the Vestals. |
| 4491 | " view from Acro-Corinthus towards Peloponnesus. | B9042 | " the Arch of Titus, slab showing the candelabrum. |
| 3734 | Cnidus , the ancient mole. | B 294 | " the Coliseum, exterior. |
| 1402 | " Sir C. Newton removing the Lion of Cnidus. | B 450 | " " interior. |
| 1802 | Cyprus , Famagousta (near ancient Salamis). | B6625 | " bridge on the Appian Way. |
| 1061 | Damascus , view in the town. | 2917 | Salonika , the E. walls. |
| 3109 | Ephesus , general view seawards. | 2376 | " interior of S. Demetri. |
| 3209 | " the theatre, view of the stage. | 7682 | " S. Sophia, exterior. |
| 7375 | " angle of the Temple of Artemis, restored. | 2392 | " " mosaics in dome. |
| 3702 | " sculptured pillar base: the resurrection of Alcestis. | 7959 | " " restored. |
| | | B7145 | Sidon , coins showing the meteoric stone of Astarte in its sacred carriage. |
| | | 7124 | " sarcophagus of Sidon: detail showing Alexander hunting. |
| | | 5410 | Syracuse , coin of Queen Demarete showing the nymph Arethusa and a victor's chariot. |

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- 6107 Restoration of the great altar at Pergamon (possibly the "throne of Satan where thou dwellest"), dedicated by King Eumenes after his victories over the Galatians, Galatai or Gauls.
- 3711 The dying Gaul. } Part of a similar dedication by King Attalus of Pergamon.
- 7397 " " " head of. }
-

- 1445 } Characteristic pictures of village and nomadic life in Syria and Asia Minor.
- 4336 }
- 1446 }
- 1072 }
- 1447 }
-

- B7403 Augustus, upper portion of a statue found at Prima Porta, Rome.
- B 279 Tiberius, portrait head on a coin.
- B7415 Nero, marble head of (Terme Mus., Rome).

SETS OF SLIDES ISSUED COMPLETE WITH LECTURES

With a view to the further popularisation of Classical Studies there have been added the following sets which are issued with printed lectures specially written for the purpose by recognised authorities.

Set XVIII.	Pompeii.	By A. W. Van Buren.
Set XIX.	Horace.	By G. H. Hallam.
Set XX.	The Roman Campagna.	By T. Ashby.

Other sets in preparation are : *The Palatine and Fora*, by Dr. Ashby; *The Beginnings of Rome and Sicily*, by Prof. H. E. Butler; *The Via Appia*, by Mr. R. Gardner; *Roman Portraiture and Roman Sculpture*, by Mrs. S. Arthur Strong; *Roman Britain*, by Dr. Mortimer Wheeler.

The Societies are greatly indebted to Mr. G. H. Hallam both for the idea of the new sets and for practical help given in their compilation.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs υ , $\alpha\iota$, $\omicron\iota$, $\omicron\upsilon$, by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final $-\omicron\varsigma$ and $-\omicron\upsilon$ by *-us* and *-um*, and $-\rho\omicron\varsigma$ by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in $-\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$ must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in $-\rho\omicron\varsigma$, as $\Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is to be preferred to $-\omicron$ for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protophenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mith. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Istituto.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Gollitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
Müller-Wies = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

- | | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I. | = Inscr. Atticae anno Enclidis vetustiores. |
| " | II. | = " " aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| " | III. | = " " aetatis Romanae. |
| " | IV. | = " Argolidis. |
| " | VII. | = " Megaridis et Boeotiae. |
| " | IX. | = " Graeciae Septentrionalis. |
| " | XII. | = " insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. |
| " | XIV. | = " Italiae et Siciliae. |

Num. Chr. = Numismatie Chroniele.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roseher = Roseher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.
 -) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
 - < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
 - . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
 - - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.
- Uncertain letters should have dots under them.
- Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.
- The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ^h.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

- () Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules :—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.

2. Any such person desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.

3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.

4. Any Essay already published, or already in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.

5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.

6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.

7. The author of the Essay to which the Prize is awarded will be expected to publish it (within a reasonable time, and after any necessary revision), either separately, or in the Journals or Transactions of a Society approved by the Academy, or among the Transactions of the Academy.

The Secretary of the Academy will supply on application, to any person qualified and desirous to compete, a list of some typical subjects, for general guidance only, and without any suggestion that one or another of these subjects should be chosen, or that preference will be given to them over any other subject of a suitable nature.

Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'

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ALEXANDER'S ὑπομνήματα AND THE 'WORLD-KINGDOM'

So far as authority goes, Kaerst founded his theory of Alexander's world-kingdom on two passages in Diodorus and on nothing else. The first, 17, 93, 4, alludes to Ammon having conceded to Alexander the power over the whole world, τὴν ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς ἐξουσίαν; the reference is to 17, 51, 2, where Alexander says to the priest of Ammon, εἰπέ μοι εἴ μοι δίδως τὴν ἀπάσης <τῆς> γῆς ἄρχην, and the priest replies that the god grants this. The second passage is 18, 4, 4, the story of Alexander's supposed plan to conquer Carthage, etc., and go to the Pillars, from his alleged ὑπομνήματα. Every one will agree with Kaerst when he says that the political information in the Arrian tradition is imperfect, and that it is very desirable to supplement it; but the real question, which has to be faced, is, are we in a position to supplement it? It is no good using unsound material as a supplement; it is better to say we do not know, if it comes to that. My object here is to examine the Diodorus passages and see what kind of material they offer.

The Ammon oracle may be briefly dealt with; for it is only Egyptian *ritual*. No doubt the oracle, as we have it, came through Cleitarchus, as is shown by the agreement of Diodorus, Justin, and Curtius; Cleitarchus may or may not have got it from Callisthenes, who may or may not have been at Siwah with Alexander. Against Callisthenes' authorship is the fact that Strabo (17, 814), the only writer who professedly cites Callisthenes' account, though he gives much detail, gives only *part* of the Diodorus oracle, the item that the priest hailed Alexander as son of the god. This item is true, for the priest could not do otherwise; but the other items of the oracle, including the promise of world-dominion, are more than doubtful. Callisthenes possessed in fullest measure the vice of writing for effect;¹ and in his history he added to the Ammon oracle an oracle from Didyma (Strabo *l.c.*) which was certainly a pure invention. For, first, the Didyma oracle is based on a story that Didyma was sacked by the Branchidae in Xerxes' time, which is simply untrue (Herod. 6, 19); and, secondly, it prophesied the battle of Arbela and the death of Darius, *i.e.* it was composed after 330. Consequently, the promise of world-dominion, if from Callisthenes, does not necessarily stand on any better footing than the Didyma oracle. But if it be not from Callisthenes, the case is even worse; for Cleitarchus is poorer authority and was not even contemporary

¹ See *e.g.* Strabo 17, 814 (possibly *Didymos*, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. 1907, Eratosthenes' criticism), and the very 136 seq., on Callisthenes' panegyric on just remarks of P. Foucart, *Étude sur* Hermeias.

with Alexander.² As Callisthenes is quite clear that Alexander went into the oracle alone, and as the same thing is implied in Arrian's account, then, if the world-dominion promise were not invented by Callisthenes or Cleitarchus, it can only have come from one of two sources, Alexander or the priests. But Arrian and Plutarch both say that Alexander told nothing. If, then, it were not invented, it came from the priests. And if it were invented, the material was equally supplied by Egyptian priests.

For in fact the ultimate source of the Ammon oracle is not history but Egyptian *ritual*. In one of the hymns to Amon which formed part of Amon's daily service, Pharaoh (*i.e.* the priest representing him) thus addresses the god (Moret's translation): *Le Pharaon est venu vers toi, Amon-Râ, pour que tu lui donnes qu'il soit à la tête des vivants.*³ This is precisely Alexander's supposed question. The god, of course, accepted the appeal, and there are many references to his conferring the gift sought. *E.g.*, when Khnum fashions Hatshepsut, he repeats the instructions he has received from Amon: 'I have given to thee all countries, all peoples.'⁴ The hymn of victory of Thutmoses III (Amon speaks): 'I have come, causing thee to smite the uttermost ends of the lands; the circuit of the Great Circle (Okeanos) is enclosed in thy grasp.'⁵ In the Harris papyrus, Ramses III says: 'Thou didst assign to me all the lands as far as the circuit of the sun.'⁶ This is the supposed answer to Alexander. Sir G. Maspero, though he did not give the details, long ago pointed out with great emphasis the exact agreement of the story of the Ammon-oracle with the ritual,⁷ and Mahaffy followed him.⁸ Certainly Maspero believed that Alexander did in fact go through the ritual; but that is another matter. Neither Callisthenes nor Cleitarchus is good enough evidence to prove this; all they prove is that some one knew what might be expected to happen, *i.e.* knew the Egyptian practice. Besides, Alexander, some years later, did tell one thing that passed, and it has no connection whatever with Diodorus' story; he said that Ammon had told him to what gods to sacrifice (Arr. 6, 19, 4). Personally, therefore, I do not believe that Alexander went through the ritual; but that is not the real point. The point is, that once we see that we are dealing with a ritual, with its roots far down the centuries, it matters nothing whether the thing *happened* or not, or what Greek historian first

² F. Reuss, *Rh. Mus.* 57 (1902), 581 seq.; 63 (1909), 58 seq.; P. Schnabel, 'Berossos und Kleitarchos,' 1912; and see Th. Lenschau, 'Bericht über griechische Geschichte 1907-14,' p. 191, in Bursian-Kroll's *Jahresbericht*, 1919.

³ A. Moret, 'Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte,' *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études*, 14 (1902), p. 128. Moret mentions other hymns to the same effect.

⁴ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II. 203.

⁵ *Ib.* II. 265.

⁶ *Ib.* IV. p. 142.

⁷ *Comment Alexandre devint dieu en*

Égypte, 1897; republished in his *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. 6 (1912). See esp. p. 265, "Cérémonial et discours, tout y est conforme au rituel des temples pharaoniques," etc.; and p. 274, "Il serait difficile de rencontrer roi si pieux que les dieux ne lui eussent fait la même promesse" (world-rule) "à satiété; Amon terminait son entretien avec Alexandre comme il l'avait commencé, par un compliment emprunté au rituel en usage depuis le commencement de la monarchie égyptienne, et qui n'avait rien que d'ordinaire dans son esprit."

⁸ *4 History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1899, p. 16.

related it; for it has ceased to have any bearing on what we want to know—what did *Alexander* intend or plan or claim? Because a Pope granted to a series of monarchs the title of 'Most Christian King,' we do not deduce therefrom the personal attitude of this or that one toward religion; and if an Egyptian liturgy promised Alexander, as it promised many other Pharaohs, world-dominion, we must not on this ground attribute to him claims to world-dominion or plans for world-conquest. The promise of world-dominion was of no more importance, outside of Egypt, than the claim attributed to the McNeils of Barra was of importance outside Barra.⁹ In this respect, it is very important to note that what Alexander asks for, and what the god grants, is *not* 'authority over all men,' but 'the authority,' τὴν ἀρχὴν, τὴν ἐξουσίαν (twice repeated), a known thing;¹⁰ it had been known in Egypt for many centuries.

The other passage, Diod. 18, 4, 4, goes to the root of the whole matter; and the first thing any one has to do, in considering Alexander, is to make up his mind about the vital matter of Alexander's ὑπομνήματα; is he, with the majority—e.g. Kaerst,¹¹ E. Meyer,¹² Jacoby,¹³ Schubert,¹⁴ Endres,¹⁵ and Kornemann¹⁶—to assume that they are from Hieronymus and to treat them as history, or with Niese, Beloch, and I imagine one should add Wilamowitz,¹⁷ to reject them altogether as unhistorical? Personally, I agree in substance with Niese; but the story has never been analysed—both sides merely make assumptions—and it is high time that somebody tried to analyse it. I hope first to prove that a great deal of Diodorus 18, chs. 2–4, is not from Hieronymus, and that therefore we cannot assume that the ὑπομνήματα are from him; then I will consider what the ὑπομνήματα were; then I will analyse the contents, which is the really important thing. I use two premises. One is that Schubert, whatever we may think of his details, has proved that Diodorus books 18–20 is a composite work, containing a good deal which is not Hieronymus; the other is that we cannot, as a rule, detect Hieronymus by phraseology, but only by substance. If any one will trouble to read through (say) those books of Diodorus which deal largely with things Macedonian, 16–20, he will find the same favourite words and phrases throughout, whatever author

⁹ The story is that, after McNeil had dined, his piper used to proclaim that now the other kings of the earth might dine. Marco Polo has a similar story of a chief in Central Asia.

¹⁰ The Latin versions (Curtius, Justin) cannot, of course, represent this; and neither Arrian nor Strabo gives the world-dominion promise of the oracle. Plutarch has kept τῆς ἀρχῆς, but has interpreted it away.

¹¹ *Geschichte des Hellenismus* 1³ (1917), p. 493, n. 2.

¹² 'Alexander der Grosse und die absolute Monarchie' (*Kleine Schriften*, 1910), p. 299, n. 1.

¹³ 'Hieronymos' in Pauly-Wissowa (1913).

¹⁴ *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (1914), p. 29.

¹⁵ 'Krateros, Perdikkas, und die letzten Pläne Alexanders,' *Rh. Mus.* 1917–18, 437.

¹⁶ 'Die letzten Ziele der Politik Alexanders des Grossen,' *Klio* 16 (1920), 209. Kornemann professes not to go the whole way with Kaerst; but he goes a pretty long way.

¹⁷ 'Alexander der Grosse,' in *Reden aus der Kriegszeit* 5, XI. (1916), p. 18: für die phantastischen Pläne, die man ihm damals und heute unterschiebt, spricht es nicht, dass die nachweisbaren Unternehmungen Nutzbauten und Entdeckungsfahrten in grossen Stile sind.

Diodorus be copying; and it is obvious that a phrase which occurs in 16 or 17 as well as in 18–20 cannot be used as a test for Hieronymus. I shall give one or two details in their place.

A. ITEMS IN DIODORUS 18, 2–4, WHICH ARE NOT HIERONYMUS.

(a) 18, 2, 4. After the reconciliation of cavalry and infantry, they make Philip king; no mention of any reservation of the claims of Roxane's child, as in Arr. *Diad.* (Hieronymus with *λεγόμενα*) and Justin (usually supposed to be from Hieronymus). Contemporaries, we know, found it difficult to understand who was king, for three inscriptions¹⁸ give Philip alone, while *O.G.I.S.* 4 gives Philip and Alexander; but there is no question that Hieronymus regularly gave *οἱ βασιλεῖς* (Diod. and Arrian *passim*). This passage, then, is not Hieronymus.

(b) 18, 2, 4. They then make Perdiccas *ἐπιμελητής* (regent). In Arr. *Diad.* there is no regent appointed; § 3 Perdiccas becomes chiliarch, which carries the guardianship (*ἐπιτροπή*) of the whole kingdom, and Craterus *προστατὴς τῆς Φιλίππου βασιλείας*, executive of the idiot's kingship (not kingdom)—i.e. Craterus was meant to have Philip's person and seal.¹⁹ In plain English, the regency was (very naturally) put into commission; Perdiccas had the effective power, but could only lawfully act on Craterus' counter-signature. (Of course the system never came into force.) But much more important here is Diod. 18, 23, 2. This chapter, 23, with its intimate knowledge of the minds of Perdiccas and Antigonos, and its praise of Antigonos, is Hieronymus beyond question (cf. Schubert, p. 46); and it says that *at first* Perdiccas' position was not secure, but *later* he took over the royal army and the *προστασία τῶν βασιλείων*,²⁰ i.e. became executive of the two kingships; this means that, events having put into his possession the persons of the kings and Philip's seal, he attempted to legalise his position by getting his army to make him *προστατὴς*, a thing, of course, not recognised by Craterus and Antipater. Hieronymus then flatly contradicts the statement (b), that Perdiccas was at once made regent.²¹

(c) 18, 2, 4 (Perdiccas) to whom Alexander dying gave his ring. The ring

¹⁸ *O.G.I.S.* 8 (v) and *Syll.*³ 311 (his first year); *I.G.* II², 401 (before Antipater's death).

¹⁹ An enormous literature. Much the best is R. Laqueur, *Zur Geschichte des Krateros*, *Hermes* 54 (1919), 295, who saw in effect that the regency was put in commission.

²⁰ So Parisinus R; *βασιλείων* only in the inferior MSS. (Laqueur).

²¹ The other passages usually quoted for Perdiccas being regent merely show some form of power, which nobody doubts: Curt. 10, 10, 4, general of the army; Nepos,

Eum. 2, 1 and 2, *summa*, i.e. *de facto* power (vague); Just. 13, 4, 5, Meleager and Perdiccas generals with *regum cura* jointly. Contra, Just. 13, 6, 10 (Perdiccas when in *Cappadocia* has *regum cura*) and App. *Syr.* 52 (at some time before his death he was *προστατὴς τῶν βασιλείων*) agree with Diod. 18, 23, 2, i.e. Hieronymus; Memnon § 4, *τῶν ὅλων ἐπιστάτης*, also refers to this later period. The only document which, for what it is worth, agrees with (b) is the Heidelberg Epitome, where Perdiccas from the start is *ἐπίτροπος καὶ ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν βασιλικῶν πραγμάτων*.

story is inseparable from two other stories; that Alexander at the end bequeathed his kingdom τῷ κρατίστῳ, and that he said he foresaw an ἐπιτάφιον μέγαν ἀγῶνα. These two stories are untrue, as he could not speak; they come together with the ring story in Diod. 17, 117, 4; Justin 12, 15, 6; and Curtius 10, 5, 5; the concurrence of these three sources shows that all three stories are from Cleitarchus. Arrian, 7, 23, 6, does not give the ring story, but says that its two adjuncts did not come in Ptolemy or Aristobulus. The ring story, then, has nothing to do with Hieronymus. Diodorus repeats it here of himself from book 17, just as, of himself, he has repeated the two adjuncts in 18, 1, 4, his personal preface.²² No deduction need be drawn from 18, 1, 4 τῷ ἀριστῷ as against 17, 117, 4 τῷ κρατίστῳ, for Curtius also has qui esset optimus; it may show that there were two versions of the Cleitarchean tradition, but equally it may only illustrate the common habit of quoting by substance and not by form.

(d) 18, 2, 4. The rest is not Hieronymus, because of τῷ βασιλεῖ.

(e) 18, 3, 1. The first three lines cannot be Hieronymus, because Perdiccas has τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμονίαν, i.e. is regent,²³ and in Hieronymus he is not—see (b). Then Perdiccas gives the satrapies as regent. This again cannot be Hieronymus, whose version was that Perdiccas gave the satrapies on Philip's (pretended) orders.²⁴ In fact, of course, it is obvious that there must have been a bargain between Perdiccas and Ptolemy; Ptolemy's price for recognising Perdiccas was Egypt and the appointment of Arrhidaeus to control the funeral arrangements. Curtius, who occasionally represents Hieronymus, does say (10, 10, 1) that the division was made by the generals in council; and it may be that Hieronymus' complete version was that Perdiccas called a council, alleging Philip's orders, and the council bargained the matter out. The phrase (Perdiccas) συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων cannot be used to prove that (e) is from Hieronymus, as does Schubert, p. 29, comparing Diod. 19, 48, 1 συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων; for the phrase is Diodorus' own.²⁵

(f) 18, 3, 4, a well-known crux, which needs a little care. It says that Perdiccas gave Seleucus the hipparchy of the Companions, being the most illustrious; Hephaestion had been its first commander, then Perdiccas, and Seleucus third. It has to be considered together with Duris ap. Plut. *Eum.* 1: Perdiccas on Hephaestion's death succeeded to his τάξις (probably meaning his hipparchy),²⁶ while Eumenes took over Perdiccas' hipparchy. In both accounts, then, Perdiccas succeeds to Hephaestion's hipparchy on his death, in direct contradiction to Arrian 7, 14, 10.—First of all, there never was an office called the hipparchy, though some modern writers discuss it quite seriously. I had better take out the facts in Arrian, as this has never been done; they

²² He does repeat from himself; e.g. 17, 114, 2 from 17, 37, 5.

²³ This phrase, though Diodorus' own (17, 23, 5 and 6, of Memnon's extraordinary command), is used regularly in book 18 as equivalent to ἐπιμέλεια, the regency; see 18, 36, 6 and 47, 4, where the two are formally

identified each time. Cf. 18, 23, 2 and 3.

²⁴ Arr. *Diad.* § 5, ὡς Ἀρριδαίου κελεύοντος. Cf. App. *Syr.* 42; Schubert, p. 134.

²⁵ Diod. 16, 11, 4; cf. 16, 59, 4 and 17, 9, 1.

²⁶ τάξις = hipparchy; Arr. 5, 21, 1; 7, 14, 10.

are quite simple. On Philotas' death the Companions were divided into two hipparchies, commanded by Hephaestion and Cleitus the Black (Arr. 3, 27, 4); they are called hipparchs, but as each nominally commanded 1000 men they could, no doubt, also be called chiliarchs, like many other commanders in the army.²⁷ At the Hydaspes battle, beside the agema (the old royal ἰλη), now commanded by Alexander personally, we find 5 hipparchies, commanded by Hephaestion, Perdiccas, Craterus, Demetrius, and Coenus (Arr. 5, 11, 3; 12, 2; 16, 3); as Hephaestion's command could not have been reduced, each hipparchy nominally contained 1000 men, though not, of course, Macedonian aristocrats; this agrees with the number that crossed the Hydaspes, some 5000 horse (5, 14, 1), viz. 4 hipparchies, 1000 horse-archers, and the agema, perhaps 250. The hipparchies had now each one Macedonian ἰλη; the rest were Bactrians, Arachosians, etc.²⁸ When Alexander set out homeward through Gedrosia, he took the Macedonian ἰλη from each hipparchy with him (Arr. 6, 21, 3), and returned the native cavalry to their satrapies.²⁹ The break in Arrian obscures the next step; but probably what remained of the original Macedonian Companions were collected into one hipparchy and placed under Hephaestion (Arr. 7, 14, 10). There were, of course, other hipparchies formed, probably entirely of Asiatics;³⁰ but when Hephaestion died he was called chiliarch of the Companion cavalry, which was, however, only one τάξις of the cavalry (7, 14, 10). Arrian (*ib.*) states that no new commander of this τάξις was appointed, but it continued to bear Hephaestion's name; this statement is certainly Ptolemy's, for Curt. 10, 4 is in verbal agreement, a clear proof in a military item. Consequently the statements of Diodorus and Plutarch (above) that Perdiccas succeeded Hephaestion in command of his *hipparchy* cannot represent the facts, and therefore cannot well be from Hieronymus. As Plutarch is Duris, so is (ultimately) Diodorus. Duris is worth little enough. Let us suppose, however, meanwhile, that he is correct in this, that Perdiccas succeeded Hephaestion in *something*, and that the term he (Duris) uses, τάξις, perhaps may not here mean a hipparchy.

The whole trouble has arisen, both in Duris and some moderns, from a confusion of the Macedonian military chiliarchs with the Persian official whose title the Greeks unfortunately translated as 'the chiliarch,' an official who was originally commander of the Guard (the full phrase was apparently ὁ χιλιάρχης τῆς ἱπποῦ), but had become a sort of vizier. Alexander had revived

²⁷ The commanders of the battalions of the hypaspists (Arr. 1, 22, 7; 4, 30, 5; 5, 23, 7) and of the archers (4, 24, 10) are called chiliarchs. See generally 7, 25, 6.

²⁸ This comes out clearly in Arrian's account of the Hydaspes battle. It is given formally Arr. 7, 6, 3-4, where it (like Alexander's Persian dress) relates to *past* events. Droysen's theory of 8 hipparchies was a mere misunderstanding of ἡμίσεας in 4, 22, 7; ἡμίσεας means 'some of,' as Droysen himself saw clearly in 5, 13, 1, where no doubt is possible.

²⁹ This follows from Diod. 18, 7; Perdiccas can only spare Peithon 800 horse, but orders the eastern satraps to give him 8000, which they do.

³⁰ *E.g.* Kallines', Arr. 7, 14, 6; cf. Arr. *Diad.* § 33, οἱ ἱππαρχοί. The statement in Arr. 7, 6, 4 that the fifth hipparchy, formed after the others, was not entirely 'barbarian,' points to the existence later of hipparchies that were entirely Asiatic, like many of the cavalry formations of the Successors.

the Persian office (Diod. 18, 48, 5); and, if so, he revived it for Hephaestion, who was his second in command qua the Persians as Craterus qua the Macedonians (Plut. *Alex.* 47). This office is what Hieronymus³¹ means by 'Hephaestion's chiliarchy,' of which he says Perdiccas was made chiliarch after Alexander's death. But as Perdiccas had to be *made* chiliarch (vizier), he was not vizier at Alexander's death. We can now see what did happen. Hephaestion at his death held two separate offices; he was commander of the hipparchy which comprised the original Companions, and he was vizier; to both offices the term 'chiliarch' could be applied. The hipparchy in question remained unfilled till Alexander died, when it was given to Seleucus. The vizierdom *may* have been informally filled by Perdiccas between the deaths of Hephaestion and Alexander; *i.e.* he did the work without the title, he was ὁμοτίμος. Duris may have been trying to say this; but he mixed up the two chiliarchies and *did* say τάξις, which might mean anything, but which Diod. 18, 3, 4 very naturally turned into hipparchy. Duris' statement that Perdiccas gave up his own hipparchy and Eumenes succeeded,³² though immaterial, can hardly be true; for Eumenes' mediation between cavalry and infantry shows that he belonged to neither.—(f) then is not from Hieronymus.

(g) 18, 3, 5. Preparation to take Alexander's body to Ammon. Alexander's wish to be buried at Ammon (Curt. 10, 5, 4) comes in the middle of the three stories considered under (c) and is clearly Cleitarchus. Schubert, p. 181, recognised this, but suggested that the generals did in fact select Ammon as a neutral spot. But it was no more neutral, in actual fact, than Memphis; and the passage in which the idea of taking the body to Ammon again occurs is quite late, as shown by the statement that Alexandria 'is almost the most illustrious city of the world' (Schubert, p. 186). (It cannot be Diodorus' own comment; he would not have so phrased it with Rome before him.) Consequently the reference to Ammon in 18, 3, 5 must be also much later than Hieronymus.

(h) 18, 4, 7. Perdiccas slanders Meleager. Not Hieronymus, who favours Perdiccas except where Antigonus is concerned. It comes from the 'infantry source' (Schubert, p. 115).

(i) 18, 4, 8. Revolt of the Greeks in the upper satrapies and sending of Peithon. A short duplication of the account in ch. 7, which is admittedly Hieronymus, and which formally introduces Peithon, who has therefore not been mentioned before. But I lay no stress on this duplicate, as it is obviously Diodorus' own anticipation of a future narrative;³³ and τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν is his own phrase, too common to call for references.

(k) 18, 4, 1 (Craterus to Cilicia) is a similar anticipation of 18, 12, 1, where it is in place.

I come now to the passages that may be Hieronymus.

18, 2, 1. Alexander dies ἄπαις. The source here is one which recurs several times later and treats Alexander as having one son only, Roxane's.

³¹ Arr. *Diad.* § 3; Dexippus fr. 1.

³² Arr. *Diad.* § 2 cannot be made to support this.

³³ He often anticipates. See the reference to the argyraspids, 17, 57, 2, and the long reference to Agathocles, 17, 23, 2.

I am examining this at length elsewhere;³⁴ there is no reasonable doubt that it is Hieronymus.

18, 2, 2 and 3. Generally supposed to be Hieronymus; but so colourless that there is no certainty. There is, however, one definite argument against it. The reconciliation between cavalry and infantry is brought about by *οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν*, a phrase of Diodorus' own,³⁵ whereas Hieronymus almost certainly named Eumenes.³⁶ If Diodorus were here copying Hieronymus it is difficult to see why he omitted Eumenes' name and substituted a vague phrase.

18, 3. The satrapy list as settled at Babylon must have appeared in every writer, and may have rested ultimately on an official document. Diodorus' list may be derived through the medium of Hieronymus, as there is a certain resemblance between 3, 1 ἀς Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἐπῆλθεν κ.τ.λ. and App. *Mith.* 8 = Hieron. fr. 1a; but the resemblance is not close.

The result, then, is this. There is only one phrase of which we can say with reasonable certainty that it *must* be from Hieronymus, while there are many passages which are certainly not.^{36a} This proves my preliminary point; we cannot assume that the story of the *ὑπομνήματα*, Diod. 18, 4, 1-6, is from Hieronymus; it must be examined on its merits.

B. THE *ὑπομνήματα*.

First, the form of the story. Craterus, when sent off to Cilicia (some months before Alexander's death), received written orders (*ἐντολαί*) which Alexander gave him to carry out, but on Alexander's death the Successors decided not to carry them out. For Perdiccas found in the king's *ὑπομνήματα* certain plans (*ἐπιβολαί*), etc.—Endres, p. 441, says that the word 'for' identifies the orders and the plans; this is true. He then says they are identical; a very different thing. For the identification is made by Diodorus whose language is his own throughout. As many of the plans relate to *Asia*, it is clear that they cannot represent orders given to Craterus, who was sent to take Antipater's place as viceroy of *Europe*; moreover, in Diodorus' narrative, the orders are set aside by the Successors, the plans by the army on Perdiccas' reference to them. Diodorus' identification then is *prima facie* wrong, a matter which shows at the outset that the whole story requires careful investigation.

There is another reason why the 'plans' cannot be identical with Craterus' orders; we know what Craterus' orders were. He was to govern Macedonia,

³⁴ *Heracles son of Barsine*, in this number of this Journal.

³⁵ *οἱ χαριέστεροι*, 16, 65, 6.

³⁶ Plut. *Eum.* 3, with full details.

^{36a} The formal commencement of Hieronymus may have been the old document Diod. 18, chs. 5 and 6, which (obvious additions apart) dates from 324/3, i.e. before the

partition of Babylon:—the Caspian is a lake, the Ganges and Chandragupta are unknown, Media is still undivided and Armenia still a satrapy (a fiction abandoned at Babylon), and Susiana 'happens to be' part of Persis, i.e. is under Peucestas,—the *κοινῶς εἶχε* of Dexippus, fr. 1.

Thrace, and Thessaly, and preside over, or order (*ἐξηγεῖσθαι*), the freedom of the Hellenes.³⁶ Antipater had not thought much about 'freedom'; he had kept the peace of the League with his oligarchies and garrisons; but Alexander's exiles' decree had altered all that, and the new policy required a new man; the returning exiles, mostly democrats, were not likely to trust Antipater. It is the standing antithesis of the two policies—the Antipater-Cassander policy of oligarchs and garrisons, and the Alexander-Antigonos policy of democracy and 'freedom' (more or less)—which divided the world down to 301, not to mention later offshoots. Craterus, in effect acting President of the League vice Alexander, was going to have his hands full, and could hardly prepare world-conquests in addition. In the face of Arrian's statement it is impossible to identify the plans and the orders.

Endres accordingly, though he does not notice Arrian, tacitly drops this identification, and proceeds to identify the *ὑπομνήματα* with Alexander's *ἐφημερίδες*. Certainly *ὑπομνήματα* can mean a king's Journal;³⁷ but whether it does so in any particular case is a mere question of fact. It is a common word at every period, applied to many sorts of documents. Were Arrian's argumentative *ὑπομνήματα*, for example, *ἐφημερίδες*, or those of Polybius 1, 1, 1? In the present case, it is impossible to contend that the *ὑπομνήματα τοῦ βασιλέως* of Diod. 18, 4, 2 were Alexander's well-known Journal, because they are mentioned again in 18, 4, 3 in a context which absolutely precludes their being anything but the *ἐπιβολαί*; they are identified with the *ἐπιβολαί*, the plans, *i.e.* they are the written plans. But there is, of course, a much stronger argument against identifying the *ὑπομνήματα* with the Journal; the Journal itself. Endres' argument is, that Alexander during his last illness discussed things with his generals, and *must* therefore have discussed the Carthaginian expedition, etc., and this *must* have appeared in the Journal. This, of course, frankly begs the whole question; but apart from that it is refuted by the Journal itself, as given in Arrian (7, 25) and Plutarch (*Alex.* 76) with considerable minuteness. It shows that what Alexander did do was to give orders connected with the Arabian expedition, once concerning the land forces and thrice concerning the fleet; to discuss with his generals the appointments to vacant commands; and to listen to some things Nearchus had to tell him about his voyage and the 'great sea.' Arrian used Ptolemy's excerpt from the Journal, and Plutarch (or his source) some one else's. Now I think no one can read Arrian and Diodorus 18-20 consecutively without noticing how (what we think is) Ptolemy and (what we think is) Hieronymus agree in little things and compliment each other; and I note that Schubert (p. 35) has evidently felt much the same thing. Yet what Endres (who assumes the *ὑπομνήματα* story to be Hieronymus) asks us to believe is in effect this: that these two capable men, both experienced soldiers and administrators, excerpted the Journal for the few days of Alexander's illness without taking out the same facts in any one single case; that Ptolemy,

³⁶ Whatever be the right reading (see A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* 1, 1911, p. 16), the sense is not in doubt.

³⁷ U. Wilcken, *ὑπομνηματισμοί*, *Philol.* 53 (1894), 80.

who found and gave three notices of the Arabian expedition, absolutely overlooked the far more important schemes of conquest in Africa and the Mediterranean and everything else in Diod. 18, 4, 1-6; while Hieronymus, professing to give Alexander's plans, left out the Arabian expedition, of which Alexander spoke at least three times and which was just ready to start. I do not think I need go further.³⁸

We have seen that the *ὑπομνήματα*, according to Diodorus, are the written plans. Now the word *ὑπομνήματα*, in and after the third century, had one very common meaning; the term was often applied to a book of extracts or stories on this or that or any subject, the sort of thing we call a commonplace book, full of snippets; Aelian's *Varia Historia* is a late surviving specimen. A few instances are the *ὑπομνήματα* of Hegesander of Delphi, the *ὑπομνήματα* or *ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα* of Carystius of Pergamum, the *ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα* of Euphoriion and of Hieronymus of Rhodes, the *συμποτικά ὑπομνήματα* of Persaeus, the *συμμικτὰ ὑπομνήματα* of Herodicus of Babylon, the *ὑπομνήματα* or *ἄτακτα* or *συμμικτὰ* of Istrus, the *θεατρικὰ ὑπομνήματα* of Nestor; and we meet with at least two volumes of *ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα* whose compiler was uncertain, one collection being attributed to 'Aristotle or Theophrastus,' the other to 'Callimachus or Zenodotus.' There were many other such collections bearing special titles; and sometimes we get both sorts of titles; for instance, Persaeus' book is called both *συμποτικά ὑπομνήματα* and *συμποτικά καὶ διαλογαὶ*. I am not going to suggest definitely that there was a book of *ὑπομνήματα* going about called 'Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιβολαὶ or βασιλέων ἐπιβολαὶ'³⁹ or something of the sort, because I know of no proof; but as there was certainly a collection (or collections) of Alexander's letters, partly forgeries, and similar collections of other people's letters, Olympias', Antipater's, Eumenes', etc., some of which were probably forgeries also, there is no inherent improbability in the supposition of a collection of royal plans; and it may be that this would be a useful line of research for some one whose knowledge of Alexandrian literature is greater than I can lay claim to.

C. THE PLANS.

Here I drop Craterus and his orders, and consider our document (18, 4, 1-6) on its merits as a collection of plans attributed to Alexander, its source being (so far) an open question. I note first that Arrian knows of a number of plans that Alexander really had in hand when he died, and that work had been done on all these and all were dropped; such are the rebuilding of the temple of Bel at Babylon, the formation of a mixed phalanx, and the Arabian

³⁸ If Lehmann-Haupt (*Hermes* 36, 319) were right in attributing Plutarch's excerpt to Hieronymus, my argument would be greatly strengthened. But this depends on his belief that there were only two copies of the *Journal* in existence, an idea entirely in the air.

³⁹ There were, of course, many other 'plans' beside Alexander's, as can be seen from writers like Pliny. Some were extremely wild, like Seleucus' alleged intention to cut a canal from the Caspian to the Black Sea.

expedition, i.e. conquest for settlement of the west coast of, and the islands in, the Persian Gulf. It is, of course, a strong argument against the genuineness of the ὑπομνήματα that they do not give a single one of the plans known from Arrian, though certainly the rebuilding of E-sagila and the Arabian expedition were μνήμης ἀξία.

To take the plans in the ὑπομνήματα in order.

(1) The completion of Hephaestion's pyre at Babylon. The pyre was already finished; the elaborate description of it as a work of art in Diod. 17, 115 cannot be pure invention. Endres, p. 443 (if I understand him aright), implicitly suggests that συντέλειαν refers only to *payment* for the work. This is impossible; for συντέλειαν refers to συντελέσαι and συντελεῖν two lines before, whose meaning is not in doubt; and in fact συντελεῖν, always in the sense of 'do, perform, complete,' is extremely common in Diodorus. The first plan, then, is a historical absurdity.

(2) Building of six temples in Europe at a cost of 1500 talents each. This might be true; for Alexander had already ordered two temples in Asia, of Zeus at Sardis and Bel at Babylon. In Plutarch *de fort. Alex.* 343D this building is alluded to, with a round figure for the whole (10,000 talents); this may be confirmation, or may merely be the same source.

(3) πόλεων συνοικισμούς. No synoecism of cities by Alexander, done, begun, or planned, is known. Those of his cities of which anything is known were mixed settlements of Europeans and Asiatics or Egyptians; there was no place in his system for synoecism as practised by his successors.

(4) Interchange of peoples between Europe and Asia. So far as sending more Europeans to Asia goes, Alexander must certainly have thought of it, or even begun it; for the original settlers in his cities in Asia, so far as they were Europeans, had native wives, and European women were an absolute necessity, if the cities were not to become purely Asiatic. The intention of Craterus and Antipater to transfer the Aetolians bodily to further Asia is, however, no confirmation; for what they intended was punishment, after the fashion of Darius I. At first sight it looks as if the words εἰς κοινὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συγγενικὴν φιλίαν support the genuineness of this plan, as they rather recall Alexander's prayer at the banquet at Opis for ὁμόνοιάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς.⁴⁰ But no stress can be laid on this; for κοινὴ ὁμόνοια is a known phrase of Diodorus.⁴¹ It is, however, probably safe to believe that this plan, at any rate in part, had genuine tradition behind it.⁴²

(5) A great temple at Ilion. Strabo 13, 393 may be evidence that Alexander had thought of this years before.

(6) A tomb for Philip πυραμίδι παραπλήσιον μᾶ τῇ μεγίστῃ κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων, which they call one of the seven wonders of the world. In Diodorus 16-20 παραπλήσιον regularly means 'like' (in shape, etc.) and not 'as large as'.⁴³ The idea of reproducing the Great Pyramid at Aegae

⁴⁰ Arr. 7, 11, 9; cf. Plut. *de fort. Alex.* 330 Ε ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

⁴¹ 16, 20, 6; 60, 3.

⁴² It is supported, for what it may be

worth, by Curt. 9, 7, 1, Graeci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti.

⁴³ 17, 10, 4; 50, 1; 52, 3; 87, 5; 105, 1.

I have not, however, searched books 1-15.

is one that a sense of humour should have prevented any one ever taking seriously. This 'plan' originated in Egypt, and bears with unmistakable clearness the stamp of that sphere of ideas which produced the Graeco-Egyptian Alexander-Romance. Diodorus knew and used that half-way house to the Romance, the Letter to the Rhodians.⁴⁴

So far, then, the plans given in the *ὑπομνήματα* are a mixture of things very possibly true and things certainly false. Of the latter, one is obviously of Egyptian manufacture; while the former relate to *building* and *colonisation*.

(7) We come now to the thing that matters, 18, 4, 4:—1000 warships larger than triremes to be built in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus for the expedition against Carthage and against the other maritime peoples of Libya and Spain and the coast co-terminous with these countries as far as Sicily (i.e. Gaul and Italy), and a road to be made along the Libyan coast as far as the Pillars of Heracles.—Note especially that it is not *an* expedition, as often represented, but *the* expedition, a thing settled on and known, though there is no reference to it anywhere in the good tradition—a strange thing, seeing that Ptolemy of the Staff must have known, had an expedition on such a vast scale been already planned. It can, I think, be shown that this 'plan' is only part of a legend which exhibits a regular growth from small beginnings. The legend is primarily based on three things that are facts: the Amon ritual already noticed; embassies from afar did come to Alexander at Babylon; Alexander did build ships in Phoenicia. There is, of course, a fourth fact, that Alexander's enemies at Athens, even as early as 330, were alluding to him as lord of the 'inhabited earth.'⁴⁵ This is mere rhetoric, and not only has no bearing on Alexander's acts or intentions, but did not (so far as I can see) influence the growth of the legend; but it may show that the world was ready enough to absorb the idea of Alexander's world-kingdom, once that idea got started.

First of all, to the certain embassies,⁴⁶ some one, almost certainly Cleitarchus, added a number of others (Diod. 17, 113, 2); Carthage, the Liby-Phoenicians, and all the African peoples as far as the Pillars; and (beside Greeks) the Illyrians, Thracians, Macedonians, and Galati. Illyrians and Thracians are possible enough, though quite immaterial; but *Macedonians* did not send an embassy to Alexander, while Galati (as distinct from Celtae) were not known to the Graeco-Macedonian world till 279. These mistakes, of course, would discredit the whole list, even if Cleitarchus were respectable authority; and they make it very difficult to believe in the embassy from Carthage, which otherwise is possible enough; for one did come to Athens towards the end of the century (*I.G.* ii². 418). The vulgate indeed has a story, very strange in its detail, that an embassy from Carthage came to Alexander during Parmenion's life-time (Just. 21, 6); but it must be remembered that

⁴⁴ Diod. 20, 81, 3, Alexander's 'Testament' deposited at Rhodes; see Ausfeld, *Rh. Mus.* 56 (1901), 517 seq.

⁴⁵ Demosth. *de Corona* 270; Hyperides, *Epitaph.*, 20.

⁴⁶ Libyans, Bruttians, Lucanians, Etruscans; Arr. 7, 15, 4. As all embassies appeared in the Journal, it is difficult to credit any not in Arrian.

Cleitarchus and the vulgate are rather obsessed throughout by the idea of Carthage.⁴⁷ The Carthaginian embassy, then, is possible, but not proven. The peoples of Mauretania are frankly impossible.—Other writers proceeded to improve on the list; Spain and Gaul were first added, Gaul being manufactured out of the Galati (Just. 12, 13, 1; Arr. 7, 15, 4 λέγεται); with these were conjoined Sicily and Sardinia (Just. *l.c.*) or the Ethiopians and European Scyths (Arr. *l.c.*); last of all was added Rome.⁴⁸ The view of these embassies given by Cleitarchus and the vulgate was, that they came from nearly all the inhabited earth (Diod. 17, 113, 2), and that their states entrusted Alexander with the composing of their differences, so that he did *seem to be* lord of the earth (Arr. 7, 15, 5, λέγεται). Here we have both the reason for, and the refutation of, this tremendous extension of the certain embassies; Cleitarchus was committed to the statement that Ammon had said that Alexander was to have the power over the whole earth, and if this was to mean anything outside of Egypt, it was necessary to show that Ammon had delivered the goods. In this working over of the Cleitarchean embassies the vulgate makes Alexander lord of the earth by those from the ends of the earth submitting their disputes to him.

But this was not enough; to be lord you must conquer. Here comes in Alexander's shipbuilding (Arr. 7, 19, 3, cf. Strabo 16, 741), which was actually a modest affair: 2 quinqueremes 3 quadriremes 12 triremes and 30 triakontors were built in sections in Phoenicia, carried to Thapsacus, and brought down the Euphrates to Babylon; while at Babylon he was (when he died) building a few more from such timber as could be collected from the parks in the district. On these two considerations, becoming lord and the shipbuilding, is based the invaluable story preserved by Curtius (10, 1, 3), in which the *embassies* have become a scheme of *conquest* of the same countries. Curtius says that, after Nearchus rejoined in Carmania, Alexander planned to conquer Carthage, march to Gades and the Pillars, go to Spain, and thence cross the Alps into Italy; *therefore* he ordered his generals in Mesopotamia to build at Thapsacus 700 heptereis and bring them to Babylon. This extraordinary patchwork attempt to press a real fact (the shipbuilding) into the service of the idea that Alexander was to be lord of the earth is most illuminating; for it is hardly necessary to remark that if you are going to the Pillars you do not begin by sending your fleet to Babylon. The 700 heptereis alone are a sufficient absurdity to discredit any story;⁴⁹ incidentally, heptereis were not invented till nine years after Alexander died, and were first used at Salamis in 306.

⁴⁷ Curt. 4, 2, 11 and 3, 19; Just. 11, 10, 12; Diod. 17, 40, 3.

⁴⁸ Arr. 7, 15, 5. If it came in Cleitarchus, as Pliny says, it is impossible to see why Diodorus omits it. The new theory advanced by R. B. Steele, *Class. Philol.* 13 (1918), p. 302, does not meet this difficulty. The Pliny passage contains another gross blunder (Schnabel, *op. cit.*, p. 48) and is quite untrustworthy.

⁴⁹ The largest fleets of the 4th and 3rd centuries are:—Dionysius I. (reputed 400); Athens, 413 in the docks in 325; Persia in 334, reputed 400; these largely triremes. For fleets of a larger average size; Demetrius in 306, about 330, not all at sea; Ptolemy II., *circ.* 250, some 336 (on paper); Rome in 208, 280, all at sea. References, etc., in Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 82 seq., 154 seq.

The legend now bifurcates. One branch, represented by our passage, Diod. 18, 4, 4, agrees with the Curtius story as to the round Alexander is to take, but throws over the last link with reality, the fleet at Babylon, as being unworkable; Alexander now builds and keeps his fleet on the Mediterranean, in Phoenicia, etc. The fleet has naturally grown from 700 to 1000 ships "greater than triremes"; but looking at what happened to Xerxes' fleet one is astonished at the author's moderation. The reason for it is simple; the author has recollected an innocent remark of Aristobulus that the basin which Alexander was digging at Babylon was large enough to hold 1000 warships—a simple method of indicating its size.⁵⁰ These 1000 ships, designed for the conquest of the west, turn up again in a very curious context; in Just. 13, 5, 7, Alexander orders them, not for the conquest of the world, but—for the Lamian war! Incidentally, we can now see why Diod. 18, 4, 4 gives *the* expedition to Carthage and not *an* expedition; the writer is referring to previous stories, such as Curtius 10, 1, 3, and who knows what other intermediate developments of the legend; it proves that the Diodorus story is, as we have already seen, part of a chain or sequence in the development of the idea which it handles.—The other branch of the legend is determined to keep Babylon in the picture, and therefore throws over the march to the Pillars along the Libyan coast; instead, it makes Alexander plan to circumnavigate Africa with his army and fleet (like the Phoenicians in Herodotus, only they had not an army and fleet to feed), conquer Carthage from the *west*, and from Sicily go on to the Euxine and Maeotis (stories collected in Arr. 7, 1, 2).⁵¹—And the last stage of all is the Romance, which gathers up all the 'plans' and turns them into accomplishment; here Alexander does conquer Carthage and Rome, does sail through the Pillars, and does go north far beyond the Maeotis. There is thus a perfectly complete sequence of development in the story from the Cleitarchean embassies to the Romance.

This sequence of development precludes any possibility of Diod. 18, 4, 4 being from Hieronymus. But in fact we can get one date in the growth of this sequence. In the Curtius story, Alexander's plan to march from Spain to Italy over the Alps is obviously taken from Hannibal's march, and this story therefore is later than 219; and the story in Diod. 18, 4, 4, which is still later, cannot therefore be *earlier* than the very end of the third century and may be much later. We shall see (§ D) that this *terminus ante quem non* can be confirmed.

Herewith falls to the ground the whole story of the *ὑπομνήματα*, as history.^{51a} We have already seen that they are a compilation, composed of

⁵⁰ Arr. 7, 19, 4. The basin was primarily for merchantmen; warships were not kept afloat. I note that Aristobulus does *not* say that docks were built for 1000 ships, but that (some) docks were begun—naturally.

⁵¹ It is likely enough that Alexander may have meditated sending out expeditions of *exploration and discovery*, whether

round Africa, or in the Atlantic like Pytheas; precisely as he did send an expedition to explore the Caspian.

^{51a} E. T. Newell, *The dated Alexander coinage of Sidon and Ake*, 1916, p. 31, has noted an 'unprecedented activity' in the Sidonian mint in 323, which he refers to the Carthaginian expedition. It was really due to the coining of the 500 talents which

things possibly true and things certainly false; we see now that the compilation cannot have originated, at the earliest, much before 200, and is probably later, as time must be given for development. Hieronymus is utterly out of the question. And this is, after all, the natural conclusion from Arrian; for Arrian, who knew his Hieronymus well, knows nothing of the ὑπομνήματα; he says (7, 1, 4) that he had no idea what Alexander's future plans were. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that, if he did know the ὑπομνήματα, he classed them where they belong, among those λεγόμενα in which he found other world-conquest stuff which, to his credit, he did not believe. Köhler's suggestion that Arrian, when he wrote the *Anabasis*, had perhaps not yet read Hieronymus, was rather a counsel of despair, seeing the λεγόμενα which Arrian *had* read; but as the ὑπομνήματα were not in Hieronymus, the matter is immaterial.

D. THE ABANDONMENT OF THE PLANS.

There remains Diod. 18, 4, 3 to be considered:—Perdiccas does not like to set aside Alexander's plans of himself, and so refers them to the army. Endres (p. 440) argued that, as this passage favours Perdiccas, it, and therefore the whole ὑπομνήματα story, must be from Hieronymus. How it favours Perdiccas to represent that he took steps to set aside Alexander's plans I do not know; neither does Endres, for he concludes his article with an attack on Perdiccas which effectually refutes his own argument. Now as a fact Perdiccas showed loyalty to the dead; he secured the kingship for his son, and took steps to complete, in what he understood to be Alexander's sense, various things which Alexander had not had time to finish, *e.g.* the conquests of Cappadocia and Pisidia, and the restoration of the Samians. It is not quite easy to believe that Hieronymus would have represented that Perdiccas, as one of his first acts, took steps to secure the abandonment of Alexander's plans wholesale. But this is not the point I want to make. The real point is, that the whole of this story of the reference by Perdiccas of Alexander's plans (*i.e.* matters of policy and finance) to the Macedonians is impossible, and could never have been written by a contemporary who understood Macedonian usage, like Hieronymus. The Macedonian people under arms, the army, had authority in two cases, and in two only; in treason trials (the king being a party), and the election of a king or regent when the throne was vacant. Whenever any of the Successors refer matters to the Macedonians in their army, as they often do, it is always for one of these two things. The Macedonians, *e.g.*, elect Peithon and Arrhidaeus temporary regents (Diod. 18, 36, 7) and Antipater regent (18, 39, 3), beside their election of Philip as king; the powers claimed by Perdiccas in 322 (18, 23, 2) and by Antigonos (19, 61, 3)

Miccalus brought to Phoenicia to hire or buy settlers for the Persian Gulf (Arr. 7, 19, 5). A local cause would stir up one mint; see the activity at Tarsus prior to

Balacrus' attack on Isaura (Newell in *Am. J. Num.*, 1918, 81). But preparations for an expedition against Carthago and Spain must have been reflected in every mint.

were purported to be conferred by their troops. Treason trials, or condemnation for treason, are common; beside the Philotas and Hermolaos trials under Alexander, we have Eumenes, Alcetas, and their friends (18, 37, 2); Sibyrtius (19, 23, 4); Olympias (19, 51, 1);⁵² and possibly Nicanor (Polyaen. 4, 11, 2). But there is no trace anywhere in the tradition that the Macedonians had any authority in matters of policy or finance. Occasionally kings or dynasts read out their rescripts to the army when promulgating them, to secure *publicity*; so Alexander his order for the return of the Samians, *Syll.*³ 312, and Antigonos his proclamation of Greek freedom to an assembly of his army and the inhabitants of the district, Diod. 18, 61, 1-3; but they did not consult the army; the rescripts were purely autocratic. If the army wanted to make its voice heard about policy, as it sometimes did, e.g. over Eurydice's marriage with Philip, it could only do so by mutinying (Arr. *Diad.* § 23), as it had done on the Hyphasis, and at Opis. Diod. 18, 4, 3 cannot then be Hieronymus.

This conclusion can be reinforced by the language of the passage. Perdicas refers the plans to τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων πλῆθος. Now Diodorus often uses τὸ πλῆθος alone of the Macedonian army;⁵³ and he uses οἱ Μακεδόνες of the army as a tribunal;⁵⁴ but his commonest phrase for a meeting of troops, and especially of Macedonian troops, is ἐκκλησία or κοινὴ ἐκκλησία.⁵⁵ But instead of any of his three usual phrases he has here used a phrase to which he shows no parallel, and which (I may add) has no sense; for what a κοινὸν πλῆθος may mean, when only *one* army is in question, I do not know. Probably, then, the phrase in some way derives from, or is connected with his source. What it derives from can be easily seen; the original writer had in his mind the κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων, known from *Syll.*³ 575, and πλῆθος is a later addition. That this interpretation is correct is shown by Polyaen. 4, 6, 14, where Antigonos has Peithon condemned by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων. If any one will trouble to compare Polyaenus' account with Diod. 19, 46, he will see that the two versions differ in practically every detail; and as Diodorus is certainly Hieronymus, Polyaenus cannot be. That is to say, we have in Polyaen. 4, 6, 14 a *second* case in the extant literature in which some one, who is certainly not Hieronymus, has mixed up the ἐκκλησία of the Macedonians as a court for the trial of treason with the later κοινόν.⁵⁶

Now the κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων cannot be *earlier* than Antigonos Doson; there is no place for it under Gonatas, and it must have some connection with the change in the royal style of the Antigonids from Μακεδών to καὶ Μακεδόνες.⁵⁷ Consequently the reference to the κοινόν in Diod. 18, 4, 3 brings us round by

⁵² Cassander's anxiety to prevent Olympias speaking shows that she was tried for treason and not mere murder; for on murder she had no case, but as to treason she could have said some very awkward things.

⁵³ 16, 35, 2. 17, 84, 6; 107, 4; 109, 2. So τὰ πλῆθη; 17, 56, 2; 18, 39, 4.

⁵⁴ 17, 79, 6; 80, 1. 18, 36, 7; 37, 2; 39, 3. 19, 51, 2 and 4.

⁵⁵ ἐκκλησία. Macedonian troops: 16,

3, 1; 4, 3. 17, 74, 3; 94, 5; 108, 3; 109, 2. 18, 36, 6. Other troops: 16, 18, 2; 79, 2.—κοινὴ ἐκκλησία. Macedonian troops: 18, 39, 4. 19, 51, 1. Other troops: 16, 10, 3; 18, 3; 78, 2.

⁵⁶ There is a third case of this κοινόν in Arr. 7, 9, 5, Alexander's speech at Opis, which dates the composition of the speech.

⁵⁷ Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 54, n. 36; 390 n. 61.

another road to what we have already seen from Curtius, viz. that the *ὑπομνήματα* story has nothing to do with Hieronymus, and cannot be earlier than the very end of the third century.

To sum up. The alleged *ὑπομνήματα* are a compilation of things possibly true (all relating to building and colonisation) and certainly false, made far later than Hieronymus. The principal item, the plan to conquer Carthage and the Mediterranean basin, is part of a legend which developed by regular stages from the Cleitarchean embassies to the Romance, whose basis is admittedly the last echo of the Cleitarchean vulgate. This item was not formulated earlier than c. 200 B.C. The legend derives, in the ultimate resort, from the Amon-ritual; and this, combined with the reference to the Great Pyramid, points to an Egyptian origin for the compilation. So far as positive evidence goes, the idea of Alexander's world-kingdom has nothing to do with history; it belongs solely to the realm of legend and romance.

I have to omit the most interesting point, for I am not competent to discuss it. The development of this Graeco-Egyptian legend, in which Alexander plans world-conquest, and of the Graeco-Egyptian romance, in which he achieves it, are not likely to be unconnected. I can only hope that some one with the necessary knowledge of the queer borderland which exists between history and the Romance will investigate this connection.

W. W. TARN.

HERACLES SON OF BARSINE

SOME of our extant authorities, as Justin and Appian, state or assume that Alexander had two sons, Roxane's and Barsine's. Others, as Diodorus in the events prior to 309, and Curtius in parts, state or assume that he had only one, Roxane's. Now it makes a considerable difference in our view of the events of 309 whether the lad called Heracles, who appeared in that year as a reputed son of Alexander and Barsine, were really Alexander's son or an ordinary pretender. No modern historian has even noticed that there is a conflict of authority; for though Beloch saw that Heracles' age was wrong he did not follow it up, but altered the age. Before coming to the events of 309, the source of the evidence for Alexander having one son only must be considered.

Diodorus first. (a) 18, 2, 1, Alexander dies ἄπαις. (b) 18, 9, 1, Alexander dies τῆς βασιλείας υἱοὺς διαδόχους οὐκ ἔχοντος. (c) 19, 11, 2, Olympias μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδὸς (one only). (d) 19, 35, 5, Olympias ἔχουσα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. (e) 19, 52, 4, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος διεγνώκει μὲν ἀνελεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν παῖδα . . . ἵνα μηδεὶς ᾗ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας. (f) 19, 105, 4, after the murder in 310 of Roxane's son the dynasts are relieved from fear of the king; οὐκέτι γὰρ ὄντος οὐδενὸς τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν each held the χώρα allotted to him as if it were δορίκτητος. This is all plain enough. It is obvious, from the reference to the διαδόχη, that (b), (e) and (f) come from the same source: (c) and (d) also come from the same source.

To take (f) first, 19, 105. § 1 of this chapter, which gives the terms of the treaty of 311 between Antigonus, Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, is indisputably Hieronymus. § 2 gives the murder of Roxane's son by Cassander. Parts of the Cassander narrative in Diodorus are, however, from Diyllus (Diyllus fr. 3). The question is, how much? There is both a pro-Cassander and an anti-Cassander tradition running through Diodorus—that is not in doubt; and it is certain from fr. 3 that Diyllus' attitude, as far as it went, was pro-Cassander, though it does not follow that all the pro-Cassander narrative is Diyllus.¹ This § 2, however, is anti-Cassander,

¹ Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (1914), to which I shall often refer, makes Diyllus play a large part in Diodorus 18-20; but the foundations of this belief (it is an old controversy) are very shaky indeed. I should be sorry to assume (for instance) that all the pro-Cassander material must be Diyllus, because one bit is. Why should not Hieronymus

have been able to see both sides of Cassander, as he certainly did to some extent in Perdiccas' case? When he wrote he was the friend of Cassander's nephew Gonatas, who in part continued the Antipater-Cassander tradition; and in estimating his attitude we must allow for this no less than for his friendship with Cassander's enemies, Eumenes and Antigonus I.

and cannot be Diyllus; and no one has ever doubted that the anti-Cassander material is Hieronymus. However, for the moment I will leave § 2 open. Then follow §§ 3 and 4, the passage cited above (f). This is certainly Hieronymus, because of the meaning of *δορίκτητος χώρα*. I have shown elsewhere² that you cannot identify the Hieronymus material in Diodorus by language, that being Diodorus' own; but you can by the meaning behind the language; and though *δορίκτητος* is common enough from Homer onwards for conquest, and is so used elsewhere by Diodorus himself (e.g. 17, 17, 2), it is used here in a technical sense; *δορίκτητος χώρα*, spear-won territory, was in Macedonia equivalent to *χώρα βασιλική*, King's Land; for, the King being the State, spear-won territory became his private property.³ And the meaning of the statement that the dynasts now held the satrapies assigned to them as the king, whether in Macedonia or Asia, held *γῆ βασιλική*, is this, that they kept the revenues themselves and did not remit them to the central power. Ptolemy had, in fact, remitted no revenues since Antipater's death, if indeed he ever had;⁴ Seleucus had evidently done the same.⁵ After 310, however, all could claim to be *legally* entitled to keep their revenues. It is, I think, obvious that the reference to this rather technical point of the Macedonian law of land can be due to no one but Hieronymus. As the whole of ch. 105 is organically connected—the murder arose from the terms of the treaty, which was a plain invitation to Cassander to kill the boy, and the retention of revenues arose from the murder, the whole chapter is therefore Hieronymus, including (naturally, as being anti-Cassander) § 2.

(f) being Hieronymus, (e) and (b) must be so too; but one can demonstrate it also for (e). 19, 52 is a patchwork; § 5 is known to be Diyllus (= fr. 3), and *possibly* §§ 1–3 may be also; for all these sections are pro-Cassander. But § 4, containing the passage in question, is strongly anti-Cassander, (intention to murder the boy; unworthy treatment of him in prison), and is so exactly parallel to 19, 105, § 2 (note, too, the mention by name of the warder Glaucias in each passage) that it must be from the same source, *i.e.* Hieronymus. As to (b) there is nothing to show; but 18, 9, 1 runs on without even a stop from ch. 8, which is certainly Hieronymus (see Schubert, p. 242). Hieronymus, then, is the common source of (b), (e) and (f).

Now (d). 19, 35, at any rate § 4 to the end, is Hieronymus for several reasons: Olympias in a favourable light; details about the elephants (we can follow throughout Diodorus exactly what happened to Alexander's elephants, and this can be due to no other writer); and the mention of Aristonoos; this particular Bodyguard is a mere name in Arrian's *Anabasis*,

² 'Alexander's *ὑπομνήματα* and the "world-kingdom"', in this number of *J.H.S.*

³ See generally Rostowzew, *Geschichte der römischen Kolonates* (1910), p. 251 *seq.*; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (1913), p. 191.

⁴ Diod. 18, 43, 1, his claim that Egypt is *δορίκτητος*. Also, after he took the royal title, he reckoned his satrapal years as part

of his reign.

⁵ Diod. 19, 55, 3; he asserts in 316 that he owes no account of his revenues to anybody. If the statement in App. Syr. 63 that he reigned forty-two years (*i.e.* from 321) represent a true tradition, then he also reckoned his satrapal years as part of his reign.

and it is only in Hieronymus that he, loyal to Eumenes' friend Olympias, becomes a living man.⁶ As to (c). 19, 11, § 4 to the end (favourable to Eurydice, and Olympias in a very bad light), is pro-Cassander; but § 2, which contains our passage, is anti-Cassander and must be Hieronymus because of the glorification of Olympias and the reference to Alexander's good deeds (standpoint of Antigonos I.). Hieronymus, then, is the common source of (c) and (d).

As to (a). 18, 2 is generally attributed to Hieronymus; but I have shown elsewhere (see note 2) that part of it cannot be his. As to the statement, however, that Alexander died *ἄπαις*, if this be not from Hieronymus we have a second and quite unknown source agreeing with Hieronymus; and I am not going to postulate anything so unscientific. There can be no reasonable doubt that it is from Hieronymus; though it would not affect my argument if it did come from an unknown source in agreement with Hieronymus. It is, of course, a perfectly plain statement that Alexander had no son but Roxane's, as yet unborn; and as it had to be explained away, the accepted explanation has been that Heracles, being illegitimate, did not count. But to read modern legal concepts into the fourth century B.C., and to construe *τελευτήσαντος ἄπαιδος* as an English court construes 'die without issue' in a settlement, is utterly indefensible. Did not Philip Arrhidaeus count? In a society like the Macedonian aristocracy, polygamous without fixed rules, legitimacy was at best rather a vague matter, as any one can see who tries to ascertain what were the 'marriages' of Demetrius or Ptolemy I.; all that really counted was blood, and when we do get a legitimacy question it is concerned, not with wedlock, but with a doubt whether some person were really his reputed father's son (*e.g.* Alexander's case).

It seems quite certain, then, that Hieronymus, writing long after 309, knew of one son of Alexander only, Roxane's.

Next Curtius. Curtius' sources in 8, 4, 23-30; 10, 7, 2 and 15, know nothing of Heracles. In 8, 4, 23 *seq.* Alexander has obviously not associated with any Persian woman prior to Roxane. In 10, 7, 2 Arrhidaeus is *solus heres*; and again, *si proximum* (Alexandro quaeritis), *hic solus est*. This is in a speech; but 10, 7, §§ 6 and 15 sum up the same as narrative. The source of 8, 4, 23 is guesswork; it may be Cleitarchus, who probably knew nothing of Barsine. The ultimate source of 10, 7 must be the 'infantry source' which Schubert has so well elucidated (pp. 115 to 120), a source which gives the point of view of the phalanx after Alexander's death and whitewashes Meleager. It may not be of great authority, but it must be very early, and quite possibly before 309; no one was going to trouble about Meleager long after his death (323).

I come now to a source almost certainly prior to 309, the first draft or kernel of the pretended Testament of Alexander. The Testament is no part of the Romance proper, as it also appears in the Metz Epitome; Ausfeld's

⁶ The Vatican fragments of Arrian *Diad.*, (9, 5, 15 and 18; 10, 6, 16) are, of course, § 6. The references to Aristonoe in Curtius not historical.

version compares all the known texts.⁷ I absolutely accept Ausfeld's conclusion that §§ 1 and 2 of the Testament, apart from the obvious Rhodian additions, represent a document of Antipater's time, published, if not during his life, at any rate so soon after his death in 319 that it was still worth attacking him, and that people would understand the attack without explanation.⁸ In this the original portion of the Testament Alexander makes provision for all those related to him by blood; that the provisions are not historical is immaterial here; the point is the list of relatives. Beside Olympias, the writer mentions the one legitimate child of Philip II., Cleopatra; the three illegitimate ones, Philip Arrhidaeus, Cynane, and Thessalonice; and Cynane's daughter.⁹ He mentions Roxane's expected child, and provides for either contingency, boy or girl. And he does *not* mention Heracles; he knows nothing of Heracles or Barsine, though he knows all the members of the royal house known to history.

I must notice the criticisms directed against Ausfeld's date for §§ 1 and 2 of the Testament. The first is Reitzenstein's;¹⁰ he says that the Testament makes Philip Arrhidaeus *temporary* king, while in fact there was a joint kingship; and as history must be earlier than legend, the Testament must be later than Ausfeld's date. I am afraid that legend precedes history often enough; the world has had quite enough experience of that in recent years. Besides, though we (rightly) accept the joint kingship on Hieronymus' authority, contemporaries were frankly puzzled as to who was king, because decrees were issued in Philip's name alone (*e.g.* Diod. 18, 56); the contemporary inscriptions are divided on the subject.¹¹ The other two criticisms are Bauer's.¹² The first is that the Testament does not mention Antipater's son-in-law Demetrius, as it ought to on Ausfeld's view, Ausfeld's point being that Alexander allots royal brides to those who in fact married Antipater's daughters. Of course Demetrius is not mentioned; he only married Craterus' widow later—he was merely a substitute, so to speak—and the Testament has to speak as from Alexander's death, when Demetrius was an unknown boy of thirteen, of no possible importance. The second is that Antipater is not really completely passed over in the satrapy-list of the Testament, as Ausfeld says; his name does occur in the version given in the Metz

⁷ A. Ausfeld, 'Das angebliche Testament Alexanders des Grossen,' *Rh. Mus.* 56 (1901), 517.

⁸ It may have belonged to the propaganda war of 318–317 between Olympias and her friends on one side, and Cassander and the Peripatetics on the other (Plut. *Alex.* 77). But this war may have been going on; with different protagonists, since Alexander's death, or even since Callisthenes'. No one seems to have studied it. If it could be reconstructed (and parts of it are obvious) we should know more of the history of the Successors than we do.

⁹ Taking Cleodice as representing Eury-

dice, it being necessary, on the scheme of the document, for Leonnatus also to receive a royal bride, and there being reason to suppose that Cynane's daughter is, anyhow, the person meant. Double names of queens are so common at this time that some must have changed their name at marriage: *e.g.* Audata-Eurydice, Adeia-Eurydice, Cynna-Cynane, Myrtale-Olympias, Rhodogune-Sisygambis, Barsine-Stateira.

¹⁰ *Poimandres* (1904), App. 5, p. 315.

¹¹ *O.G.I.S.* 4, both kings. *O.G.I.S.* 8 (v.) *Syll.* 311, and *I.G.* ii². 401, Philip alone.

¹² Georg Bauer, *Die Heidelberger Epitome* (1914), p. 81 *seq.*

Epitome. Quite so; and, in fact, it also occurs, always as satrap of Cilicia, in several other of the known versions of the Testament, though this has been overlooked; and this greatly strengthens Ausfeld's case. For Antipater never was a satrap; he was *στρατηγός* of the European possessions; and which is more derogatory, to turn the great viceroy of Europe into a petty satrap of Cilicia, or merely to omit his name, which might lead the reader to suppose that he was meant to retain his former office?

There is, then, nothing in the criticisms directed against Ausfeld's dating. On the other hand, it is quite probable that Duris knew this first draft of the Testament; for Curtius 10, 10, 5 says that some believed that Alexander had distributed the satrapies by his Testament, and it is very likely (Schubert, p. 124) that 'some' means, or includes, Duris.

The result derived from an examination of the sources is, then, that both Hieronymus, and any document we have which is or may be prior to 309, know of only one son of Alexander's, Roxane's; and this ought to be conclusive. I note for completeness that Ptolemy certainly, and Cleitarchus probably (see *post*), knows nothing of any Barsine as Alexander's mistress.

It remains to consider the story of the youth who in 309 appeared as a pretender to the throne of Macedonia under the name of Heracles, son of Alexander and Barsine. Diodorus' story (20, 20 and 28) is that in spring 309 Polyperchon brought Heracles from Pergamum and attempted to make him king; in the autumn, as part of a bargain with Cassander, he put him to death. The reference in Lycophron (*Alexandra* 801) shows that the story was known and believed early in the third century.

First, the historical background. The peace of 311 left Polyperchon isolated, holding Corinth and Sicyon with his mercenaries as a mere soldier of fortune; he had played no part in affairs since 315/4; save for his hold on Acrocorinthus he was little but a name. Antigonus had spoken of putting him down (*O.G.I.S.* 5). But in 310 Polemaeus revolted from Antigonus and allied himself with Cassander, who thus became again in theory at war with Antigonus, though both were exhausted and did not mean to fight again as yet. Then Cassander murdered Roxane's son, and Antigonus seized the opportunity of paying him out for Polemaeus. For this purpose he decided to use Polyperchon, who welcomed the chance of again playing a part in affairs. No one has asked how Polyperchon, in his position, got the money and the 21,000 men with whom he invaded Macedonia in spring 309. Part were the Aetolians, Antigonus' allies, and Antigonus supplied the money to raise more mercenaries. He also supplied a cause, by sending Heracles from Pergamum; if Cassander had killed one son of Alexander he should be threatened with another. Naturally Polyperchon could not have got a pretender from Pergamum unless Antigonus had been co-operating. Some Macedonian royalists joined Polyperchon, and it looked as if he might create enough disaffection in Macedonia to bring Cassander down. Cassander saved himself by getting an interview with Polyperchon, at which he convinced him that if he succeeded he would nevertheless be nothing but Antigonus' servant (Diod. 20, 28, 2, *ποιήσει τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑφ' ἐτέρων*), whereas if he

killed Heracles and joined Cassander he could be general of the Peloponnese and share Cassander's power (*πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῇ Κασσάνδρου κοινωνὸς ἔσται*). It is obvious that, if Heracles had really been Alexander's son, and Polyperchon had put him forward on his own account and not on Antigonus', Cassander's bribe was entirely inadequate; for Polyperchon, in the event of success, would have been virtual ruler of Macedonia. Diodorus' record of the interview between Polyperchon and Cassander is based throughout on the assumption that both men knew they were dealing with a puppet of some one, who can only be Antigonus. None of the three could afterwards afford to tell the truth; Polyperchon, because he dare not explain that he had raised the Macedonian royalists, who doubtless suffered, on false pretences; Cassander, because he could keep Polyperchon to heel as the man who had killed Alexander's son who trusted him; Antigonus, because he had an excellent propaganda weapon against Cassander for procuring the boy's death. The incident was soon forgotten in greater matters.

Now, is Diodorus' story from Hieronymus or not? I take it to be substantially Hieronymus. The light in which Cassander is represented is of importance for this; and naturally Hieronymus could not *say* that Antigonus was behind the plot, seeing the pains Antigonus had taken to cover his tracks; the story did not appear in black and white in his Journal, and perhaps even Hieronymus did not know all the details. But the writer has given indications enough; the Aetolian alliance, the mention of Pergamum, the fact that Polyperchon *συνήγε χρήματα* without it being specified how the discarded soldier of fortune achieved this desirable operation, the details of the interview with Cassander. It does not appear what writer but Hieronymus could have given these indications; but what clinches the matter is the reference to the boy's age (seventeen). As we shall see, his age did not, and could not, appear in the vulgate tradition; it could only have been known to some one in close touch with Antigonus. Naturally, Diodorus' remark that Heracles was son of Alexander and Barsine is not from Hieronymus, who, as we have seen, knew only one son of Alexander, Roxane's; this remark is Diodorus' own addition, drawn from the vulgate.¹³ Possibly what Hieronymus wrote was 'who was called a son,' etc.; but this is guesswork. But we do know from Lycophron that the vulgate had a long innings before Hieronymus wrote; and it naturally imposed itself on the world, precisely as the Alexander-vulgate did. The vulgate, of course, must essentially have been the story which Polyperchon gave out when he invaded Macedonia in 309; and we must now attempt to ascertain what that was.

Barsine's story is professedly given by Plutarch (*Alex.* 21). She was Memnon's widow, captured after Issus (at Damascus); she was daughter of Artabazus, who was of the blood royal; she was a gentle creature, and Aristobulus says that Alexander made her his mistress because Parmenion advised him to. Psychologically, of course, Aristobulus' story that Alexander

¹³ Diodorus often makes such additions on his own account; see the instances collected by Jacoby, 'Hieronymos' in Pauly-Wissowa, and Schubert *passim*.

acted on Parmenion's advice is hopeless; a man of Alexander's nature may be overcome by passion, but not by some one else's recommendation. It is equally hopeless as fact; for as Heracles was seventeen in spring 309, he was begotten in the summer of 327, two years after Parmenion's death, and nearly six years after Issus; and therewith the story falls to the ground. Incidentally, Alexander never did take Parmenion's advice, as any one can see from Arrian. He rejected it at the Granicus, at Miletus, at Persepolis; he rejected it (if really given) about Darius' offer, and a night attack at Gaugamela. He is supposed to have accepted it *once*, when he examined the battlefield before Gaugamela; but that is part of the legend which makes the Persians put down caltrops, presumably to wreck their own chariots. Yet Aristobulus could say that he took Parmenion's advice two years after he put Parmenion to death, and no one since has even questioned the statement. What Aristobulus *does* prove is, that he himself did not know Heracles' age; and, as he often took trouble to inform himself about matters not within his own knowledge, this is most important; it shows that the boy's age was not known to the world, *i.e.* it formed no part of the vulgate.

But perhaps Plutarch's story might be true, and only the Parmenion part wrong? In early spring 327 Alexander married Roxane, and in early summer 327 started for India; we are to suppose, then, not only that he took his first and only mistress just after his marriage, but that, while he refused to take Roxane, daughter of a mere Bactrian baron who was his enemy, otherwise than as his wife, he thought good just afterwards to take the daughter of the very important Artabazus, who was his friend and recently satrap of Bactria, as his mistress, the lady, moreover, being of the blood royal. The whole thing is absurd. No one, I think, has ever supposed that Barsine was *maîtresse en titre* from 333/2 onwards, or anything but a passing fancy; the idea would not be worth wasting words on.

As to Heracles, one need hardly go further; but who was 'Barsine'? Take it point by point.

First, the historical Barsine. Only two women of the name are known in this period prior to 309; both are known from Ptolemy: ¹⁴ (a) Mentor's wife, and (b) the elder daughter of Darius III., whom Alexander married. Now Mentor belonged to a much older generation than Alexander. He is last heard of alive in 342/1; ¹⁵ his sister, Artabazus' wife, had twenty-one children by 342 (Diod. 16, 52); his son Thymondas commanded the mercenaries at Issus, and himself had a grown-up son in 327/6, (*I.G.* ii². 356); his daughter and Barsine's married Nearchus in 324 (Ptolemy ap. Arr. 7, 4, 6). Clearchus of Soli the Peripatetic adds something; he couples Mentor's wife with Artabazus' wife as two women distinguished for insolent pride (Athen. 6, 256 D). Obviously Mentor's wife, like Artabazus' wife and Mentor himself, belonged to an older generation; but nothing else is known about her.

¹⁴ Arr. 7, 4, 4 *seq.* As Arrian quotes a variant from Aristobulus, this list is from Ptolemy.

¹⁵ I think Kahrstedt's date for the cap-

ture of Hermeias (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts*, 1910) is now generally accepted.

However, Curtius 3, 13, 4 (Cleitararchus)¹⁶ says that three of Mentor's daughters were captured at Damascus, but does not mention his wife; presumably, therefore, Cleitararchus thought she was dead.

Next, Memnon's widow. She is known only from Cleitararchus (Diod. 17, 23, 5; Curt. 3, 13, 4). She was captured after Issus, at Damascus; but neither her name nor any information about her is given. Like his brother Mentor, Memnon belonged to an older generation; he had grown-up sons at Granicus (Arr. 1, 17, 5). Presumably his widow, if she existed, was not young; but we know nothing about her. That she was Mentor's wife, married by Memnon after his brother's death, is a purely unfounded conjecture of modern writers, copied by one from another till it has become accepted through much repetition. Incidentally, Mentor's wife was long since a grandmother.

Next, Plutarch's Barsine. She is not Mentor's wife, quite apart from the question of age; for she is *ἐπιεικής* and Mentor's wife was the reverse. She is identified by Plutarch (or rather by his source) with the 'Memnon's widow' of Cleitararchus; but as Cleitararchus probably knew nothing of any Barsine who was Alexander's mistress after Issus,¹⁷ the identification must be later than Cleitararchus, *i.e.* not *earlier* than about the middle of the third century. Plutarch then stands thus: the Aristobulus-Parmenion part of his story is impossible; his Barsine is not Mentor's wife; and her identification with Memnon's widow is far later than the vulgate (I come to Artabazus' daughter later). The residue, which must belong to the vulgate, is this: Alexander after Issus took a captive, named Barsine, as mistress.

We can get a little further by means of the generals' speeches after Alexander's death, as given in Curt. 10, 6, and Justin 13, 2. The speeches are made up; but the authors, with the vulgate tradition before them, felt that Heracles had somehow to be introduced.¹⁸ In Curtius, Barsine is a Persian; that is why her son is rejected. It is a mere duplication of the story that the infantry rejected Roxane's child for that reason; the two women and their sons are often enough confused, as we shall see. This reason formed no part of the vulgate, *i.e.* of what Polyperchon gave out; for Polyperchon's business was to get the Macedonians to *accept* the son of the Persian woman. In Justin, Barsine and Heracles are living at Pergamum, a simple fact which would naturally appear in the vulgate. We get, then, an extension of the vulgate, thus: Alexander after Issus took a Persian captive, named Barsine, as mistress, and had by her a son Heracles; the two lived at Pergamum. Omitting the Pergamum part, this is comprised in Duris' statement in Plut. *Eum.* 1; and as Curtius' speeches seem to be

¹⁶ Darius' brother is called Oxathres; this proves that this passage is Cleitararchus; see Diod. 17, 77, 4; Curt. 7, 5, 40; Plut. *Alex.* 43. His real name was Oxyartes; Ptolemy ap. Arr. 7, 4, 5.

¹⁷ Nothing in Diod. 17, or in Curtius till after 10, 6, *i.e.* after Cleitararchus ceases. This is very notable; for Cleitararchus loved

to relate an intrigue, *e.g.* the Amazon queen, and Cleophris.

¹⁸ Ptolemy's speech in Curtius, in alluding to Heracles, reproduces what Polyperchon *did* later, precisely as, in alluding to the Alexander-tent, it reproduces what Eumenes *did* later.

coloured by Duris (Schubert, p. 123), there can be little doubt through whom Curtius derived his statement.

Can we go further yet?

Four terms are found identified in Plutarch: (1) Barsine the captive; (2) Artabazus' daughter; (3) Memnon's widow; (4) Barsine of the blood royal. Of these, (1) and (2) were formally identified by Duris in the passage already referred to, Plut. *Eum.* 1. It is a worthless passage, full of errors; for instance, the brides of Ptolemy and Eumenes in 324 are called Apama and Barsine (how many daughters called Barsine did Duris suppose Artabazus to possess?), whereas their real names (Ptolemy ap. Arr. 7, 4, 6) were Artakama and Artonis; presumably Ptolemy knew his wife's name. The Duris passage, then, cannot be used for facts—few things in Duris can; and the identification of Barsine the captive with a definite Persian, Artabazus' daughter, may be merely Duris' own and may have no foundation in the vulgate; we cannot say. (3) I have already dealt with; (4) I come to presently.

The vulgate tradition, then, *i.e.* what Polyperchon gave out, was this: Alexander after Issus took a Persian captive named Barsine as mistress, and had by her a son Heracles; the two lived at Pergamum; and he may or may not have added that Barsine was Artabazus' daughter. This vulgate was circulated by (among others) Duris, who certainly made Barsine Artabazus' daughter. Aristobulus, who often rationalised, and who knew quite enough about Alexander to feel that some explanation of a proceeding so contrary to his character was necessary, tried to improve the vulgate by bringing in Parmenion;¹⁹ it was a poor shot, but then he did not know the boy's age; Polyperchon naturally had not stated that (if he knew it), for it would have given his whole story away. Much later, somebody identified 'Barsine' with (3), the Memnon's widow of Cleitarchus; this is no part of the vulgate. We cannot say who made this identification, nor is it material; for the identification rests on an obvious confusion of Mentor and Memnon, of Mentor's half-Persian wife Barsine with 'Barsine' the Persian captive; and such confusions are unfortunately far too common throughout the literature relating to the Macedonian epoch to call for comment.²⁰

Lastly (4), Barsine of the blood royal. Artabazus had played an important part in affairs for many years; we have a mass of references to him in the extant literature, but nowhere else is his royal descent alluded to, and there is no reason in the tradition to suppose it a fact.²¹ It is

¹⁹ It is more than possible (as we shall see) that Parmenion *did* give Alexander such advice, but with regard to the real Barsine, Darius' daughter, and that Aristobulus had some idea of it, and, with the vulgate before him, naturally supposed that it referred to the other (Polyperchon's) 'Barsine' and that Alexander had taken the advice. We know that Alexander's treatment of Darius' family sadly upset

every one's ideas of how a conqueror ought to behave.

²⁰ See another case of Memnon for Mentor, Strabo 13, 610.

²¹ That Artabazus was a son of Pharnabazus and Apama, daughter of Artaxerxes II., is a pure guess, and not very probable on the dates. Apama was married late in 387. In 342 Artabazus had twenty-one children by one wife (eleven

possible, therefore, that Plutarch's mention of royal descent was made, not because of Artabazus, but because of Barsine; it was the lady who had to be of royal descent, and this could only be on the father's side, Artabazus' wife being a Rhodian. The key to the whole thing is given by Justin 15, 2, 3, who has a story that Heracles was 'over fourteen' when murdered. Now a theory has been put forward that fourteen was the Macedonian throne-age, the age at which a prince could begin to exercise royal power, and that therefore Justin only means that Heracles was 'of age.'²² The theory is far indeed from being proved, and there is a rival theory which makes the throne-age eighteen; both seem to shatter on (beside other evidence) Diod. 19, 105, 2 (Hieronymus; see *ante*), which says that some in Macedonia said that Alexander's son ought now to rule, he being from twelve to thirteen years old. I am not going into this; for even if the theory were proved, few would care to believe that Justin (or Trogus) was so confident that his Roman readers would know the one-time Macedonian throne-age that he could allude to it in this extraordinary way without explanation. I take Justin to mean exactly what he says; there was a story which made the boy's age over fourteen in autumn 309. He was then supposed to have been born about summer 323; that is, in this story he was a legitimate son of Alexander and Barsine his wife, Darius' daughter. Plutarch's Barsine of the blood royal is an echo of this; some one (? Duris) mixed this story up with the vulgate, the very different story told by Polyperchon. The confusion with Roxane's son, who was born July 323, is obvious; and, in fact, Justin elsewhere (14, 6, 2 and 13) does call Heracles the son of Roxane.²³ The confusion goes further still in Porphyry (fr. 3, 1), where Roxane is Darius' daughter instead of Barsine. This story also suggests that 'Barsine,' Heracles' mother, the supposed captive of Issus, was really derived from Barsine, Darius' daughter, the real captive of Issus; and lends support to the supposition (see note 19) that Parmenion did give Alexander the advice Aristobulus says he did, but about Darius' daughter. It is tempting to suppose that behind all the confusion may have lain a story or stories with a purpose, the purpose of showing that Alexander left a son of Achaemenid race, just as he himself in Persian legend became a son of Artaxerxes Ochus, and Roxane became Darius' daughter.

sons), and Mentor that year gave 'his sons' commands in the army (Diod. 16, 52, 4). Literally, this means the whole eleven. Probably it really means 'some.' Even so, Artabazus cannot well have been married *later* than 370, and most probably married much earlier; for, even if Curtius be wrong in making him ninety-five in 330, at any rate he retired from his satrapy in 328 on the ground of old age; and the period was one which saw men of eighty still commanding armies in the field. If he were Apama's son, he was under sixty when he retired. He may have been Pharna-

bazus' son; but Nöldeke's idea that Apama was his mother was based solely on the belief that he had a daughter Apama. This, as we have seen, was a mere blunder of Duris', possibly due to the fact that there was an Apama (Spitamenes' daughter) among the brides at Susa.

²² Bauer, *op. c.* p. 51 n., with references.

²³ F. Schachermeyer, 'Das Ende des makedonischen Königshauses,' *Klio* 16 (1920), 332, suggests that Heracles in Justin 15, 2, 3 means Alexander IV.; but his article is quite superficial and does not examine the questions involved.

To sum up. Alexander had one son only, Roxane's; his intrigue with 'Barsine' is as mythical as that with the Amazon queen. Heracles of Pergamum was an ordinary pretender, chosen by Antigonos doubtless for some facial resemblance to Alexander, but five years too young for his alleged parentage. Who his mother was is unknown. We are thus quit of two very grave difficulties in the received version of events; we no longer need ask how it could have happened that a son of Alexander should grow up to seventeen unnoticed, and never be used as a pawn in the game by any one; or how it came to pass that Alexander's veterans, three days after that last touching scene when they insisted on filing past their dying king's bed, preferred Philip's idiot son to the son of Alexander.

W. W. TARN.

THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES.

IN past numbers of the *Annual of the British School at Athens* and elsewhere I have tried to deal with some of the questions connected with Byzantine Music, and, having brought to a close my studies of the Round or Later Mediaeval System, I am unwilling to leave the subject without giving my views on the abstruse and difficult problem of the older notation.¹

The later forms of the Linear or Neume System have a visible likeness to the earlier forms of the Round System already familiar, and hence all investigators seem to have started with the idea that the general principles of decipherment could be transferred from the later to the earlier stage, or, in other words, that the task simply consisted in the interpretation of certain interval-signs possessing fixed value. But of the two scholars who have published their researches in this field, Gastoué and Riemann, neither has been able to carry this principle through, and their proposed solutions fail to give us such a chain of interval-signs as we are tempted to expect.

Riemann claims the following concessions:—

(1) In every phrase the progression makes a fresh start from the *Finalis*.² (2) Only the first sign over a syllable has interval-value: what follows is ornamental.³ (3) The Ison at the end of a hymn has an indeterminate value, i.e. it always denotes the *Finalis*, no matter what the foregoing tone may have been.⁴

¹ Authorities: Gastoué, *Ann.*, *Introduction à la Paléographie musicale byzantine*. Riemann, H., *Die byzantinische Notenschrift im 10 bis 15 Jahrhundert*. Thibaut, J., *Origine byzantine de la Notation neumatique de l'Église latine*. I have written on the Neumes in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1916, p. 62, and *I.M.G.* (Monthly Mag. of Internat. Mus. Soc.) 1913, p. 31. For the Round Notation see my articles in *B.S.A.* vols. xviii., xix., xxi. and xxii.

As this article forms the end of the series, I should like to convey my thanks to several friends, especially to the Editor of the *Annual* and to the Managing Committee of the British

School at Athens; and also to Mr. F. C. Nicholson, Librarian at Edinburgh University, for his valuable aid in procuring access to MS. material at a difficult time. To various gentlemen, whose services I have acknowledged in former papers, I once again express my sincere gratitude.

² *Die byz. Notenschrift*, p. 57. The Latin term *Finalis* is here used to indicate the note on which the melody ends, being also that from which the progression starts.

³ *Ibid.* p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 57. The signs are given in Fig. 1, and explained below.

To these licences there are several objections: (1) (a) The result of Riemann's practice is that the same sign within a couple of bars may denote a totally different progression. This would inevitably lead to confusion. (b) The punctuation of the MSS. is too variable and uncertain to be the basis of our musical interpretation. On Riemann's hypothesis the dropping of a dot in the MS. might entirely alter a whole passage of melody. Besides this he is fond of dividing versicles for rhythmical reasons against the MSS. Will he then say that the music starts afresh from a non-existent punctuation-dot?

(2) Here again we have confusion and inconsistency. Some compound signs, like Kentema above Oxeia, Riemann seems to treat as single-value symbols, keeping their full power. But he has failed to tell us how to distinguish these from divisible groups where only the first factor counts. Indeed, in the case of the Kentemata he owns himself at a loss how to classify the compound.⁵ His examples are full of contradictions in these respects.

(3) A repeated note was the most common cadential formula in Byzantine music; and the use of the Ison for this purpose seems imperatively needed. Of all signs that for repetition (or zero interval-value) seems the least capable of a fluctuating equivalent.

Gastoué considers that all phrases in all modes begin from *g*, as a kind of fixed reciting-note. (He does not say whether he expects those modes that have some other Finalis to reach it automatically at the end of a hymn or whether some transposition is needed.) In attempting to apply this rule to the Round System, Gastoué has fallen into grave error; and from the single specimen of which he gives both original and transcript in the Linear System, it would perhaps be rash to judge of the merits of his theory. His frequent confusion of the Diple // with the Kentemata .. is a palpable defect; and anyhow the critic must demand more examples of successful interpretation before accepting such a hypothesis.⁶

In abandoning the principle of a chain of interval-signs, we lose the only mathematical check on the correctness of our evaluation and translation. But no other course seems to be open to us. Riemann says he spent 'many decades' studying Byzantine music, while of Gastoué he remarks: 'Mr. Gastoué has, like myself, made extended experiments of all kinds, but has not reached any definite result.'⁷ Finally, he sums up his own labours thus: 'Here I present the method of interpretation which, after wearisome experiments with every possible or probable scheme of evaluation, has alone proved satisfactory.'⁸ It is hard to believe, if the problem had merely been one of evaluation (as, for example, the Round System would have been without the help of the Papadike), that two such eminent musical palaeographers after their protracted labours should have failed to clear up the mystery. For my part, after photographing hundreds of hymns and making numerous copies and trial versions (often thirty or forty from the same hymn according to different theories), I am ready to maintain that the Linear Notation is a

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 80.

⁶ Gastoué, *op. cit.* pp. 12-16, 23-28, 32-38, and the ex. pp. 41-47. (Gaisser in a review in the *Russ. Gregor.* says that G.'s versions 'have no scientific value.') Although I differ from Gastoué on the main question, I have, like Riemann himself, found many useful suggestions and good material in his book.

⁷ *Op. cit.* *Introd.* pp. iii-iv.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 53. Yet in Riemann's complementary volume (*Riemann-Festschrift*, Leipzig, 1909 (same date as Riemann's own book)), Oskar von Rieseemann regards the Byzantine Neumes as entirely undeciphered. Riemann had already submitted his main contentions in an article published in 1907. So we may safely leave him to the verdict of his own admirers (see *R.-Festschr.* p. 189, and I.M.G. *Sammelbände*, Oct. 1907).

true Neume System, where the values of some of the signs were not yet mathematically fixed, and the interpretation of which can only be sought in the light of parallel texts in the Round Notation. This similarity of melody in the two notations is exactly what Riemann's theory fails to give us. Indeed, Riemann expressly repudiates it.⁹ To this may be answered: (1) When a new notation was invented, it would be most likely to find favour if it supplied an improved way of recording tunes already in use, not if it tended to supersede existing melodies. (2) In the Round Notation we can trace the survival of a melody in some cases for several centuries. Now the Round and Linear Systems were contemporaneous in the twelfth century, so that there was no interval of years in which ancient tunes might have lapsed into oblivion and fresh compositions have been needed to take their place. (3) The Round System triumphed completely and finally over its rivals by the end of the thirteenth century. This must have been due to some weighty advantage, by which it also held the field throughout the later middle ages. Such an advantage would have been contained in the adoption of fixed interval-values. (4) Between the late Linear and early Round versions of many hymns there is a clear graphical likeness. Was this a whim of the scribe, or were the two systems really recording substantially the same melodies?

Whatever answer we give, there is little scope for positive proof. But the general similarity of corresponding passages in the two notations is too frequent to be accidental; and if the reader will glance at the parallels supplied in this article, if he will bear in mind that they are only typical of a great many others equally striking, then I think he will be strongly inclined to believe that we are on the right track at last and that the Neumes may yet yield up their secret. In evaluating the particular symbols we shall find no great difficulty. Some of them are already known in the Round System, either as interval-signs or subsidiaries. In this way the name and direction of most of the older forms can generally be seen. Much can also be inferred from parallel passages in the Round Notation.

THE LATEST FORM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES (THE MIXED OR CONSTANTINOPOLITAN SYSTEM).

This phase of the notation (whichever of the proposed names we choose to give it, and all are equally unscientific) shews the greatest outward likeness to the Round System. It is represented by such MSS. as Paris, Coislin 220, Athens, Nat. Libr. 840, and many at Mt. Sinai, belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As a compliment to French scholarship I am calling this the *Coislin System*—a short name which begs no questions.

The symbols used in this system, with their probable meanings, are as follows (see Fig. 1):—

1 Ison: equality.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 35.

2 Oligon: ascending second. In the intermediate and earlier phases of Neumes this sign is the Ison. Riemann considers that it always represents the Ison in the Linear System.¹⁰ But this is almost certainly a mistake; for (1) where the Coislin System shews a plain stroke, this reappears in parallel passages of Round Notation as the Oligon. (2) When we compare earlier and later Neumatic passages, we find that the straight Ison in the former is quite regularly represented by the hooked Ison in the latter. Where the Coislin System has the Oligon, the earlier form either has an Oxeia or gives a different turn to the phrase. If we admit the general principle of constant tradition, these arguments seem conclusive. But, from the nature of the case, we cannot give a mathematical proof. If Riemann's evaluation worked out satisfactorily, I should have accepted it; but the opposite is the case.

3 Oxeia and

4 Petaste—these are used exactly as in the Round System. } Ascending
5 Kentemata: also used as in the above. } second.

6 Kentema. Here the value was probably not fixed. 7 and 8 usually made an ascending third, but 9 and 10 may also have served for an ascending fourth.

11 Hypsele: used in various compounds, such as 12, 13, 14. These probably made an ascending fifth or sixth.

15 Apostrophus. The juxtaposition of passages in the two notations forces us to conclude that the Apostrophus represents not only the simple value of a descending second, but also the value of the later compounds 16 and 17, viz. descending third and fourth respectively. The Double Apostrophus 18 has the same interval-value as the single, but prolongs the note. No. 19 means two successive descending seconds.

20 Hyporrhoe: two descending seconds over one syllable, used as in the Round System.

21 Chamele: mostly found with the Apostrophus, as in 21 *a*. It probably indicates a descending fifth or sixth, unless the melody had already reached the lower parts of the scale, in which case it may only have registered a fifth from the middle Finalis.

The following signs survived only as subsidiaries in the Round Notation, but in the Linear they evidently had sound and value.

22 Apoderma: probably a prolonged repeated note or Ison. It usually answers to an Ison, under which it appears as a lengthening Hypostasis, as in 23 (frequent in Round System).

24 Bareia: this has the same indeterminate value as the Apostrophus. The compounds at 25 may have any of the values assigned to the simple signs. This seeming paradox is proved by parallel passages. In such cases the Bareia gave warning of an approaching accent.

26 Double Bareia (later Piasma) has the same interval-value as the simple sign, but prolongs the sound. In composition with the Apostrophus the Double Bareia may lose its value just as the simple Bareia appears to do.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 55.

27 Diple, 28 Kratema, and 29 Xeron Klasma (to give them their later names): All these properly denote an ascending second with prolongation. Sometimes, however, they seem to be used merely as subsidiaries, especially when placed below the Ison.

Also in the compound 30 only one ascending second seems to keep its mathematical value. For we find very often the formula 30 *a* in the Linear

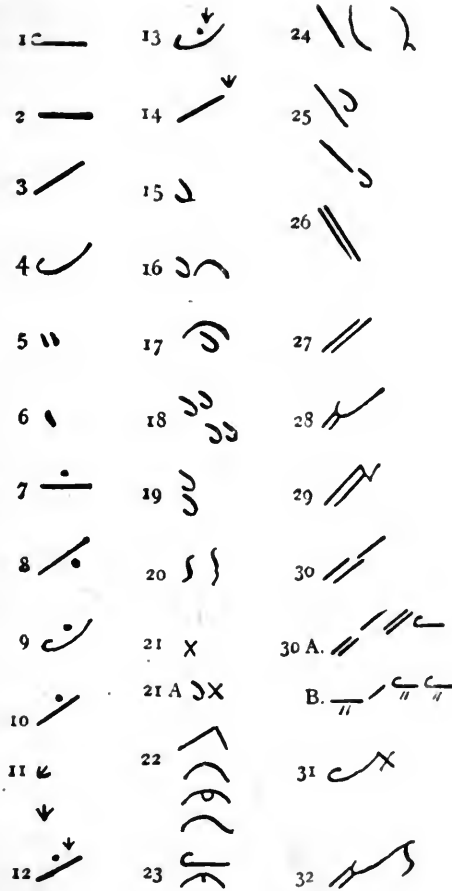
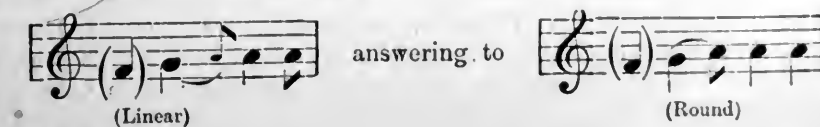


FIG. 1.—SYMBOLS USED IN THE COISLIN SYSTEM.

System answering to 30 *b* in the Round Notation, both being common at cadences; the effect was probably



31 Kouphisma: ascending second, perhaps followed by some ornament. When a dot follows, the compound may be spread over two syllables; this is probably not the Kentema but an archaic punctuation-sign which we shall meet again in the earliest system. The total value is still, therefore, an ascending second.

32 Kratemohyporrhoon: the Kratema now, of course, will count. So the value will be a second upwards and two seconds downwards.

Hypostases. Many of those already familiar in the Round Notation occur in the Neumes, the commonest being the Klasma \vee or \smile . In the older Neumes this is used alone and seems to be a compound of Bareia and Oxeia, the value being one or two notes down and one up.

The Argon \sqcap or \frown or \smile is found very frequently in some MSS. At first sight we are tempted to take this as Elaphron, or descending third (so Gastoué and Riemann). But we must note: (1) The semicircular sign never occurs alone except where it can be more naturally understood as the Apoderma (large size). (2) The small half-circle may occur as many as five times in succession in conjunction with the Apostrophus. To treat it as Elaphron, descending third or fourth, in such cases would give an impossible progression. (3) The Elaphron-compounds in the Round Notation, as we have seen, answer regularly to a simple Apostrophus in the Coislin System. Where the latter shews the small semicircle the Round Notation more often has some ascending sign. (4) The almost complete disuse of the Argon in the Round System suggests that the semicircle was taken up for a new purpose, while the angular form \sqcap , alone given in the Papadike, was too much like it to be used without confusion.

33 Parakletike: this seems still to have no value in the Coislin System. In the earlier phases it may stand alone and perhaps denotes an ascending second. (See Fig. 3, below.)

34 Thematismus Eso and 35 Thema Haploun may now sometimes indicate formulae not shewn by the interval-signs. (*V. ibid.*)


Hypotaxis. We have already mentioned that the Diple seems to lose its value in certain cases, as does the Bareia. Further, Oxeia or Petaste even *above* an Ison, over one syllable, seems to be annulled. The general law of subordination had not been established so early.

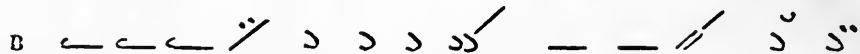
The reader will now easily understand our transcriptions from the Coislin System (see Figs. Nos. 2 and 3). It must be remembered that when a medial cadence has been made on a Finalis, the sequence may be broken and the melody start afresh from the other Finalis. This was rarely done in the Round Notation, but is frequent in the Linear. It is quite a different thing from beginning *every* new phrase from the Finalis (as Gastoué and Riemann do) no matter where the preceding one left off.


In every case we supply the parallel hymn from the Round Notation. The degree of similarity varies greatly, and where there is only a remote general likeness, any translation of the Neumes will be mainly guesswork. The task of the future will be to gather materials for more extensive comparison, and as every melody extant in the Linear Notation has many


counterparts in the Round System, a thorough collation of the versions of various dates should eventually fill up most of the gaps in our present knowledge.

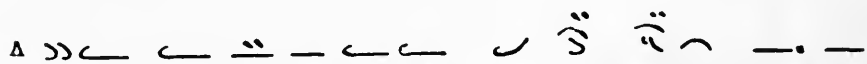
In the Round System, when an ascending sign is annulled by an Ison or a descending sign, some ornamentation was probably implied. The exact execution may have been left, as it is in modern Greek Church music, to the discretion of the singer. For the annulled Petaste I put a *mordente*. This, in quick time, is conveniently sung as a triplet (including the principal note). For the annulled Oligon or Oxeia I put a grace-note or *acciaciatura*; for the annulled Kouphisma—a double *mordente*.

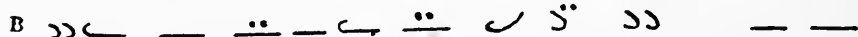
A 
 (1) 'Α - γαλ - λι - άσ - θω ή κτί - σις (2) ού - ρα - νοὶ εὐ - φραι -


B 

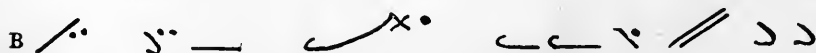
A 
 νέσ - θω - σαν (3) χείρας κρο - τεί - τω τὰ ἔθ - νη μετ' εὐ - φρο -


B 

A 
 σύ-νης· (4) Χρισ - τὸς γὰρ ὁ Θε - ὅς ἡ - μῶν . . . (5) τῷ σταυ -

B 

A 
 ρῶ · προσ - η λώ - σας (6) τὰς ἀ - μαρ - τί - ας ἡ -

B 

A 
 μῶν (7) καὶ τὸν θύ - να - τον νε - κρώ - σας (8) ζῶ -

B 

FIG. 2.

A. COD. ATHON. VATOPED. 288. f. 374 (Round Notation).

B. COD. SINAIT. 1214 (Linear: Coislin System).

MODE I.

From *Stichera Anastasima*

A

(1) 'Α - γαλ - λι - άσ - θω ή κτί - σις (2) οὐ - ρα - ιοὶ εὐ - φραι -

B

νέσ - θω - σαν (3) χείρας κρο - τεί - τω τὰ ἔθ - νη μετ' εὐ - φρο -

A

σύν-νης (4) Χρισ - τὸς γὰρ ὁ Θε - ὸς ἡ - μῶν . . (5) τῷ σταυ -

B

ρῷ · προσ - η - λώ - σας (6) τὰς ἀ - μαρ - τί - ας ἡ -

A

μῶν (7) καὶ τὸν θά - να - τον νε - κρώ - σας (8) ζῶ -

B

¹¹ *Piasma*.¹² Fresh start from lower Finalis.¹³ Fresh start from middle Finalis.

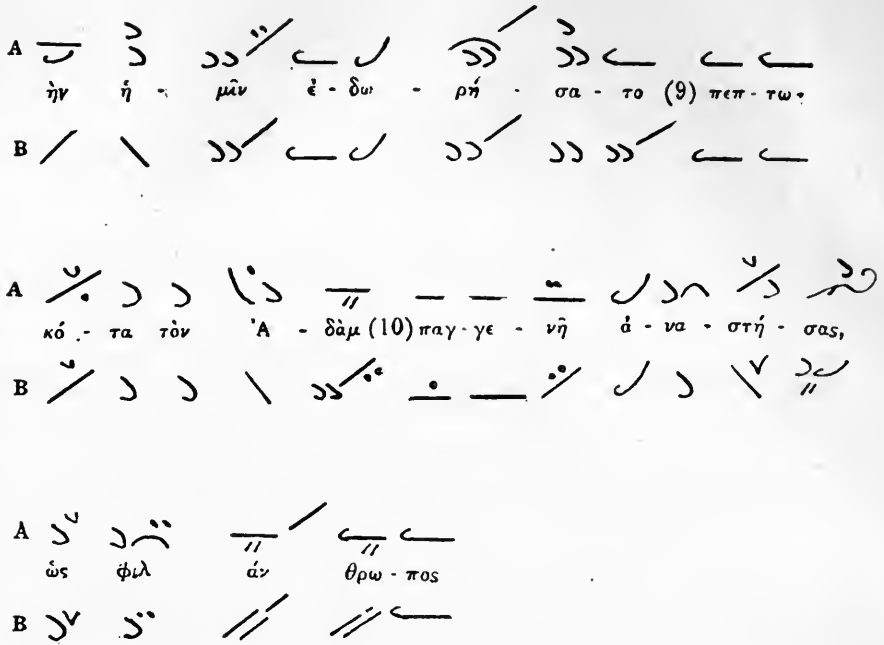


FIG. 2.

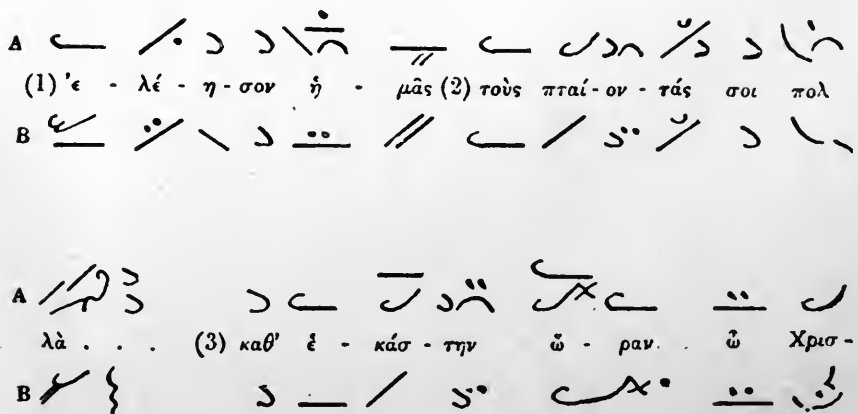


FIG. 3.

A

ἦν ἡ - μῖν ἐ - δω - ρή - σα - το (9) πεπ - τω -

B

A

κό - τα τὸν. Ἄ - δὰμ (10) παγ - γε - νῆ ἄ - να - στή - σας,

B

A

ὥς φιλ - ἄν - θρω - πος.

B

A. COD. ATHON. VATOPED. 288 F. 368 b. (Round Notation).

B. COD. SINAIT. 1244. (Linear: Coislin System).

MODE II.

From *Stichera Anastasima*.

A

(1)¹⁴ Ἐ - λέ - η - σον ἡ - μᾶς (2) τοὺς πταιί - ον - τὰς σοι πολ -

B

A

λὰ . . . (3) καθ' ἐ - κάσ - την ὦ - ραν¹⁵ ὦ Χρισ -

B

¹⁴ Parakletike.

¹⁵ Fresh start from lower Finalis: clear dot in text of Sinait.

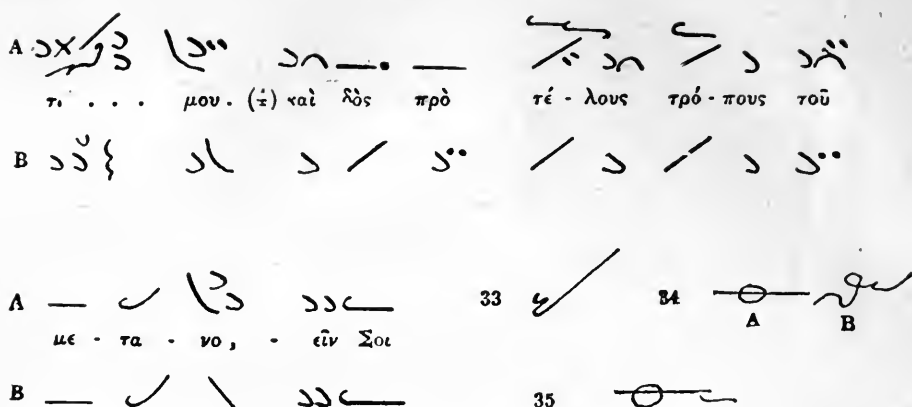


FIG. 3.

Note on the Russian Neumes.

The Russian Church, besides translating most of the Byzantine Liturgy into the Slavonic language¹⁸ also borrowed her sacred music from Constantinople. It is, however, a remarkable fact that the so-called Kondakarial Notation, the oldest known in Russia (11th-12th century), cannot be traced in any Greek manuscript, though a few of the signs seem to agree with the Ecphonetic. This system is totally unintelligible at present; but the slightly later Sematic Notation is so much like the Coislin Neumes that a valid interpretation of the latter would almost certainly supply us with its clue. Unfortunately the materials are buried in the libraries of Russian monasteries, where there are small facilities for study, while the publications, as far as they are available at all in this country, are altogether inadequate for our purpose.

Thibaut reproduces one ode of the Easter Canon in the early Sematic Notation.¹⁹ This we have tried to decipher on the analogy of Coislin 220.

For the hymns given by Riesemann I have no parallels available.²⁰ The later stages of the Sematic Notation, to judge from Riesemann's facsimiles, have scarcely any likeness to the older. This may be due to the fact that he has no examples between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries. At the latter date we find a highly developed notation with group-symbols and red diacritic letters, which can be read with certainty by the help of numerous mediaeval handbooks and the tradition of the Old Believers.²¹ An extensive publication of hymns in this script has been carried out in Russia. Here, therefore, the

¹⁸ Cod. — some correction needed.

¹⁹ Lygisma.

²⁰ For information as to Russian liturgy, see Neale, J. M., *Hist. of Holy Eastern Church*, Introd. pts. 1 and 2.

²¹ *Op. cit.* Pl. VIII. (No transcription attempted.) In the next facsimile is a specimen of the later Sematic Notation. How widely they differ will be seen at a glance. The same writer discusses the Ecphonetic Notation on pp. 17 ff.

²⁰ Oskar von Riesemann, *Die Notationen des alt-russischen Kirchen gesanges*, Leipzig, 1909. Musicians owe a debt of gratitude to this scholar, who has set out in a concise and clear form a mass of information otherwise accessible only in Russian.

²¹ MSS. of this class are common all over Russia and are found in western libraries. I bought three at the Nijni Novgorod fair in 1911; the latest may belong to the early nineteenth century.

A 16 17

τέ . . . μου . (4) καὶ δὸς πρὸ τέ - λους τρώ - πους τοῦ

B

A με - τα - νο - εἶν Σοι

B

western scholar need only come as a learner; but in the more ancient neumes there seems to be plenty of room left for investigation and methodical criticism. To this subject, which lies beyond the range of the present article, I should be glad to return at some later date.

RUSSIAN NEUMES; EASTER CANON.
Facsimile in J. THIBAUT, *op. cit.* Pl. VIII.



вос - кре - се - ні - я день про - свѣ - ти - мъ ся

люд - и - ѣ. пас - ха гос - под - ѣ - ня пас - ха. о - ть

съ мър - ти - ю во - къ жиз - ни и о - ть зем - ля - на

не - бо хрис - тос - ѣ бог - ѣ на - съ при - ве - дъ

²²
ес - ть по - бѣ - дъ - ну - ю по - ю - ше

THE EARLIER FORMS OF BYZANTINE NEUMES.

Before the supremacy of the Coislin System, matters seem to have been chiefly in the experimental stage; and to classify all the varieties of Byzantine Notation would hardly be possible until a much more detailed sifting of materials can be undertaken in the libraries of Athos and Sinai, where alone the specimens are available in large numbers.

We may, however, distinguish an intermediate stage (in the eleventh and twelfth centuries), marked by the use of a plain horizontal stroke, as the

²² Fresh start from lower Finalis.

only Ison (for repeated note), and an archaic stage, sometimes called Palaeo-byzantine (tenth and eleventh centuries), where a blank space is left instead of an Ison, and the end of a hymn, or other important pause, is marked by a heavy dot in line with the Neumes. We have already mentioned that certain signs, which are only subsidiaries in the Coislin System, have interval-value in the earlier phases.

Many MSS. of the intermediate class are very ornate, using a great number of compound signs of obscure meaning. The extreme example of this we find in the Chartres fragment and the MS., Laura Γ , 67, from which it seems to have been torn. This MS. contains a leaf of a musical handbook dealing in a summary fashion with the notation in question. This latter fragment I have discussed in an earlier article.²³

Two examples of early neumatic passages, with approximate transcriptions, will be now given. The parallelism is sometimes fairly close between the intermediate and Coislin versions; only in such cases can an accurate transcription be expected.

For the Easter Ode we offer three versions (Fig. 4). The Laura MS.²⁴ (c. 1000 A.D.) is the oldest known specimen of Byzantine Neumes, while that from the Iberian Monastery is the oldest that I have seen in the Round Notation.²⁵ It is often hard to decipher and contains errors besides reminiscences of the Neumes. The laws of subordination are sometimes overlooked, and the sequence is broken occasionally at a medial cadence. The middle stage is here represented by Coislin 220, from which the system takes its name.

The Hymn for S. Stephen is a fairly simple instance of the intermediate Neumes (Fig. 5.) The frequent use of the Argon will be observed, and also the compendious sign in line 7 (Thematismus eso). An unusually close parallel is afforded by the Trinity MS., which probably belongs to the early fifteenth century.²⁶

²³ *B.S.A.* xix. pp. 95-108. The Chartres fragment is discussed by Gastoué, *op. cit.* p. 96, who gives facsimiles. Any translation in the present state of knowledge is mainly guess-work.

²⁴ For this MS. see my article, *B.S.A.* xix. pp. 95 ff. and Pl. XIV. Riemann, *op. cit.* 73-94, also gives specimens; his reproductions are almost illegible (from bad photo-

graphs; the MS. is clear) while his versions are open to the objections already mentioned.

²⁵ Cf. my article in *Musical Antiq.* 1913, 205, 220. We should probably add a Diple to the last Ison but one in the hymn reproduced from this MS. in Fig. 5, in order to secure a normal ending, as in the transcription.

²⁶ For other exx. from this valuable MS. see *B.S.A.* xxi. pp. 136, 143; cf. *ibid.* xxiii. p. 201.

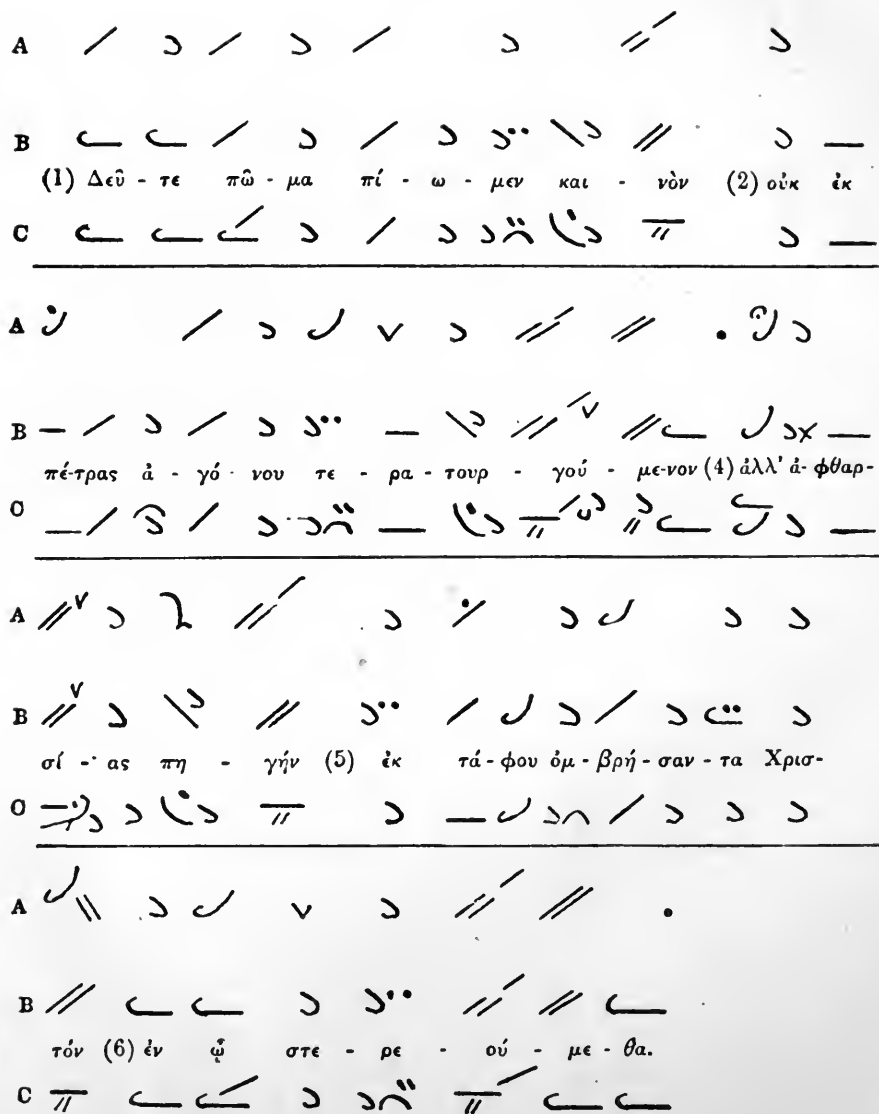


FIG. 4.

CANON FOR EASTER.

A. PALAEOBYZANTINE; LAURA B 22, f. 10 b.

B. COISLIN SYSTEM. COD. COISLIN 220.

C. ROUND SYSTEM (ARCHAIC) COD. ATHON, IBER. 222, f. 5.

ODE III. MODE I.

A B C

(1) Δεῦ - τε πῶ - μα πί - ω - μεν και - νὸν (2) οὐκ ἐκ

A B C


πέ-τρας ἀ - γό - νου τε - ρα - τουρ - γού - με-νον (4) ἀλλ' ἀ-φθαρ-

A B C

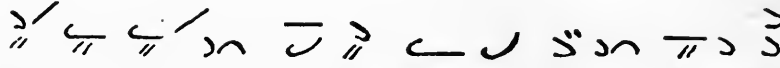
σί - ας πη - γήν (5) ἐκ τά-φου ὑμ - βρή - σαν - τα Χρισ-

A B C


τόν (6) ἐν ᾧ στε - ρε - ού - με - θα.

1 
 (1) Πρῶ - τος ἐν δι - α - κό - νοις· (2) πρῶ - τος καὶ ἐν

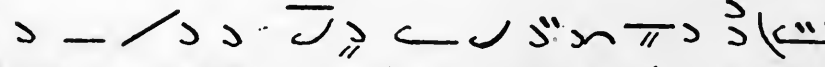
2 

1 
 μάρ - τυ - σιν ἐ - δείχ-θης (3) παν - ά - γι - ε Στέ - φα -

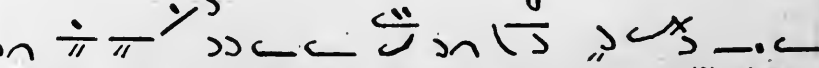
2 

1 
 νε· (4) ό - δὸς γὰρ ἐ - γέ - νου τοῖς ά - γί - οῖς . . .

2 

1 
 (5) καὶ πολ - λούς τῷ Κυ - ρί - ψ· (6) προσ - ή - γα - γες μάρ - τυ - ρας·

2 

1 
 (7) δι - ό . . . οὐ - βα - νός σοι ἦν - οί - γει (8) καὶ Θε -

2 

FIG. 5.

HYMN FOR S. STEPHEN (*Dec. 26th*)

1. CANTAB. TRINITATIS, B. 11. 17, f. 107 (Round System).

2. SINAITICUS. 1219. NEUMES (Intermediate Form).

MODE II.

(1) Πρῶ - τος ἐν δι - α - κό - νοις· (2) πρῶ - τος καὶ ἐν

μάρ - τυ - σιν ἐ - δείχ - θης (3) παν - ά - γι - ε Στέ - φυ -

νέ· (4) ὁ - ἔος γὰρ ἐ - γέ - νου τοῖς ά - γί - οις . . .

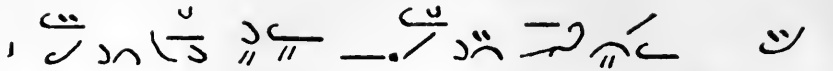
(5) καὶ πολ - λούς τῷ Κυ - ρί - ω· (6) προσ - ή - γα - γες μάρ - τυ - ρας·

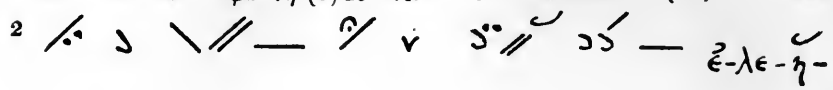
(7) δι - ὁ οὐ - ρα - νός σοι ἦν - οι - γει (8) καὶ Θε -

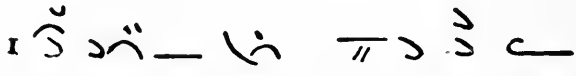
27 Fresh start from Finalis.

28 Argon (*prassim*).

29 Thematismus—compendious sign.

1 
 ὅς σοι ἐ - φά - νη· (9) αὐ - τὸν ἰ - κέ - τευ - ε (10) σω-

2 
 ἐ - λε - ῖ -

1 
 θῆ - ναι τὰς ψυ - χὰς ἡ - μῶν.

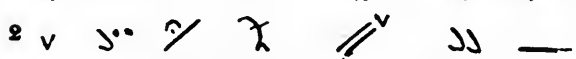
2 

Fig. 5.

1
ὅς σοι ἐ - φά - νη (9) αὐ - τὸν ἰ - κέ - τευ - ε (10) σω -

2
d - λε - η

1
θῆ - ναι τὰς ψυ - χὰς ἡ - μῶν.

2
θῆ - ναι

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THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1919-1920.

IN my last Bibliography (*J.H.S.* xxxix. 209 ff.) I attempted to cover the three and a half years from July 1915 to December 1918 inclusive, though I was only too well aware that, under the conditions of the period of war and armistice, I could not claim completeness for my record. In the present article I deal primarily with the years 1919 and 1920, but I have inserted references to a number of books and articles which actually appeared earlier though they did not become accessible to me until the years under review. Excavation has not yet been renewed on anything like the pre-war scale and the number of Greek inscriptions published for the first time is correspondingly small, but gratifying progress has been made in many directions in the restoration of mutilated texts and the fuller interpretation and utilisation of documents already known. The reader who glances even cursorily through the following pages will, I hope, be struck, despite the compression necessitated by considerations of space, by the vitality and interest of the study to which they relate, and by the many-sided contribution it has made to the understanding of Hellenic language, literature, religion and history.

General.—In addition to my own Bibliography above referred to, the 'Bulletin Épigraphique' of P. Roussel and G. Nicole¹ calls for mention: the 'Literaturbericht' for 1916 drawn up by P. Kretschmer² has a more specialised aim and therefore a narrower scope, but is invaluable for philologists. A very concise account of Greek and Latin epigraphy is incorporated in Laurand's *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines*,³ but this, though containing some useful suggestions and bibliographical data, is too brief to serve as a satisfactory introduction to the study of Greek epigraphy. The excellent little work entitled *How to Observe in Archaeology*,⁴ addressed primarily to travellers who have received little archaeological training, takes some account of inscriptions and contains two tables of Greek and cognate alphabets, one relating to Asia Minor and the other to mainland Greece and the islands.

The year 1920 has seen good progress made with the third edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, of which two new instalments⁵ have been issued. Volume III contains the 359 texts (of which 44 did not appear in the second edition) selected to illustrate various aspects of the public, religious and private life of the Greeks. The great majority have been edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, but E. Ziebarth has undertaken this

¹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxx. 409 ff.

² *Glotta*, x. 213 ff.

³ Fasc. 7, Paris (Picard), 1919.

⁴ London (British Museum), 1920.

⁵ Leipzig (Hirzel).

responsibility for some sixty inscriptions, chiefly dealing with private life, and O. Weinreich and H. Diels have dealt with a few texts falling within their special provinces. The first section of Vol. IV comprises Indexes of personal names, divine and human; of their accuracy and fulness there need be no doubt, but it is hard to approve of the change whereby human beings other than potentates are arranged not solely on the alphabetical principle but under the several states to which they belonged.

E. Preuner has published ⁶ extracts from the papers of H. N. Ulrichs relative to Greek inscriptions, following the order of the *I.G.*; most of these shed fresh light on, or suggest corrections of, published texts, but some afford new material for Troezen, Tanagra, Thespiae, Thebes and Delphi. A metrical epitaph, the provenance of which is not indicated, has been discussed by T. Reinach ⁷ and may receive a passing mention here.

In the dialectological sphere special attention may be called to two articles ⁸ in which F. Bechtel examines dialect-forms found in Thessalian, Boeotian, Locrian, Delphian, Arcadian and Lesbian inscriptions. J. C. Hoppin has given us, in addition to the valuable work noted in the following section, some corrections ⁹ of Nicole's *Corpus des Céramistes Grecs*, C. Robert has examined fully ¹⁰ the scenes from the Iliad and from the Nosti occurring on two inscribed Homeric vases, and the brief inscriptions on several gems ¹¹ seen by Antoine Galland (1646-1715) and on a glass weight from the Vienna Hofmuseum ¹² also call for notice. Of much greater interest is E. Preuner's detailed examination ¹³ of some points of contact between archaeology and epigraphy, in the course of which he attempts a new restoration of the Miccythus-inscription from Olympia, reconstructs the *stemma* of the Megarian sculptor Callicles, investigates the evidence for the artistic activities of Daedalus, a Sicyonian bronze-caster of the early fourth century, collects the references to a family of Athenian potters in which the names Bacchius and Cittus are prominent, calls into being from an epithet a Theban artist Euan-critus, deals with the titles on portraits of Menander, Solon and Archilochus, traces the source of the forged inscription on a relief at Wilton House, and shows how the allegation that Cyriac of Ancona copied in Chios an epitaph of Homer rests apparently upon the fact that he copied the metrical epitaph of a certain Isidote which refers to Chios as the *πάτρα πολυήρατος Ὀμήρου*.

To two French scholars we owe able and important volumes the materials for which are drawn largely from inscriptions. In his work ¹⁴ on the translation into Greek of the consular title M. Holleaux reviews successively the translations found in documents emanating from consuls, in dedicatory inscriptions set up by the Italians of Delos, in decrees and dedications of Greek origin, in Polybius, and in the acts of the Senate. A chapter is devoted to critical remarks on the title *στρατηγὸς ὑπατος*, and in an appendix (p. 131 ff.)

⁶ *Rh. Mus.* lxxiii. 273 ff.

⁷ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1920, 57.

⁸ *Gött. Nachr.* 1918, 397 ff., 1919, 339 ff.

⁹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxi. 308 ff.

¹⁰ *Jahrb.* xxxiv. 65 ff.

¹¹ *Rev. Arch.* xii (1920), 104 ff.

¹² *Num. Zeit.* li. 194 ff.

¹³ *Jahrb.* xxxv. 59 ff.

¹⁴ *Étude sur la traduction en grec du titre consulaire*, Paris (Boccard), 1918.

the author reproduces his discussion¹⁵ of the so-called letter of Cn. Manlius Volso to the state of Heraclea sub Latmo. The addenda and corrigenda include a new fragment of a letter of Sp. Postumius, remarks on the dedications of Roman magistrates mentioned in the Delian inventories and a new letter of the Senate, written probably early in 188 B.C. and inscribed at Delphi. No less interesting is J. Hatzfeld's exhaustive discussion of the Italian *negotiatores* in the Greek East,¹⁶ in which, after some preliminary remarks on Latin names in Greek inscriptions (p. 7 ff.), the writer traces minutely the history of the expansion of the *negotiatores* over the Hellenic world (17 ff.) and then reviews (193 ff.) their professions, origin, social status and organisation, their relations to the Greek population, and the rôle they played. The full and excellent index adds greatly to the value of a notable book. Other important books and articles also draw largely or mainly upon epigraphical sources. Among these are W. Schubart's remarks on the style of the letters written by Hellenistic kings,¹⁷ T. Klee's monograph¹⁸ on the *γυμνικοὶ ἀγῶνες* at Greek festivals, which, starting from the Coan victor-lists here first published, discusses successively the programmes of the competitions, the age-classes of competitors, the times of the several festivals and the victors in the four sacred *ἀγῶνες*, M. Holleaux's admirable collection¹⁹ of the epigraphical occurrences of the title *στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος*, and F. Imhoof-Blumer's article²⁰ on the significance of the title *ἱππικός* and the employment of Roman knights as officials in Greek cities. U. Wilcken's examination²¹ of the formulae of Imperial rescripts from the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian also owes something to inscriptions, notably that of Scaptopara.

One of the most marked features of the past few years has been the lively interest shown in the question of the derivation of the Greek alphabet and indeed of alphabetic writing altogether, an interest which has been specially stimulated by the work of Evans, Sethe and Gardiner, who approach the subject from the side of the Cretan, Egyptian and Sinaitic inscriptions respectively. I am not competent to discuss all the articles written and all the suggestions advanced, nor indeed are they all relevant to a bibliography of Greek epigraphy, but the content of some of them must be briefly indicated.

J. Sundwall, who continues to do valuable work on the Cretan scripts, has attempted²² an interpretation, necessarily provisional, of some tablets in the linear script A, and has also discussed²³ the question of the origin of the Cretan writing, rejecting the theory that this was the 'Urbild' of the Phoenician, and tracing back fifty-three Cretan signs to Egyptian hieroglyphs: there cannot, he holds, be the slightest doubt that the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing served not only as a stimulus but as a pattern and that the Cretans

¹⁵ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xix. 237 ff.

¹⁶ *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique*, Paris (Boccard), 1919. Reviewed by P. Roussel, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxii. 138 f.

¹⁷ *Arch. Pap.* vi. 324 ff.

¹⁸ *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griech. Festen*, Leipzig (Teubner), 1918.

Reviewed *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxix. 169 ff., *Class. Phil.* xiv. 90 f. Cf. *Klio*, xvi. 192 f.

¹⁹ *Rev. Arch.* viii. (1918), 221 ff.

²⁰ *Num. Zeit.* xlviii. 94 ff.

²¹ *Hermes*, lv. 1 ff.

²² *Acta Acad. Aboensis Humaniora*, ii, Abo, 1920.

²³ *Ibid.* i. 2. Reviewed *Phil. Woch.* xli. 12.

took over the Egyptian phonetic values together with the signs. Of W. N. Bates' paper on 'Recent Theories on the Origin of the Alphabet' I know only a brief summary,²⁴ but it is noteworthy that he thinks that the Greek alphabet is not derived from the Phoenician. This same thesis is maintained by W. M. Flinders Petrie, who, in an article²⁵ resuming and restating the view already set forth in his work, *The Formation of the Alphabet*, admits indeed the close connexion between the Greek and the Phoenician alphabet, but argues that the latter was neither the sole source of the former nor the source of all other alphabets. He rejects the claims of the hieratic, Cretan and Sinaitic scripts to have originated alphabetic writing, and traces the use of a signary of some sixty signs back to a very early stage of Egyptian history, in many cases prior to the use of hieroglyphs. Of these signs various people made different selections, or the same people, as for example the Greeks, used now a fuller and now a shorter selection. Reviewing this article, a writer in the *Revue Archéologique*,²⁶ though not committing himself to the whole theory, holds that at least it 'merits discussion.' E. Hermann, on the other hand, has written an interesting summary²⁷ of Sethe's article in which the Sinaitic inscriptions are regarded as bridging the gulf between the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Semitic scripts. The Phoenicians took over the hieroglyphic signs but not the Egyptian values; the pictographs received their Semitic names and their value was then determined on the acrophonic principle. The Greek alphabet in turn was derived from the Phoenician, as has been shown afresh by M. P. Nilsson, whose work (*vide infra*) Hermann summarises and criticises (p. 54 ff.). The same scholar has protested²⁸ against the misrepresentation of his article on the letters *Pi* and *Beta* by A. Mentz, who has made a brief rejoinder.²⁹ M. P. Nilsson's work³⁰ contains a re-examination of the theory of a Phoenician origin of the Greek alphabet and an attempt to trace its development on the basis of simple and consistent principles, aided by a well-guarded use of analogy. He insists that in the Semitic and Greek alphabets the acrophonic principle determines without exception the phonetic value of a letter, which represents the first sound of the letter-name, and examines at length the procedure followed in other alphabets and also in Greek to secure signs for sounds hitherto unrepresented, the main method consisting in a differentiation of the sign which is phonetically most closely akin to the sound for which a new sign is sought. In a paper³¹ dealing mainly with some points in the history of the Etruscan and Latin alphabets, M. Hammarström has devoted to the history, form and value of the Greek letter *H* a full and valuable discussion, which students of the Greek alphabet cannot afford to neglect. Considerations of space and of relevance forbid any detailed notice of J. Capart's estimate and critique of recent dis-

²⁴ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxiv. 80.

²⁵ *Scientia*, Dec. 1918.

²⁶ x. (1919), 379 f.

²⁷ *Deutsche Literaturztg.* xl. 27 ff., 51 ff.

²⁸ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxix. 264.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 576.

³⁰ *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, i. 6. Copenhagen, 1918.

³¹ *Acta Societatis Scient. Fennicae*, xlix. 2. Helsingfors, 1920. Reviewed by E. Hermann, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl. 1067 ff.

coveries relative to the history of the alphabet³² and of R. Eisler's bold and noteworthy attempt³³ to decipher the Sinaitic inscriptions, written according to the author in an alphabet of twenty-two letters, almost all of which can be traced back to Egyptian hieroglyphs, though their sense is not that of the Egyptian signs but of the Semitic letter-names. Special attention should, however, be drawn to E. Kalinka's essay on the origin of alphabetic writing,³⁴ in which the writer maintains the Semitic origin of the Greek alphabet, but after an examination of the pictographic value of the earliest Phoenician letter-forms concludes that the inventor of the alphabet was not a Phoenician but a member of some nomadic people in the Phoenician hinterland, possibly the Israelites, and to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's long and suggestive study³⁵ of the same subject, in which the writer develops and supports suggestions made by him in 1904 and 1910, insisting that whereas the 'inner form' of the Phoenician alphabet is certainly derived from an Egyptian source, the 'outer form,' i. e. the signs employed, should not be traced to Egyptian, Babylonian or other originals (as appears from the two recorded American cases of the invention of scripts in recent times), though an eclectic use of Cretan or other signs may have been made without regard to their phonetic values; the general conclusion is that the Phoenician alphabet arose in Palestine not very long before 1100-1000 B.C., probably at the period when Egyptian rule over Palestine had ceased, and there was no single and compact régime in Mesopotamia.

Attica.—The new Attic inscriptions published during the period under review are few in number and of no very great interest, but valuable work has been done in the restoration and interpretation of previously known texts. At Sunium B. Staïs has found two fragments of archaic dedications and a number of stone balls inscribed with numerals and, in some cases, the name of a certain Zoilus;³⁶ their purpose he regards as enigmatic, but J. Svoronos has conjectured³⁷ that they served as weights in the Athenian mint at Sunium. Investigation of the grotto of Pan near Phyle has yielded sixteen texts, of which all save one are new, mostly votive in character.³⁸ E. F. Rambo has illustrated an article³⁹ on Attic grave-stelae by three hitherto unpublished examples in the Philadelphia Museum, and F. Behn has discussed⁴⁰ two Panathenaic amphorae from Egypt, now preserved in the Pelizäus Museum at Hildesheim. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, who is at present engaged on a special study of the earlier Attic inscriptions, has discussed the restoration of the 'Salaminian Decree,'⁴¹ documents relating to the Hekatompedon, Athenian public works and the Apolline worship,⁴² and two archaic

³² *Acad. Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 1920, 408 ff.

³³ *Die Kenitischen Weihinschriften der Hyksoszeit im Bergbauggebiet der Sinaihalbinsel*, Freiburg i. Br. (Herder), 1919. Reviewed, *Aegyptus*, i. 373 ff., *Rev. Arch.* x. (1919), 380, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl. 1184 ff., *Hist. Zeits.* cxxiii, 303 ff.

³⁴ *Klio*, xvi. 302 ff.

³⁵ *Zeits. D.M.G.* lxxiii. 51 ff.

³⁶ *'Apx. 'Ep.* 1917, 201, 203.

³⁷ *Journ. Intern.* xviii. 122.

³⁸ *'Apx. 'Ep.* 1918, 19 ff.

³⁹ *The Museum Journal*, x. 149 ff.

⁴⁰ *Arch. Anz.* xxxiv. 77 ff.

⁴¹ *Berl. Sitzb.* 1919, 660 f.: cf. *Hermes*, liv. 112.

⁴² *Ibid.* 1919, 661 ff.

epigrams.⁴³ W. Bannier has published a further instalment⁴⁴ of his valuable comments on Attic inscriptions, dealing with the sixth and fifth centuries, and the latter century is further represented by L. Weber's re-examination⁴⁵ of the two epigrams of *I.G.* i. 333, both of which he refers to the battle of Marathon and connects conjecturally with the basis of the Hermae erected in the Athenian Agora to celebrate the victories won over the Persians, and by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's discussion⁴⁶ of the phrase *καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι Χαλκιδέης* in the 'Chalcidian Decree.' New and valuable light has been thrown on the decree of 401/0 (*I.G.* ii.² 10.) granting privileges to those metics and foreigners who had aided in the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants and the reinstatement of democracy: the document is discussed in detail, mainly upon the basis of the generally accepted restoration, by P. Cloché,⁴⁷ while P. Foucart sets himself with marked success to the task of restoring the text and interpreting the exact nature of the services rendered and the rewards granted.⁴⁸ Turning to the fourth century we may note Cloché's dating⁴⁹ of the Attic fragment mentioning King Tachos of Egypt (*I.G.* ii. 60=ii.² 119), E. Reisch's article⁵⁰ on the date of the statue of Syeris sculptured by Nicomachus (ii. 1378), K. Kunst's examination⁵¹ of a famous Eleusinian account (ii. 834 b=Dittenb. *Syll.*² 587), and G. Glotz's attempt⁵² to fix in June or July 332 B.C. the date of the accounts relating to the Portico of Philon at Eleusis (ii. 834 c). To B. Leonardos we owe very careful and detailed commentaries⁵³ on the decree granting citizenship to Menestheus of Miletus (ii. 455) and on the catalogue of the demesmen of the Acamantid tribe (ii. 1032). In a series of epigraphical studies on Athens in the imperial period, P. Graindor discusses⁵⁴ (a) the date of the archonship of Philopappus (iii. 78) and of Plutarch's *συμποσιακὰ προβλήματα*, (b) the decree in honour of an Emperor, probably Hadrian, of which *I.G.* iii. 7 and 55 are parts, (c) a dedication (iii. 132) to Asclepius and Hygieia, and (d) the date of the catalogue, *I.G.* iii. 1012. T. Reinach draws attention⁵⁵ to a fragment of a copy of *I.G.* iii. 5 (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 885) in the Biblioteca Bertoliana at Vicenza and to the presence of certain other inscriptions in the same Library. E. Michon traces the history and corrects the text⁵⁶ of *I.G.* iii. 94, on a bust of Melitene, priestess of the Metroön in the Peiraeus, now in the Louvre. Mention must also be made of L. R. Farnell's able and convincing interpretation⁵⁷ of a fragment of Plato Comicus in the light of an Attic ritual inscription, T. Homolle's exhaustive discussion⁵⁸ of three inscribed reliefs from Phalerum, O. Weinreich's article⁵⁹ on the inscription (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 1125), statue and cult of Αἰών at Eleusis,

⁴³ *Hermes*, liv. 211 ff., 329 ff.

⁴⁴ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl. 40 ff.

⁴⁵ *Philologus*, lxxvi. 60 ff.

⁴⁶ *Klio*, xvi. 193 ff.

⁴⁷ *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, xxx. 384 ff.

⁴⁸ *Un décret Athénien relatif aux combattants de Phylé* (Mém. de l'Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, xlii. 323 ff.), Paris, 1920. Reviewed *Class. Rev.* xxxv. 36 f.

⁴⁹ *Rev. Égyptologique*, i. (1919), 213 ff.

⁵⁰ *Jahresh.* xix.-xx. 299 ff.

⁵¹ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxix. 493 ff.

⁵² *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxi. 207 ff.

⁵³ *Apch. 'Eφ.* 1918, 100 ff., 104 ff.

⁵⁴ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxi. 221 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 91 ff.

⁵⁶ *Mém. Soc. Nat. Ant. de France*, lxxv. 91 ff.

⁵⁷ *Class. Quart.* xiv. 139 ff.

⁵⁸ *Rev. Arch.* xi (1920), 1 ff.

⁵⁹ *Arch. Rel.* xix. 174 ff.

W. B. Dinsmoor's theory ⁶⁰ that the pedestal in front of the Athenian Propylaea, which later bore a statue and inscription of Agrippa, was originally erected about 178 B.C. on the occasion of the victories won in the Panathenaic chariot-races by Eumenes II and his brother Attalus, F. Bechtel's interpretation ⁶¹ of the epigraphically attested name Σμόκορδος, and B. Schroeder's list ⁶² of the accessions made since 1903 to the German collections of antiquities, including a votive relief from Peiraeus and three Attic gravestones. W. Dörpfeld's latest article ⁶³ on the Athenian Hekatompedon makes constant appeal to epigraphical evidence, and inscriptions form the chief basis of G. Smith's interesting examination ⁶⁴ of the Attic casualty lists and cognate questions such as those of mobilisation, military organisations, the treatment of the wounded and the care of the invalided, widows and orphans. R. C. Flickinger's book ⁶⁵ on the Greek theatre devotes a chapter (ix, p. 318 ff.) to 'Theatrical Records,' in which some account is given of the surviving fragments of the three great Athenian dramatic records—the Fasti, the Didascaliae and the Victor-lists. H. McClees deals with the subject of the part played by women in Athenian public and private life as viewed through the medium of the inscriptions, but her book is still inaccessible to me.⁶⁶ The vexed, but very important, question of the chronology of the Athenian archons has given rise to two articles, in one of which ⁶⁷ J. Kirchner discusses the new results relative to the archons of the second and first centuries B.C. reached by P. Roussel in his work *Délos : Colonie Athénienne*, while in the other ⁶⁸ P. Graindor corrects the dates attributed by him in a recent article to certain archons of the second century after Christ. J. C. Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.*⁶⁹ is invaluable, not only to the student of Greek vase-painting but also as giving a complete and authoritative list of artists' signatures within the limits indicated by its title. On the historical side the posthumous work of B. Keil, edited by R. Laqueur, entitled *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags* calls for special notice. Starting from an examination of an Epidaurian stone (*I.G.* iv. 936–8) the author discusses with minute care the evidence, primarily epigraphical, for the character and position of the Athenian Areopagus as reorganised in the period of Roman supremacy, when the old oligarchical council was placed above the two democratic bodies, the βούλή and the ecclesia, and incidentally deals with the powers exercised at this time by the archons, the στρατηγοί and other magistrates. An interesting parallel is drawn (p. 79 f.) between the Areopagus with its κήρυξ and αἵρέσεις on the one hand and the English Town Council with its Town Clerk and its Standing Committees on the other.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxiv. 83.

⁶¹ *Hermes*, lv. 99 f.

⁶² *Arch. Anz.* xxxiv. 109 ff.

⁶³ *Jahrb.* xxxiv. 1 ff.

⁶⁴ *Class. Phil.* xiv. 351 ff.

⁶⁵ *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, Chicago (University Press), 1918.

⁶⁶ *A Study of Women in Attic Inscriptions*, Columbia University Press, 1920. Cf. *Am.*

Journ. Arch. xxiii. 73, *Class. Rev.* xxxv. 76.

⁶⁷ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl. 836 ff.

⁶⁸ *B.C.H.* xl. 74 ff.

⁶⁹ Two vols. Harvard University Press. Vol. i. reviewed by E. Pottier, *Rev. Arch.* x. (1919), 259 ff.

⁷⁰ *Berichte der Sächs. Akad. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, lxxi. 8.

Peloponnese.—K. K. Smith has published ⁷¹ forty-two inscriptions found at CORINTH, mostly during the excavations carried on from 1902 to 1907, together with a number of valuable notes on previously published texts from the same site: they comprise decrees, catalogues, dedications and epitaphs, and, though the majority are seriously mutilated, some—such as the four archaic dedications (Nos. 71-74), two sculptors' signatures (Nos. 80, 82), and especially an early boundary-stone giving warning of a fine to be imposed on trespassers (No. 70)—are of considerable interest. In addition, Corinth has produced a proconsular rescript of the third or fourth century of our era and two funerary inscriptions.⁷² To W. Vollgraff we owe two further instalments ⁷³ of his epigraphical discoveries at ARGOS, numbering twenty-four texts ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the late Roman period and including a fragment of a fifth-century treaty between Argos and Epidaurus (No. 5), a list of actors who took part in certain musical contests (No. 25), an inscription in honour of Pompey the Great *αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ τέταρτον* (No. 27), and a letter of Agrippa to the Argive *γερουσία* (No. 28), which gives rise to an interesting discussion of *γερουσίαι* in general (p. 265 ff.). Four epitaphs from the neighbourhood of Argos and Nauplia have been added to the Nauplia Museum.⁷⁴ C. A. Giamalides' article ⁷⁵ on the ancient churches of EPIDAUROS contains a large number of Byzantine and Christian inscriptions together with a few (Nos. 1, 2, 5, 26, 28, 50) of an earlier period. The numerous inscriptions found by P. Cavvadias in the course of his recently renewed excavations at the Epidaurian Asclepieum have not yet been published, but five of them, of which a preliminary account has appeared,⁷⁶ bid fair to prove of exceptional value. The longest and most important, which throws new light on the working of the Achaean League and clears up some of the problems left unsolved by Polybius, is a law passed by the Achaeans in 223 B.C. to define and regulate the fresh situation created by the admission of the Macedonians and their allies to the League, modifying some articles of its constitution, and granting to the Macedonian king the right of intervention in its affairs. G. H. Macurdy has interpreted ⁷⁷ the puzzling word *ἀφατεῖν*, which occurs in an inscription of SPARTA (*I.G.* v. 1. 209), as being equivalent to *ἀφετεῖν*, 'to act as starter.' F. Hiller von Gaertringen has proposed ⁷⁸ to read *Νικόπολις*, the city-goddess of Nicopolis, in an inscription of Mantinea in ARCADIA (*I.G.* v. 2. 297), and W. Vollgraff, after publishing ⁷⁹ as new a bronze fragment containing accounts of a very early date, subsequently found ⁸⁰ that it had previously appeared (*I.G.* v. 2. 410) among the inscriptions of Lusi, north of Cleitor. From Aegira in ACHAEA we have ⁸¹ a new, but incomplete, dedication and a revised version of the metrical epitaph published by Wilhelm in his *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, 109, No. 93.

⁷¹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxiii. 331 ff.

⁷² 'Αρχ. Δελτ. iv. παρ. 5 ff., 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1917, 108.

⁷³ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii. 160 ff., 252 ff.

⁷⁴ 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1917, 108.

⁷⁵ *Αθήνα*, xxv. 405 ff.

⁷⁶ *Acropole*, i. 6 ff.

⁷⁷ *Class. Rev.* xxxiv. 98 f.

⁷⁸ *Hermes*, liv. 104 f.

⁷⁹ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii. 66 ff.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 230.

⁸¹ *Jahresh.* xix.-xx. Beiblatt, 38 ff.

Northern Greece.—Seven inscriptions from the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at OROPUS have been carefully edited⁸² by B. Leonardos: among these the most interesting are (a) the stele (No. 91) bearing the word ἸΣΤΙΗΣ from the altar described by Pausanias, i, 34, 3; (b) a list (No. 92) of subscribers to an ἀνάθημα set up in 328/7 B.C. and an Attic decree in praise of three men who helped in its erection; (c) a new version (No. 93) of the famous ἱερὸς νόμος published in *I.G.* vii. 235, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, 65, and elsewhere; (d) a record (Nos. 95–97) of the honours paid to στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τεῖ χώραι, ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραεῖ and ἐπὶ τεῖ Ἀκτεῖ and others in 324 B.C., the front of the stone being occupied by a list of the eleven λοχαγοὶ and sixty-three ἔφηβοι (their names arranged under their respective demes) who united in bestowing the crowns here commemorated. Few of the new finds from ΒΟΕΩΤΙΑ are of special importance. A. D. Keramopoulos' investigations at Thebes⁸³ have brought to light twenty-three inscriptions, chiefly votive in character, from the temple of Ismenian Apollo and other sites. Some of them go back to the sixth century B.C. (pp. 35 f., 61) and among the divinities honoured are Apollo Hismenios, Pronaia (p. 35 f.), the Great Mother, Δαίμων Μιλίχιος, Attis and Artemis Orthosia (p. 421 ff.). An inscribed vase⁸⁴ with scenes from the Νόστοι also comes from Thebes, while from the Boeotian Cabirium is derived a leaden token⁸⁵ with the inscription KAB. A. Skias has given us⁸⁶ fifteen new Plataean texts found in 1899, two unpublished documents from a MS. of Stamatakis, and corrected versions of two inscriptions already known (*I.G.* vii. 1679, 1705–6). G. de Sanctis has discussed⁸⁷ the meaning of the phrase ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν found in the *Senatus consultum* relating to Thisbe, and E. Preuner has devoted a long and valuable article⁸⁸ to Honestos, the author of the epigrams engraved on a number of statue-bases from the Thespian sanctuary of the Muses: in this the epigrams are examined afresh, their relation to the monuments on which they are engraved is discussed, and the date of one of them—that which refers to Σεβαστή, whom Preuner regards as Julia, Augustus' daughter—is fixed at ca. 3/2 B.C., a valuable datum for determining the period of the epigrammatist.

In DORIS a single archaic epitaph⁸⁹ has been found. W. Vollgraff has proposed⁹⁰ an emendation in a well-known inscription (Dittenb. *Syll.*² 844) of Amphissa in LOCRI, and E. Schwyzer has attempted⁹¹ to explain the puzzling word AMATA in the treaty between AETOLIA and Acarnania recently discovered at Thermum (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 421).

DELPHI takes a more prominent place in the epigraphical history of the past two years. F. Poulsen's admirable account of the history and archaeology of Delphi, translated by G. C. Richards,⁹² makes considerable use, as is but natural, of epigraphical materials. P. Cloché's full discussion⁹³ of Greek

⁸² *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1917, 39 ff., 231 ff., 240, 1918, 73 ff.

⁸³ *Αρχ. Δελτ.* iii. 22 ff., 35 f., 61, 64, 366 ff., 401, 421 ff.

⁸⁴ *Jahrb.* xxxiv. 65 ff.

⁸⁵ *Journ. Intern.* xviii. 114.

⁸⁶ *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1917, 157 ff.

⁸⁷ *Atti di Torino*, liv. 526 ff.

⁸⁸ *Hermes*, lv. 388 ff.

⁸⁹ *B.S.A.* xxiii. 111.

⁹⁰ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii. 72.

⁹¹ *Rh. Mus.* lxxii. 434 ff.

⁹² F. Poulsen, *Delphi*. London (Gylden-dal).

⁹³ *B.C.H.* xl. 78 ff.

politics from 356 to 327 B.C. is based largely on the financial records of the *ναοποιοί*, which not only receive illumination from the literary texts but themselves in turn supplement and give precision to those texts, and works out in detail the view expressed by E. Bourguet in 1896 (*B.C.H.* xx. 223) that the composition of this college gives the most exact idea of the relative importance of the various Greek cities at the sanctuary. A. C. Johnson attempts⁹⁴ a new chronological arrangement of the Amphictyonic records and of the Delphian archons of the period 240-202 B.C. by bringing into close relation the epigraphical discoveries made at Delphi and at Athens and by applying the principles (a) that no member of the Macedonian Empire or of the Achaean League ever participated in the Amphictyonic Council while it was dominated by Aetolia, and (b) that when we find any state represented on the Council, that state must be free from Macedonian control at the time. The article closes with a list (304 ff.) of Delphian archons and councillors and *hieromnemes* for 239-202 B.C. By a re-examination of a Delphian inscription G. Glotz shows⁹⁵ that at Delphi (as at Delos, Boeotian Orchomenus, Corcyra and Corinth) the *χαλκοῦς* is the twelfth part of the obol. In the course of his article⁹⁶ on the title *στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος*, M. Holleaux discusses six Delphian texts, one of which (No. 13), set up by the Amphictyonic *κοινόν* in honour of Q. Ancharius, was previously unpublished. In the renewed Thurian *promanteia* (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 295) E. Bourguet proposes⁹⁷ to restore *π[ρὸ] Ἰτ[α]λιωτᾶν [πάν]των* for the *π[ρο]αλιωτᾶν [ἐόν]των* conjectured by Dittenberger and generally accepted. In this connexion⁹⁸ and also in a special article,⁹⁹ Bourguet voices an outspoken criticism of the procedure and competence of H. Pomtow as shown in his treatment of the Delphian texts published by him in the first volume of the new edition of Dittenb. *Syll.* Pomtow has continued his publication of Delphian inscriptions in a fourth series of *Delphische Neufunde*.¹⁰⁰ Under the general heading 'The Liberation of Delphi by the Romans,' he deals fully with twenty-eight inscriptions, almost all of the second century B.C., many of which have already appeared in Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 607 ff. The second group (Nos. 115-123: cf. Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 607-12) comprises, according to the editor, historically the most important Delphian texts of the second century, recording 'the liberation and restoration of the Delphian ecclesiastical state by M. Acilius, the expropriation of the Aetolian lands and houses by the Delphians, the sanctioning of these measures by the Senate, the revenge of the Aetolians by the murder of the three Delphian envoys returning from Rome. etc.' The third section (p. 141 ff.), entitled, 'The Restoration of the Delphian Amphictyony after 188 B.C.', contains *inter alia* the important decree of 184 B.C. (No. 123^a) previously edited by Blum (*B.C.H.* xxxviii. 26 ff.), and another of 119/7 B.C. (No. 125) which refers to a religious *στάσις* which 'exercised a very marked influence in hampering the public and private life of the community.' The concluding section deals with the rivalry of two states in E. Locris, Thronium and Scarphea,

⁹⁴ *Am. Journ. Phil.* xl. 286 ff.

⁹⁵ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxi. 88 ff.

⁹⁶ *Rev. Arch.* viii. (1918), 221 ff.

⁹⁷ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxi. 77 ff.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 77 n. 2.

⁹⁹ *Rev. Arch.* vii. (1918), 209 ff.

¹⁰⁰ *Klio*, xvi. 109 ff.

and includes three documents of great interest, that relating to the disputed right to nominate the Epicnemidian *hieromnemon*, settled in favour of Thronium by an Athenian tribunal of sixty-one members (No. 130), that relating to a frontier-dispute (No. 131), and that containing a supplement to a frontier-settlement between Thronium and the 'Engaioi' (No. 137).

The new finds from THESSALY consist of an honorary inscription,¹⁰¹ set up at Larissa by the *κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν*, and fifty-four texts from Chyretiae (Perrhaebia) discovered and published¹⁰² by that indefatigable explorer of northern Greece, A. Arvanitopoulos: of these thirty-nine are manumissions of the usual Thessalian type, four are honorary inscriptions, two are decrees (Nos. 301, 304), one of them accompanied by a letter borne by the Chyretian envoys who communicated the text of the decree to the people of Oloösön, one (No. 302) is a letter from Titus Quinctius Flamininus, *στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος Ῥωμαίων*, to the state of Chyretiae, and eight are funerary, of which one is a metrical epitaph dating apparently from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. In addition several inscriptions from Scotussa, Phalanna and elsewhere have been corrected or annotated.¹⁰³ The mosaic-inscriptions from the early Christian basilica at Nicopolis in EPIRUS excavated by A. Philadelphus have been published by their discoverer¹⁰⁴ and commented on by A. Hadjis.¹⁰⁵

Islands of the Aegean.—EUBOEA has produced no new inscriptions, but the epigraphical and other discoveries at the sanctuary of the Egyptian deities at Eretria have been discussed by P. Roussel,¹⁰⁶ and K. Swoboda has suggested¹⁰⁷ some emendations and restorations in the hymn addressed to the Idaean dactyls (*I.G.* xii. 9. 259). Of the Cyclades DELOS alone is represented. The article of Roussel just referred to deals also with the Delian shrine of the Egyptian gods, and some valuable remarks are to be found in F. Durrbach's reviews¹⁰⁸ of Roussel's recent works—*Délos : Colonie Athénienne* and *Les Cultes Égyptiens*. J. Kirchner has devoted an article¹⁰⁹ to the statement and examination of some of the results reached by Roussel in the first Appendix to the former book, which deals with the chronology of certain of the Athenian archons of the second and first centuries B.C. In the course of a long and detailed study¹¹⁰ F. Durrbach examines the chronology of the Delian archons from 314 down to 166 B.C., especially of those from 301 (Lysixenus) onwards, which is settled by a Delian text discovered in 1912 and confirmed by Glotz's article¹¹¹ on the price of pitch. Inscriptions are of very secondary interest in A. Plassart's full report¹¹² on the excavation of the residential quarter lying to the east of the Stadium: Delian inscriptions, however, play an important part in the articles of Holleaux referred to in the opening section of this Bibliography. An archaic dedication to Apollo is found on a vase from SCYROS.¹¹³ A vigorous duel has

¹⁰¹ *Rev. Arch.* viii (1918), 235, No. 19.

¹⁰² 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1917, 1 ff., 111 ff.

¹⁰³ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii. 116, *Rh. Mus.* lxxii. 426 ff., 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1917, 38.

¹⁰⁴ 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1917, 48 ff., 1918, 40.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 1918, 28 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Revue Égyptologique*, i. (1919), 81 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *Woch. kl. Phil.* 1918, 262.

¹⁰⁸ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxi. 122 ff., 128 f.

¹⁰⁹ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl. 836 ff.

¹¹⁰ *B.C.H.* xl. 298.

¹¹¹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxix. 281 ff.

¹¹² *B.C.H.* xl. 145 ff.

¹¹³ 'Αρχ. Δελτ. iv. παράρτημα, 38.

been waged over the pre-Hellenic inscriptions from LEMNOS between E. Lattes¹¹⁴ and L. Pareti,¹¹⁵ the former of whom maintains that the language is Etruscan, while the latter regards the proofs brought forward in support of this theory as insufficient and is inclined to trace in the inscriptions Thracian rather than Etruscan affinities. The contributions of CRETE are not of great interest¹¹⁶ with the exception of an archaic text from Gortyn, written *boustrophedon*, giving, according to D. Comparetti,¹¹⁷ 'the indispensable complement of the last clause of the law on the division of the inheritance contained in the Gortynian Code which has come down to us in the Great Inscription': in fact, however, it is not a later addition but a considerably earlier enactment, omitted in 'that badly arranged and imperfect body of laws which we possess in the Great Inscription.' One of the greatest problems of the Code of Gortyn is discussed by A. Debrunner,¹¹⁸ who examines the meaning of the phrase *ἀ ὄκα* in *S.G.D.I.* 4991, v. 1. 4 f., and the significance of the passage in which it occurs. W. Krause has attempted¹¹⁹ to determine the pronunciation of *θ* in Gortynian speech, concluding that in the first period it had the value *t*, while in the third it took the spirantic value *p*.

Of the publication of some new inscriptions of Cos in T. Klee's work on the Greek *ἀγῶνες* mention has already been made: P. Stengel's examination¹²⁰ of the word *ἐνδοπα*, which is found in Coan inscriptions (Paton-Hicks, 37, 38, 40), also calls for notice. Some fifty-three inscriptions, among them several of considerable interest, discovered in the course of the Greek and German excavation of the Heraeum of SAMOS, have been published by M. Schede.¹²¹ They include four texts set up by the Athenian settlers on the island, eleven belonging to the period of the Antigonids (322-300 B.C.), most of which contain some reference to the exile (*φυγή*) or to the restoration (*κάθοδος*) of the Samians, six of the Ptolemaic period, including a long and interesting record (probably dating from 243/2 B.C.) of the services rendered to his native state by a certain Bulagoras, and nine of late Hellenistic times: the remainder, which are of the Roman period, include the inscriptions from statue-bases of M. Cicero, of Calpurnia, wife of Julius Caesar, of Agrippa Postumus, of Julia the daughter of Augustus, of Drusilla the sister of Caligula, and of other well-known historical personages. E. Preuner has re-examined¹²² a much-discussed epigram (Kaibel 872) relating to a certain Vera, *hydrophoros* in the cult of Artemis of PATMOS. Valuable contributions have been made to the study of the inscriptions of RHODES by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, to whom are due a suggested new reading¹²³ of a sacrificial inscription from Netteia copied by L. Ross, a thorough discussion¹²⁴ of the topography of the demes of the Rhodian cities, in the course of which a new inscription from Ialysus is published, and a re-examination¹²⁵ of the inscription on Aridices and Hieronymus. The

¹¹⁴ *Riv. fil.* xlvii. 321 ff., xlviii. 378 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* xlv. 153 ff., xlviii. 55 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* iv. παράρτημα, 11 ff.

¹¹⁷ *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxvii. 207 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Rh. Mus.* lxxiii. 362 ff.

¹¹⁹ *Zts. vgl. Sprachforschung*, xlix. 121 ff.

¹²⁰ *Hermes*, liv. 208 ff.

¹²¹ *Ath. Mitt.* xlv. 1 ff. Cf. *Berliner Museen*, xli. 117 ff.

¹²² *Hermes*, lv. 174 ff.

¹²³ *Arch. Rel.* xix. 281 ff.

¹²⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* xlii. 171 ff.

¹²⁵ *Hermes*, liv. 105 ff.

'Lindian Chronicle' has given rise to two valuable articles, in one of which ¹²⁶ M. Rostovtseff deals with the sources of the ἐπιφάνειαι and adduces striking parallels from other inscriptions, notably the honorary decree of Chersonesus for the historian Syrisus (*I.O.S.P.E.* i. 184, iv. p. 277), while in the other ¹²⁷ L. Radermacher maintains the identity of the grammarian Timachidas with the Timachus from whose work we have several citations, and gives a number of other instances in which the name of the same man occurs in a full and also in a shortened form. S. Zervos' sumptuous work on Rhodes makes apparently little or no use of epigraphical sources,¹²⁸ but L. Pernier's valuable survey of recent exploration in Rhodes includes a provisional publication of minor epigraphical finds at Ialysus, Camirus and Cymisala.¹²⁹

Asia Minor.—B. Haussoullier has discussed ¹³⁰ the architectural terms βωμόςσπειρον and σπειροκέφαλον which occur in various inscriptions from Asia Minor. AEOLIS is represented only by W. Vollgraff's suggestions ¹³¹ relative to the compact between the Aegaeans and the Olympeni dealing with the importation of wool. Among the states of IONIA only two make any contribution. J. Keil, after a careful investigation ¹³² of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the third *neokoria* of Ephesus, concludes that Ephesus was never *neokoros* of Caracalla but that in the third and the fourth *neokoria* of the city that of Artemis was reckoned, and that the retrogression from the fourth to the third was due to the *damnatio memoriae* of Elagabalus. F. Hudson Williams' account,¹³³ accidentally omitted from my last Bibliography, of the Milesian 'Education Bill' ¹³⁴ and of the similar document from Teos (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 578) may be mentioned side by side with Vollgraff's conjecture ¹³⁵ of ὀνοφύλαξι for οἰνοφύλαξι in a text from the Milesian Delphinium (*Milet*, iii. 2. 33e). B. Haussoullier returns to the building-records of the great temple at Didyma, using the Milesian list of *eponymi* to determine their relative and absolute chronology. Of the five documents comprised in the first group, which dates from the close of the third century B.C., three are here published for the first time.¹³⁶ while a second group is brought into chronological order and provisionally dated in 175/4 B.C. and the adjacent years: ¹³⁷ this article includes the first publication of an honorary inscription for the prophet Autophon (p. 38), and an appendix on the family of the prophet Antenor (p. 55 ff.) contains two epitaphs previously unpublished. Several inscriptions of Didyma are re-edited with considerable improvements by E. Preuner in an article ¹³⁸ on 'Zwei Hydrophoren.' An article ¹³⁹ by R. Feist and others on records of legal proceedings in the Ptolemaic period deals mainly with papyri, but has also a brief discussion (p. 359 f.) of the *dossier* from Cnidus relating to the case of Diagoras' sons (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 953).

¹²⁶ *Klio*, xvi. 203 ff.

¹²⁷ *Philol.* lxxv. 473 f.

¹²⁸ *Rhodes, Capitale du Dodécanèse*, Paris. See fig. 85.

¹²⁹ *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1914, 224 ff., 233, 241.

¹³⁰ *Rev. Philol.* xlv. 72 ff.

¹³¹ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii. 68 ff.

¹³² *Num. Zeit.* xlviii. 125 ff.

¹³³ *An Education Bill from Ancient Greece*, Cambridge (Univ. Press), 1917.

¹³⁴ E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griech. Schulwesen*; Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 577.

¹³⁵ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii. 71 f.

¹³⁶ *Rev. Philol.* xliii. 175 ff.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* xlv. 31 ff.

¹³⁸ *Hermes*, lv. 174 ff.

¹³⁹ *Arch. Pap.* vi. 348 ff.

A. Cuny has devoted one of his studies in Greco-oriental questions to the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual text from Sardis : ¹⁴⁰ of O. A. Danielsson's discussion ¹⁴¹ of the Lydian inscriptions, mentioned in my last Bibliography, I cannot speak from first-hand knowledge. A brief reference is made to the Greek inscriptions found at Sardis in a summary ¹⁴² of the excavations carried on there from 1910 to 1914. Some of the texts discovered by Keil and von Premenstein in their recent journeys through Lydia have given rise to interesting discussions, ¹⁴³—notably that of the Philadelphian *ἱερὸς νόμος* (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 985) by O. Weinreich ¹⁴⁴ and that by M. Rostovtseff ¹⁴⁵ of a document referring to the *τεῖρωνων συντέλεια*, which, taken in conjunction with the famous inscription of Pizos in Thrace (*ibid.* 880), shows that in the third century of our era recruiting had already become compulsory, resting on the village as a whole and carried out by the village magistrates in the same way as the payment of a tax. S. R[einach] contributes a note ¹⁴⁶ on W. H. Buckler's treatment of the Lydian penitential inscriptions, and F. Hiller von Gaertringen points out ¹⁴⁷ the *pia fraus* by which the people of Nysa, by substituting *Ῥωμαίων* for *Ῥωμαίους* in Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 741, avoided giving offence to the Romans only by sacrificing the sense of the whole passage.

From Lydia we pass to CARIA. A relief of the Roman period from Tralles, bearing a previously unpublished inscription, is described in B. Schröder's account ¹⁴⁸ of the accessions made since 1903 to German collections. W. H. Buckler has re-examined and restored ¹⁴⁹ with characteristic thoroughness and marked success a group of legal documents from Mylasa and Olymus, showing how the landed investments of the Carian temples were administered about 76 B.C. and deriving some fresh information regarding legal rules and customs. The well-known inscription of Maussollus from the same city (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 167) has been dealt with ¹⁵⁰ by P. Cloché in connexion with his discussion of Greco-Egyptian relations from 405 to 342 B.C. Continuing his 'Studies in Hellenistic History,' M. Holleaux has given us an attractive new restoration ¹⁵¹ of the decree of Bargylia in honour of Posidonius, which has a peculiar interest on account of its reference to the war of Aristonicus. Fifty-six texts from the temple of Hecate at Lagina, copied by J. Chamonard, have been published ¹⁵² with a careful commentary by J. Hatzfeld: most of them are honorary inscriptions, dedications and lists of sacred officials and several of them are of considerable interest, particularly the decree relating how with divine aid the *δῆμος* was saved from its perils and became free and autonomous (No. 1: cf. 4); and the addendum (*πρόσγραμμα*) to the general regulations of the temple relative to the maintenance of the woodland attached to it (No. 11).

¹⁴⁰ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxii. 259 ff.

¹⁴¹ *Skifter utgifna af Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps Samfundet*, xx. Upsala (Akad. Bokhandel).

¹⁴² *Rev. Arch.* xi. (1920), 371 f.

¹⁴³ *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxv. 74 ff.

¹⁴⁴ *Sitzb. Heidelberg*, 1919, No. 16.

¹⁴⁵ *J.R.S.* viii. 26 ff.

¹⁴⁶ *Rev. Arch.* vii. (1918), 184 f.

¹⁴⁷ *Hermes*, liv. 107.

¹⁴⁸ *Arch. Anz.* xxxiv. 110.

¹⁴⁹ *B.S.A.* xxii. 190 ff.

¹⁵⁰ *Rev. Égyptologique*, i. (1919), 217.

¹⁵¹ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxi. 1 ff.

¹⁵² *B.C.H.* xlv. 70 ff.

W. Kubitschek has subjected to a careful re-examination¹⁵³ the inscription on the great granary of Andriace, the port of Myra in LYCIA, dated in A.D. 389-392 by the name of the prefect Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, to whom *C.I.G.* 4693 also refers, and E. Ritterling has attempted¹⁵⁴ a more exact dating than has hitherto proved possible of the earlier documents of the *dossier* forming the Opramoas-inscription. Under the title 'A noble Anatolian Family of the Fourth Century,' W. M. Ramsay has investigated¹⁵⁵ two inscriptions of about A.D. 340-380, both apparently from a large family mausoleum, one forming the epitaph of C. Calpurnius Collega Macedo, orator, philosopher and doctor, a member of the *curia* of Antioch in PISIDIA, the other the metrical epitaph of his son. The same scholar has also published¹⁵⁶ the result of a fuller examination of the dedications discovered at the sanctuary of Colonia Caesarea, and first published in this Journal (xxxii. 111 ff.), together with an account of the sanctuary itself and of the period, occasion and dedicators of the inscriptions, the religious principles they reveal, the meaning of the oft-discussed term *τεκμορεύω*, and the nature of the *τέκμων* to which it refers. A. Rosenberg points out¹⁵⁷ the special significance of a dedication to the emperor Gallienus found at Adanda, south-east of Selinus-Trajanopolis in CILICIA (*Mon. Ant.* xxiii. 168), which adds Cilicia to the provinces which under Gallienus were governed not by a senator but by a knight. G. de Jerphanion has collected¹⁵⁸ ten epitaphs in CAPPADOCIA, and a votive inscription, eighteen epitaphs and a fragment in PONTUS. I have not been able to examine A. P. M. Meuwese's *De rerum gestarum divi Augusti versione graeca*,¹⁵⁹ an addition to the already copious literature dealing with the Monumentum Ancyranum.

Outlying Regions.—A votive inscription of the Imperial period has been discovered¹⁶⁰ at Brestovizza in north-eastern ITALY, in a cavern on the Carso. E. Espérandieu has republished¹⁶¹ an inscribed altar from Lodi Vecchio, now preserved in the Milan Museum. F. Cumont and L. Canet discuss¹⁶² a text from the Mithraeum in the basement of the Thermae of Caracalla, showing the substitution of Mithra for Sarapis and pointing out how 'in the syncretism of the Imperial period the various gods assimilated to the Sun could replace each other and had become interchangeable in value' (p. 317). Valuable light has been thrown on the life and thought and organisation of the Jewish community at Rome by the discovery and investigation of two extensive Jewish burying-places. The inscriptions of the Jewish catacomb on the Monteverde, many of which were published by Schneider-Graziosi in the *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, xxi. 13 ff. (cf. xxii. 193, xxiii. 31), have been carefully edited with full commentary and ample illustrations by N. Müller and N. A. Beës: ¹⁶³ of the 185 texts comprised in this volume, 128 are Greek, five Greek

¹⁵³ *Num. Zeit.* li. 63 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *Rh. Mus.* lxxiii. 35 ff.

¹⁵⁵ *Cl. Rev.* xxxiii. 1 ff.

¹⁵⁶ *J.R.S.* viii. 107 ff.

¹⁵⁷ *Hermes*, lv. 319 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Mélanges Beyrouth*, vii. 1 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Bois le Duc (C. N. Teulings). Reviewed by Nohl, *Woch. klass. Phil.* 1920, 440 f.

¹⁶⁰ *Notizie*, 1920, 101.

¹⁶¹ *Rev. Arch.* iii. (1916), 25 ff.

¹⁶² *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1919, 313 ff.

¹⁶³ *Die Inschriftender jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, Leipzig (Harrasowitz), 1919.

and Latin, and three Latin written in Greek characters, while the remainder are Latin or Hebrew. Nineteen similar epitaphs from the same cemetery are added by R. Paribeni¹⁶⁴ and several of them are annotated by C. Clermont-Ganneau.¹⁶⁵ Another Jewish catacomb has been found on the Via Nomentana, and, though as yet incompletely excavated, has yielded¹⁶⁶ fifty-two inscriptions, of which forty-eight are Greek and one bilingual. The other discoveries made at Rome consist of a commemorative inscription¹⁶⁷ and two fragments, probably of epitaphs.¹⁶⁸ The three fragments¹⁶⁹ unearthed at Ostia are of negligible value, but the famous relief of Archelaus of Priene, found at Bovillae and now in the British Museum,¹⁷⁰ has been discussed afresh at some length by J. Sieveking.¹⁷¹ D. Comparetti offers a new and complete reading¹⁷² of a leaden *defixio* from Cumae, and the archaic inscriptions from the same site form the subject of an article¹⁷³ by F. Ribezzo which I have been unable to consult. A funeral stele from SARDINIA, with a fragmentary inscription,¹⁷⁴ is lodged in the Archaeological Museum at Milan.

B. Pace publishes¹⁷⁵ eleven Rhodian amphora-handles, five clay stamps, an inscribed vase and a fragmentary epitaph from Lilybaeum on the west coast of SICILY, D. Comparetti discusses¹⁷⁶ three *defixiones* from Selinus, the earliest of which, inscribed on both sides of a leaden disc found at the temple of Demeter Malophoros, is earlier than 450 B.C., and P. Orsi's account¹⁷⁷ of the investigations conducted by himself at Syracuse contain eleven epigraphical finds, one of which, a fragment written *boustrophedon*, may well be the earliest extant inscription from Syracuse.

The majority of the Greek texts found in AFRICA—at Cherrchell,¹⁷⁸ Lambaesis,¹⁷⁹ Gigthis¹⁸⁰ and Thuburnica¹⁸¹—call for no detailed notice. C. Bruston has shown by an examination of two magical stones of Carthage¹⁸² and Sousse¹⁸³ that inscriptions apparently meaningless may become intelligible if transliterated into Hebrew. The excavations at Carthage have produced¹⁸⁴ a large number of inscribed gems, seals, leaden *bullae*, gnostic stones, amphora-handles and similar objects as well as fragments of inscriptions on stone. Of greater interest are the finds¹⁸⁵ made in the Cyrenaica, which I know only at second hand.¹⁸⁶ These include two copies of a bilingual inscription, dated

¹⁶⁴ *Notizie*, 1919, 61 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Rev. Arch.* xi (1920), 365 f.

¹⁶⁶ *Notizie*, 1920, 143 ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 231.

¹⁶⁸ *Bull. Com. Arch. Com.* xlv. 226, 234.

¹⁶⁹ *Mon. Ant.* xxvi. 368; *Notizie*, 1920, 46.

¹⁷⁰ *B.M. Inscr.* 1098.

¹⁷¹ *Röm. Mitt.* xxxii. 74 ff.

¹⁷² *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxvii. 202 ff.

¹⁷³ *Riv. indo-greco-ital.* iii. 71 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *Rev. Arch.* iii. (1916), 27 f.

¹⁷⁵ *Notizie*, 1919, 80 ff.

¹⁷⁶ *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxvii. 193 ff.

¹⁷⁷ *Mon. Ant.* xxv. 607 ff., *Notizie*, 1918, 275 ff.

¹⁷⁸ *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.* 1918, cclxiv., 228 f.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* cclxiv.

¹⁸⁰ *Mélanges*, xxxiv. 284 ff.

¹⁸¹ *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.* 1918, 164.

¹⁸² *Rev. Arch.* xii. (1920), 47 ff.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* x. (1919), 28 ff.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* viii. (1918), 383; *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. de France*, 1917, 146 f., 156 f., 163 f., 168 f., 211, 218 f., 242 f.; 1918, 118 f., 129 f., 143 f., 159 f., 173 f. *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.* 1918, cccvii. ff., cccxvii. ff., cccxxiii., cclxi. ff., 331.

¹⁸⁵ *Notiziario Archeol.* ii. 1, 2.

¹⁸⁶ *Rev. Arch.* x. (1919), 435 f.

A.D. 71, marking the frontier between the territory of Cyrene and that of Rome, a dedication by a proconsul of Crete and Cyrene in A.D. 161, a dedication to Hadrian and Antoninus set up in A.D. 138 by the city of Cyrene, and the record of the refounding of Claudiopoli by the Emperor Claudius Gothicus ὁπλοῖς ἀναστίλας τὴν πολυχρονίων Μαρμαριτῶν θρασύτητα. Two previously published Cyrenaean texts have been emended by W. Vollgraff.¹⁸⁷ For the inscriptions discovered in Egypt and Nubia I may once again refer to my Bibliographies in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.¹⁸⁸

The epigraphical chapter¹⁸⁹ of Jaussen and Savignac's account of their mission to ARABIA contains eighteen Greek inscriptions, including a Graeco-Nabataean bilingual dedication, of which the great majority are commemorative *graffiti*. F. Vollbach has published¹⁹⁰ an inscribed amulet of unknown provenance in PALESTINE. F. M. Abel has collected twenty-two texts,¹⁹¹ for the most part epitaphs dating from the sixth or early seventh century, from El 'Aoudjeh and other sites in the Negeb; F. C. Burkitt has edited¹⁹² seven inscriptions of Beersheba, found by D. P. Blair¹⁹³ and transported to Jerusalem, of which four are epitaphs and one a new portion of the interesting Byzantine edict of which a number of fragments have previously come to light: F. M. Abel has discussed¹⁹⁴ several of these, and A. Alt has published¹⁹⁵ with a valuable commentary, especially on the chronological problem, a sixth-century gravestone from the same place.¹⁹⁶ A brief epitaph from Maiumas,¹⁹⁷ a fragmentary mosaic-inscription from a Byzantine chapel at Beit el Djemal,¹⁹⁸ a group of inscriptions, mainly sepulchral, from Caesarea¹⁹⁹ and a votive text from Samach on the Lake of Gennesaret²⁰⁰ deserve mention but do not call for comment. The use of the term πύργος in Syrian inscriptions and in the New Testament to denote a *Wirtschaftsgebäude* is discussed by E. Meyer²⁰¹ and by A. Alt.²⁰² Among the publications relating to SYRIA the foremost place is taken by F. Cumont's valuable volume entitled *Études Syriennes*,²⁰³ which embodies the 'archaeological and geographical results of a journey undertaken in the spring of 1907 in northern Syria and of investigations carried on in the following years thanks to the documents brought back from these regions, hitherto but little explored.' It contains eight essays, four of them not previously published, and the remainder recast or enlarged, a detailed itinerary and an account of certain Greek MSS. of Syria. The inscriptions, forty-eight in number, are collected in a separate section (p. 317 ff.), including a few which have already been imperfectly published: most of them are epitaphs, but among the remainder are several dedications (Nos. 7, 8, 43, 45),

¹⁸⁷ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii. 251.

¹⁸⁸ *J. E. A.* vi. 214 ff., vii. 105 f.

¹⁸⁹ *Mission archéol. en Arabie*, Pt. II. c. v. Paris (Geuthnor), 1914-20.

¹⁹⁰ *Amül. Ber.* 1918, 123 ff.

¹⁹¹ *Rev. Bibl.* xxix. 113 ff.

¹⁹² *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1920, 16 ff., 51.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 15 f.

¹⁹⁴ *Rev. Bibl.* xxix. 259 ff.

¹⁹⁵ *Zeits. d.d. Pal.-Vereins*, xlii, 177 ff.

¹⁹⁶ Previously published *Pal. Expl. Fund Ann.* iii. 136.

¹⁹⁷ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1920, 47.

¹⁹⁸ *Rev. Bibl.* xvi. 244 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Rev. Bibl.* xxix. 316.

²⁰⁰ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl. 850.

²⁰¹ *Hermes*, lv. 100 ff.

²⁰² *Ibid.* 334 ff.

²⁰³ Paris (Picard), 1917. Reviewed by R. Dussaud, *Syria*, i. 250 f.

a milestone (No. 46) and the boundary stone of a place of asylum (No. 38). E. Schwyzer has pointed ²⁰⁴ out that the inscription from Nebi Abel, between Damascus and Heliopolis, published by him in *Rh. Mus.* lxxiii. 634, is a copy of, but not identical with, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 606, and was previously edited by M. R. Savignac.²⁰⁵ The results, so far as they here concern us, of the French archaeological mission to Sidon in 1914 ²⁰⁶ and of the epigraphical mission which visited Palmyra in July of the same year ²⁰⁷ are of moderate value: J. B. Chabot, a member of the latter mission, has suggested ²⁰⁸ a new interpretation of a previously known text from Palmyra dated A.D. 327. J. Waldis has examined the language and style of the inscription set up by King Antiochus I of Commagene on the summit of the Nemrud Dagħ (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 383 ff.) in a careful dissertation ²⁰⁹ somewhat disproportionate in length to the interest of the subject with which it deals.

Political events in southern RUSSIA have temporarily suspended the archaeological exploration of that district, whose results from 1912 to 1917 have been interestingly summarised ²¹⁰ by M. Rostovtseff, who has also discussed,²¹¹ in connexion with the 'Lindian Chronicle,' several inscriptions of Chersonesus, notably those in honour of the historian Syriacus (*S.G.D.I.* 3086) and of the general Diophantus (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 709): otherwise there is nothing to report save the publication ²¹² of an inscribed *oinochoe* bearing the names Φοῖβος, Δάφνη, Πόθος, etc. Remarkably rich are the epigraphical spoils won in the excavation of Histria in ROUMANIA during 1914 and 1915 and published by B. Pârvan in a lengthy memoir,²¹³ to which are appended a useful summary in French and fourteen excellent plates. They number sixty-four texts, of which eighteen are Latin and the remainder Greek or bilingual, and include honorary inscriptions for Hadrian (No. 20), Antoninus Pius (21), Septimius Severus (31), Caracalla (32), etc., but the most interesting is the *dossier* of letters (15, 16) from various Roman governors about A.D. 50 confirming to Histria the enjoyment of fishing and other rights. The Greek inscriptions found at Ulmetum ²¹⁴ and Tomi ²¹⁵ are late and of slight interest.

K. Lehmann has published ²¹⁶ two inscriptions found at CONSTANTINOPLE, one a Christian epitaph, the other a list, perhaps ephebic, dating from late Hellenistic times and containing 257 names, each accompanied by a patronymic: there is reason to believe that this did not originally belong to Byzantium, and a probable conjecture of the editor assigns it to Cyzicus. THRACE has not been especially productive of new inscriptions recently. M. Olsen, commenting on the inscribed ring found at Ezerovo, near Philippopolis, has sug-

²⁰⁴ *Rh. Mus.* lxxii. 436.

²⁰⁵ *Rev. Bibl.* ix. 533 ff. Cf. *Zeits. d.d. Pal.-Verins.* xxxvi. 220.

²⁰⁶ *Syria*, i. 33, 49 f., 109, 198 ff., 225: cf. 230 f.

²⁰⁷ *Rev. Bibl.* xxix. 359.

²⁰⁸ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1919, 376.

²⁰⁹ *Sprache u. Stil d. grossen griech. Inscript v. Nemrud-Dagħ in Kommagene (Nordsyrien)*, Heidelberg (Winter). Reviewed by Maas, *Sokrates*, viii. 280 f.

²¹⁰ *Journ. d. Savants*, 1920, 49 ff.

²¹¹ *Klio*, xvi. 203 ff.

²¹² *Rev. Arch.* v. (1917), 313 f.

²¹³ *Analele Acad. Române*, II. xxxviii. (1915-16), *Mem. Sect. Istorie*, 533 ff. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* x. (1919), 401 ff.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* xxxvii. 267, 275 f., 301 f.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* xxxvii. 419 f., 446.

²¹⁶ *Ath. Mitt.* xlii. 185 ff.

gested ²¹⁷ that the word *ζηλτα* at the close means 'gold': G. Seure, however, thinks ²¹⁸ that the ring-inscription is not a Thracian text but a votive to a Thracian divinity containing three names, each with patronymic and ethnic, and holds that in all likelihood we shall never know the Thracian language, which, 'only spoken and never written, is dead beyond the possibility of resurrection.' The same scholar argues ²¹⁹ for a Thracian origin of the name *Τελεσφόρος*, which he would derive from the form *Τιλεσπορος*, and has also devoted a further article ²²⁰ to the publication and interpretation of eighteen 'unpublished or little-known' inscriptions, of which fourteen are Greek and the rest Latin. B. Filow describes ²²¹ a silver omphalos-saucer from Radiüvene in north-western Bulgaria with the inscription *Κότυος Ἐγγηϊστῶν*, interpreting the latter word as the name of an otherwise unknown Thracian tribe. We have only to note further a votive relief to Zeus Ὀλβιος from Gallipoli, ²²² a valuable correction and discussion by M. Rostovtseff ²²³ of a phrase in the famous inscription of Pizos (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 880) and several minor discoveries in Bulgaria collected by G. Kazarow. ²²⁴

MACEDONIA has produced a disappointingly small number of inscriptions when the development and exploration of the country during the war are borne in mind. Of new Greek inscriptions the present writer has published ²²⁵ eighteen, of which two-thirds are epitaphs: the most interesting are the dedication of a *ναός* to Horus-Harpocrates (No. 14) and an inscription in honour of M. Salarius Sabinus, a prominent and public-spirited citizen of Lete in the early part of the second century of our era (No. 7). G. Oikonomos, editing ²²⁶ an inscription of Salonica bearing the name of Justinian, infers that this Emperor visited Thessalonica and traces the connexion between him and St. Demetrius, in whose church the inscription came to light. In the course of a valuable article ²²⁷ on Upper Macedonia which, though published in 1914, only came into my hands towards the close of 1920, N. G. Pappadakis published forty inscriptions, almost all of them for the first time, from Eordaea, Lyncestis, Orestis, Western Elimeia, Macedonian Illyria and Almopia, including an interesting dedication by a *λιθογλύφος* to Artemis *Σιβοννική* (No. 54). The same writer devoted a long appendix (p. 462 ff.) to a discussion of the important decree of the [L]apinaei published in *J.H.S.* xxxiii. 337 ff. In an article on the Macedonian provincial era I have attempted ²²⁸ to restate and confirm the arguments for dating that era from 148 rather than from 146 B.C. W. Vollgraff proposed ²²⁹ a restoration of an Amphipolitan text in which he subsequently found ²³⁰ that he had been forestalled by P. Perdrizet. The journey of C. Praschniker and A. Schober in Albania and Montenegro ²³¹ resulted in the dis-

²¹⁷ *Indog. Forsch.* xxxviii. 166 ff.

²¹⁸ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxii. 1 ff.

²¹⁹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxi. 389 ff.

²²⁰ *Rev. Arch.* x. (1919), 333 ff.

²²¹ *Röm. Mitt.* xxxii. 53.

²²² *Arch. Anz.* xxxiv. 111.

²²³ *J.R.S.* viii. 29.

²²⁴ *Jahresh.* xix.-xx. Beiblatt. 43 ff.

²²⁵ *B.S.A.* xxiii. 67 ff.

²²⁶ *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1918, 41 ff.

²²⁷ *Ἀθηνᾶ*, xxv. 430 ff.

²²⁸ *B.S.A.* xxiii. 206 ff.

²²⁹ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii. 72.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* 231.

²³¹ *Archäol. Forschungen in Albanien u. Montenegro* (Schriften der Balkankommision: Ant. Abt. VIII.), Vienna (Hölder), 1919. Pp. 45, 65 ff., 69 ff.

covery of six texts from Durazzo (Dyrrhachium), Fieri and Apollonia. C. Clermont-Ganneau has put forward ²³² a solution of a puzzling epitaph of Salona in DALMATIA.

At Vidy in Canton Vaud, SWITZERLAND, a Greek *graffito* has been unearthed,²³³ scratched on a fragment of wall-plaster, containing part of the *versus reciprocus* recorded by Planudes (vi. 13) and recurring at Pompeii (*C.I.L.* iv. 2400 a). From FRANCE we may note an epitaph from Marseilles,²³⁴ C. Jullian's reminder ²³⁵ of an important votive discovered thirty years ago at Agde, and the publication ²³⁶ of a fragment from the Musée Lapidaire at Arles, together with the re-editing ²³⁷ of an epitaph copied by the Chevalier de Gaillard in 1767.

MARCUS N. TOD.

²³² *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1918, 308 ff.

²³³ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xix. 273.

²³⁴ *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.*, 1918,
3 ff.; *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxi. 227.

²³⁵ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxii. 56.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* 181 f., No. 18.

²³⁷ *Ibid.* 182 f., No. 19.

CLEOSTRATUS REDIVIVUS

THE question when, and by whom, our constellations were invented, will probably never lose its fascination, because it is never likely to find its solution. For those who have allowed themselves to be brought under its spell the name of Cleostratus has a special interest. If we could by any means learn more about the man who is said to have been in some sort the deviser of our zodiac, we might obtain a light upon the history of the celestial globe which at present seems likely to be for ever withheld, unless some Egyptian papyrus should reveal some part of the lost History of Astronomy by Eudemus.

By his careful collection—in the December number of this *Journal*, 1919—of all the notices that we have of Cleostratus, Dr. W. K. Fotheringham therefore deserves a gratitude which I am the more anxious to express because I cannot at all agree with the theory of Babylonian influence which he deduces from them, nor with the interpretation of Greek and Latin passages which he puts forward in support of that theory. The latter point I could willingly leave to the criticism of scholars abler than myself, whom I cannot think likely to be convinced by Dr. Fotheringham that the passages bear the sense which he has endeavoured to extract from them. But the former point is of more importance. To Babylonian astronomy, as to Egyptian, the Greeks owed—and acknowledged—a debt. But that this debt was, in the case of the Babylonians, much greater than they acknowledged, so great indeed that it has only been hidden from posterity by a conspiracy of silence lasting through the many centuries of Hellenic culture, does not seem to me probable, and is certainly not proved by any evidence supplied in Dr. Fotheringham's article. It is only with a part of that article that I have space here to deal, but it is with the part in which the author's assertions seem to be most strongly supported by what he considers to be evidence.

Cleostratus flourished at Tenedos, and—if Dr. Fotheringham is right, as I think he is—about 520 B.C. As to the place, Dr. Fotheringham reminds us of a tradition that Tenedos was where Thales died. He may have founded a school there of which Cleostratus, twenty years later, was the chief representative. As to the time, Dr. Fotheringham might have noticed that it is just that in which the original of the famous astronomical tablet, dated in the seventh year of Cambyses, 523–522 B.C., was compiled. That tablet shows that not all the astronomical knowledge displayed by the Babylonians of Seleucid times was possessed by the Babylonians of the sixth century, whom we are to suppose the teachers of Thales and Cleostratus.¹

¹ Cp. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* v. 281, xvii. part 2–3, p. 203.

What else Dr. Fotheringham has been able to tell us of Cleostratus may be summed up under four heads.

1. He wrote an astronomical poem. As only two lines of it, not containing a complete sentence, have come down to us, it affords little material for discussion. The missing words unfortunately are just those which might speak for—or against—Dr. Fotheringham's views.

2. He made observations at Tenedos with a view to determining the exact time of a solstice, probably the winter solstice, as a mountain south-east of Tenedos is said to have been used for the purpose. Rude and imperfect as such observations doubtless were, they have for us a significance which Dr. Fotheringham does not seem to have perceived. For they prove that Greek astronomers of that day, so far from confining themselves, in Dr. Fotheringham's words, to 'exercises in the art of combining days, months, and years, of which the relative mean durations had been learned from Babylon,' were actually endeavouring to ascertain these durations for themselves. Owing doubtless to these endeavours, the Greeks, at least as early as the time of Meton and Euctemon, in the next century after Cleostratus, had discovered the inequality of the sun's motion, which seems never to have been recognised either by Egyptians or, of old, by Babylonians, who ignore it sometimes even in the second century B.C.²

3. He is said, on the authority of Censorinus, to have been the real inventor of the 'octaeteris,' the famous luni-solar cycle, on which I hope to say a few words later on.

4. He is said, on the authority of Hyginus, to have introduced the asterism of the Kids into the celestial sphere, and on the authority of Pliny—at least as generally understood—to have been practically the inventor of our zodiacal constellations. It is with this latter statement that the most remarkable part of Dr. Fotheringham's article is concerned. The passage in Pliny runs as follows :

'Circularum quoque coeli ratio in terrae mentione aptius dicetur, quando ad eam tota pertinet, signiferi modo inventoribus non dilatis. Obliquitatem ejus intellexisse, hoc est rerum fores aperuisse, Anaximander Milesius traditur primus Olympiade quinquagesima octava, signa deinde in eo Cleostratus, et prima Arietis et Sagittarii, sphaeram ipsam ante multo Atlas.'

In the first sentence there is no difficulty. Though Pliny will not discuss the circles on the celestial globe until he comes to speak of the terrestrial globe, he must make mention at once of the framers of the zodiac, whom evidently he believed to be Greeks. The second sentence is not so easy, I think only because, in Boll's words, 'das Verbum hat Plinius in gewohnter Kürze verschwiegen.'³ 'Intellexisse' is made to govern 'obliquitatem,' 'signa,' 'prima,' and 'sphaeram,' but no translator can find any one word for it that will give a satisfactory rendering in every case. We may, with Dr. Fotheringham, make Anaximander 'recognise' the obliquity of the ecliptic. But what

² Cp. Kugler

³ *Sphaera*, p. 192.

did Cleostratus do? The constellations in the zodiac had to be made before they were recognised, they are not, like the obliquity, wholly Nature's work. He must have in some sense invented them, and why should he invent Aries and Sagittarius first? Ought we, as has been suggested, to read 'primum,' implying that—as no doubt was the case—some of the constellations were there before Cleostratus?

Personally I do not think that any change is required, and indeed it seems to me that what Pliny meant to say is plain enough. 'Signifer' is, of course, a common Latin equivalent for 'zodiac' (signifero in orbe qui Graece ζωδιακός dicitur⁴), and the 'signa' which Cleostratus made out in the zodiacal belt are naturally the signs of the zodiac. But in this phrase there is an unfortunate ambiguity, which it will be as well to point out here, as its recognition will become important later on. By the 'signs of the zodiac' we may mean either the zodiacal constellations, κατηστερισμένα ζώδια,⁵ twelve groups of stars very unequal in extent, through which the sun passes in his annual journey, or the ecliptic divisions, δωδεκατημόρια, twelve exactly equal spaces of 30 degrees each, which in ancient times coincided roughly with the constellations whose names they bear, but owing to precession do so no longer. When we say that Regulus is the brightest star in Leo, or that the equinoctial point, which was once in Aries, is now in Pisces, we are speaking of constellations. When we say that the sun enters Aries at the equinox, or that Jupiter, being at the 10th degree of Taurus, is in opposition to the sun, which is at the 10th degree of Scorpio, we are speaking of ecliptic divisions. The division into degrees—30 to each sign—is, of course, inapplicable to constellations, which are unequal in extent and have no definitely marked beginning or ending.

That by the 'signs' which Cleostratus devised in the zodiacal belt Pliny meant constellations no one will doubt. The sense of the passage seems then to be simply this: 'Anaximander made out the obliquity of the zodiacal belt, Cleostratus devised the constellations therein, and first those of the Ram and the Archer.' Why these should have come first I will endeavour to explain later. But for the moment it will be enough to contend that 'prima' is to be understood as qualifying 'signa,' supplied, as Dr. Fotheringham says, 'from the first half of the clause,' but having the same meaning, though Dr. Fotheringham thinks otherwise, in the second half as it had in the first.

Dr. Fotheringham's view is far more original. He maintains that the noun to be understood with 'prima' is indeed 'signa,' but that it bears an entirely different sense from that which it bore when it occurred half-a-dozen words before. This is what he says:

" 'Prima' should either qualify 'signa' supplied from the first half of the clause, or should mean first things or first points without a word understood."

But surely if it means 'first points' a word is understood, namely, the word 'signa.' And, indeed, Dr. Fotheringham goes on: 'The clause would then mean "Afterwards Cleostratus is said to have recognised the signs in it,

⁴ Cic. Div. II. 42, 89.

⁵ Cp. Hipparch. ii. 1. p. 126 Manit.

i. e. in the zodiac, and the first points or first signs of Aries and Sagittarius." The fact that no commentator has yet taken the passage in this literal way is, doubtless, due to their failure to find a sense for it.'

Surely another reason may be that no commentator has yet thought even Pliny capable of making 'signum' in the same sentence mean a sign of the zodiac and also a point in a sign of the zodiac, that is to say, a part of itself. However, Dr. Fotheringham goes on :

'No commentator has grasped that "prima signa" was a technical term, being the Latin translation of *πρῶτα σημεῖα*, which occurs in the passage from the *Rhesus* of Euripides and the scholium upon it, which make up my ninth excerpt. I take it, then, that what Pliny asserts is that Cleostratus is said to have recognised the signs in the zodiac and the *πρῶτα σημεῖα* of Aries and Sagittarius.' To explain what he takes to be the meaning of these words Dr. Fotheringham proceeds to lay violent hands upon a well-known passage, which many of us have admired, and ventured to think we understood, without suspecting the presence of a 'technical term' suggesting Babylonian influence any more than one suspects a cryptogram when reading *Hamlet*.

It will be remembered that the lines in question are put by the poet into the mouths of a company of soldiers who have been keeping watch by night before the walls of Troy, and who complain that no one comes to relieve them though their time is long up, as they prove by the changes visible in the heavens since they came on duty. Though we are concerned here only with a few lines, it will be well to quote the whole, that the reader may see how ill the passage sustains the character of the astronomical treatise for which Dr. Fotheringham seems to take it :

Τίνος ἂ φυλακά; τίς ἀμείβει
τὰν ἐμάν; πρῶτα
δύεται σημεῖα καὶ ἐπτάποροι
Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι· μέσα δ' Αἰετὸς οὐρανοῦ ποτᾶται.
Ἔγρεσθε, τί μέλλετε; κοιτᾶν
ἔγρεσθε πρὸς φυλακᾶν.
οὐ λεύσσετε μηνάδος αἴγλαν;
ἀὼς δὴ πέλας, ἀὼς
γίγνεται, καὶ τις προδρόμων
ὅδε γ' ἐστὶν ἀστήρ.

And now the scholium, which shows that there were dull people in antiquity as well as poets : -

Κράτης ἀγνοεῖν φησι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὴν περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρίαν διὰ τὸ νέον ἔτι εἶναι ὅτε τῶν Ῥήσον ἐδίδασκε· μὴ γὰρ δύνασθαι Πλειάδων καταδυομένων <τούς> τοῦ αἰετοῦ μεσουρανεῖν. ὑπὸ γῆν γὰρ ἐστὶ τότε ὁ αἰγόκερως, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ αἰετὸς ἵδρυται, καὶ ἔτι Πλειάδων δυομένων ὑπὲρ μὲν γῆς εἰς ζῳδία τάδε, ταῦρος δίδυμοι καρκίνος λέων παρθένος ζυγός· ὑπὸ γῆν δὲ τάδε σκορπίος τοξότης αἰγόκερως ὕδροχόος ἰχθύς κριός. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ

Κράτης· ἔοικε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φράσεως ἀμφιβόλου <οὔσης> κεκρατῆσθαι. τὰ γὰρ πρῶτα σημεῖα καὶ τὰς Πλειάδας ᾤθη καταδύεσθαι λέγειν τὸν Εὐριπίδην. τὸ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σημεῖα τῆς φυλακῆς φησι δύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ Πλειάδας ἀνατέλλειν. πῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ καταδυομένων εἶπεν αἰθερίας αὐτάς; ὥστε τριχόθεν τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ <τῶν> φυλάκων δηλοῦσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως, ἀνατολῆς καὶ μεσουρανήματος.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Παρμενίσκος πρῶτα σημεῖα φησὶ λέγεσθαι τὰς τοῦ σκορπίου πρῶτας μοίρας διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὕτως αὐτάς λέγεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τάνταις ὁ Βοώτης ἅμα ἄρχεται καταδύεσθαι. Κλεόστρατον γοῦν τὸν Τενέδιον ἀρχαίον οὕτως·

Ἄλλ' ὁπόταν τρίτον ἡμαρ ἐπ' ὀγδώκοντα μένησι,

Σκορπίου εἰς ἅλα πίπτει ἅμ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι. . . .

τοῦτο δὲ παραδείξας ὁ Παρμενίσκος ὅτι καταδύεται τὰ πρῶτα σημεῖα τοῦ σκορπίου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Πλειάδος ἐπιτολῆς ἐπέξεισιν. 'ὅταν γὰρ,' φησὶν, 'Εὐριπίδης λέγῃ καὶ ἐπτάποροι Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι, οὐ δύεσθαι τότε αὐτάς, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ἀνατέλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ <γῆν> τμήματος εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ <τὸν> ὀρίζοντα ἀνιούσας· καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ καὶ ἐπτάποροι Πλειάδες, οἶον· εἰς τὸν ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐρανὸν ἀφικνούμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ καταστησάμενος, ὁμολογῇ,' φησὶ, 'τοῖς Εὐριπίδου τὰ φαινόμενα.—τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σημεῖα τῆς ὥρας εἰς δύσιν κεχώρηκεν, ἡ δὲ Πλειὰς ἀνατέλλει, ὁ δὲ ἀετὸς πρὸς τὸ μέσον κεχώρηκε.'

As so much could be said about the passage, one must suppose that it is not so easy as at first sight appears, and one cannot but admire the courage with which Dr. Fotheringham advances to the attack, calling trigonometry to his aid, and armed with calculations for the age of Euripides and the latitude, not only of Athens, but of Troy itself. The soldiers, it will be seen, perceive by the movement of the stars that the hour of their relief is come and past, the glimmer of the rising moon shows them that the night is nearly over, the appearance of a herald star announces the dawn. Dr. Fotheringham here says sadly that after all his toil he is 'unable to identify . . . the *προδρόμων ἀστήρ*.' I do not see that there need be more difficulty about it than about Milton's unnamed 'bright morning-star, day's harbinger.' Whether the planet Venus actually was a morning star in the spring of the year in which Rhesus came to Troy, we shall, I am afraid, never know.

But it is with the mysterious *πρῶτα σημεῖα* that we are here principally concerned. Did the poet intend to express himself indefinitely, or had the phrase some meaning as precise as the names of the Pleiades and the Eagle? Dr. Fotheringham unhesitatingly takes the latter view. But I am convinced that the former is right. *

That the soldiers meant, as the scholiast says, to indicate the hour by the aid of stars rising, stars culminating, and stars setting, must have been clear, one would think, to every one, ancient or modern, who has read the passage, except Crates. The failure of this celebrated critic to perceive that *αἰθέριαι* (*εἰσι*) is opposed to *δύεται* makes one wonder how he gained so much reputation, but his astronomy is correct enough. It should, I think, be pointed out

that his little lecture on the zodiacal signs does not at all imply that he saw any reference to them in the word *σημεῖα*. It was usual for a Greek of his time to treat the ecliptic as the fundamental line, in relation to which the position of the other stars was defined. There is nothing to show that he did not think, as I do, that *σημεῖα* means merely 'stars' or 'constellations.'

But 'the Greek *σημεῖον*,' says Dr. Fotheringham, 'unlike the Latin "signum," is never a zodiacal or other constellation.' I am the less inclined to accept this dogma because, as will presently be shown, Dr. Fotheringham is himself an unbeliever; and I feel no doubt that *πρῶτα σημεῖα* here means simply the stars or constellations that were, as the Scholiast says, *πρῶτα τῆς φυλακῆς*, those that were up at first when the watch began. These are now sinking; the Eagle, which was then low, is now high in the sky, the Pleiades, which were then invisible, are now above the horizon. This, I think, is all that the poet meant, this clearly is all that the Scholiast understood him to mean, this surely is all that most modern readers have either supposed or desired him to mean. It may no doubt be possible, from the *data* supplied by the Pleiades and the Eagle, to find out what these setting stars were or should have been; but the poet himself did not care to inflict too much of this sort of thing on his readers, and his judgment was probably sound.

But let us examine the statement that *σημεῖον* 'is never a zodiacal or other constellation.'

In the first place, if it is true, it is surprising. Stars are constantly said by their appearances *σημαίνειν* or *ἐπισημαίνειν*, and *σημεῖα* would seem to be the natural Greek equivalent and original of the Latin 'signa,' which certainly does mean 'constellations.' In Latin, indeed, the original sense of the word seems to be entirely forgotten; when Horace, for instance, says that *nox . . . diffundere signâ parabat*,⁶ he means no more than that the stars were coming out.

Secondly, even if it be true that *σημεῖον* is nowhere else used in the sense of 'constellation,' is that a conclusive reason for thinking that it cannot be so used here, by a poet, in a poem? When Shakespeare's boatswain says to the courtier: 'What care these roarers for the name of king?'⁷ are we wrong in supposing that by 'roarers' he means 'waves'? Would Dr. Fotheringham deny it on the ground that, while passages may indeed be found in which waves are said to roar, there is none other discoverable in which a wave is actually called a roarer?⁸ When Homer in a famous passage speaks of *τὰ τεῖρεα πάντα τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωνται*,⁹ we know from the context that by *τεῖρεα* he means 'constellation.' But it is not easy to find another passage in which the word has the same sense, and without the context it might be hard to answer Dr. Fotheringham if he were to argue that it must mean 'rainbows,' as indeed it does elsewhere.

But thirdly, is it quite true that stars are never called *σημεῖα* unless it

⁶ Hor. Sat. i. 5, 10.

⁷ Tempest i. 1.

⁸ Mr. Masfield (*Reynard the Fox*, part II) calls hounds "rompers." One may

safely say that this use of the word is unique.

⁹ Il. xviii. 485.

be so here? Euripides, who perhaps wrote the *Rhesus*, certainly wrote the *Ion*, in which (line 1157) we read, among other constellations, of 'Τάδες τε ναυτίλοις σαφέστατον σημείον. I do not for a moment maintain that the word is here *merely*, as in Latin, a synonym for 'constellation': the Hyades are so called because their rising was an indication of rough weather to come. But the fact remains that a constellation *is* here called a σημείον, and why should not other constellations be called so too, particularly when it is on their office as 'indicators' of the changing hours that the speaker is dwelling?

And lastly, the rarity of the word σημείον in this sense is easily explicable. Before Euripides older poetical usage had put a kindred word σῆμα in possession of the field. To Homer Sirius is a κακὸν σῆμα,¹⁰ and Aratus has the word over and over again. When he says that Zeus τὰ γε σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν,¹¹ what does he mean but constellations? His reason for using σῆμα rather than σημείον was no doubt chiefly because it was conventionally the right word in poetry. But by his time probably σημείον had become impossible, because it had already acquired the meaning of 'point' which it bears in mathematical and astronomical prose. When the *Rhesus* was written mathematical literature was yet scarce.

I think, therefore, that πρῶτα σημεία means merely 'first constellations,' and that we are left to make out for ourselves, if we choose, what these constellations were. Dr. Fotheringham, on the other hand, thinks that the words had for a Greek a meaning as definite as Πλειάδες or Ἄετος, and is pleased with a trigonometrical proof that the setting of the stars which he supposes to be meant, 'tallies exactly with the meridian passage of Altair, the central and brightest star of Aquila, if we make the computation either for Athens or for Troy, and for the middle of the fifth century B.C.' This would be much more convincing did he not proceed, in the next paragraph, to lament the poet's 'imperfect acquaintance with astronomy' as shown by his placing the Eagle in mid-heaven when the Pleiades were seen in the east. 'Assuming that they (the Pleiades) could be seen when their central and brightest star Alcyone was at a true altitude of 2°, I find that Altair would have passed the meridian by an hour and three minutes if we compute for Troy, by an hour and six minutes if we compute for Athens.' Moreover—a much more damning proof of inaccuracy—the stars which Dr. Fotheringham takes for πρῶτα σημεία 'would have set long ago.' Surely this argument is somewhat illogical. If Dr. Fotheringham had found Euripides accurate in treating of stars whose identity is not in doubt, he might fairly infer that he would be accurate in treating of the other stars whose identity is to be ascertained. But if the two statements which we can test are found to be inconsistent with each other, it is clear that a third hypothetical statement gains nothing in validity by being shown consistent with one of them.

Here, however, the difficulty seems to me entirely of Dr. Fotheringham's own creation. The soldiers, it may be observed, do not say that a particular star is on the meridian. They say that a group of stars is soaring in mid-heaven, a very much vaguer statement, and, it may be added, very much

¹⁰ *Il.* xxii. 30.

¹¹ *Phaenom.* 10.

more in character. The exact position of the meridian is not easily ascertained—even by people who know what it means—out of doors in a strange country. And the soldiers, on Dr. Fotheringham's own showing, were not very far out.

Let us now, however, try to ascertain—it is very far from an easy task—what Dr. Fotheringham really does take *πρῶτα σημεία* to mean. 'An answer,' he says, 'is supplied in the ninth excerpt by Parmeniscus.' One is surprised at this confidence in a critic whose comment is presently described by Dr. Fotheringham himself, with perfect justice, as 'otiose' and as 'dragged in' only to display its author's learning. But in fact, as will soon appear, the 'answer supplied by Parmeniscus,' in its unedited form, satisfies Dr. Fotheringham little better than it does me. It is not upon what Parmeniscus said, nor even upon what Dr. Fotheringham thinks he said, but upon what Dr. Fotheringham thinks he ought to have said, that we are to rely.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Παρμενίσκος πρῶτα σημεία φησὶ λέγεσθαι τὰς τοῦ σκορπίου πρῶτας μοίρας διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὕτως αὐτὰς λέγεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ταύταις ὁ Βοώτης ἄμα ἄρχεται καταδύεσθαι. It is almost entirely upon this short passage that Dr. Fotheringham grounds his strange theory that *πρῶτα σημεία* means, and was generally understood to mean, 'the first points,' or, rather, 'the first stars of Scorpio,' and of Scorpio only. He thinks, indeed, that the missing words in the passage from Cleostratus would corroborate him if we had got them. Unfortunately we have not got them. But surely the theory is such a strange one, the improbability that people ever said 'there are the Pleiades, there the Eagle, there the First Points' is so great that, even if the scholiast's words naturally bore that meaning, we should do wisely to inquire if they could not bear another.

And do they naturally bear that meaning? Would not the writer, if he had meant that, have written *ταύτας*, not *αὐτὰς*, in the first clause, as he has written *ταύταις* in the second? To me, the more often I look at the passage the plainer it seems to become that the meaning is simply this: Parmeniscus thought that *πρῶτα σημεία*, 'first points,' was equivalent to *πρῶται μοίραι*, 'first degrees,' because they were so called by the ancients—that is to say, the ancients said *σημεία* for *μοίρας*—and he thought that the first degrees here mentioned were those of the sign Scorpio, because it is those degrees that are setting when the Pleiades rise and when Boötes begins to go down.

This interpretation, at any rate, agrees with history. *Μοῖρα*, though *σημεῖον* in this sense may still be found, is the usual word in Ptolemy for what we call a 'degree,' that is to say, the 30th part of an ecliptic sign, or the 360th of the whole circle. And it had acquired this sense by the time of Hipparchus. But its use at first was not so restricted. Aratus uses it more than once¹² to denote a whole sign, that is to say, the 12th part of the ecliptic. All that Parmeniscus meant to say was that 'first points' must signify 'first degrees of an ecliptic sign,' and that the sign here in question was Scorpio. The idea that 'first points' meant in a special sense 'first points of Scorpio,' never, I feel sure, even entered his head. This is indeed shown by his afterwards explaining the expression—we have here apparently his own words—

¹² See especial *Phaenom.* 560, and *Dios.* 8.

as *πρῶτα σημεία τῆς ὥρας*, which is equivalent to the Scholiast's *πρῶτα τῆς φυλακῆς*, 'the first of our appointed hour.'

Lest it should be thought that the remarks about Boötes made by Parmeniscus, and by the Scholiast on Aratus next cited by Dr. Fotheringham, lend any support to the latter's theory, a little explanation is necessary. It is quite true that Parmeniscus introduced the subject merely to display his knowledge, but it is also true that his remark, when properly understood, shows that to him *πρῶτα σημεία* meant 'first points of the Scorpion,' not always, as Dr. Fotheringham maintains, but only in this particular case.

A curious consequence of the popularity enjoyed by the poem of Aratus in antiquity is that, among the innumerable commentaries to which it gave birth, we have preserved to us the larger part of a work by the great astronomer Hipparchus, whom otherwise we should know, save for a few quotations in Ptolemy, only at second hand. It contains a lively polemic, not indeed against Aratus, for whom as a poet Hipparchus seems to have shared the general admiration, but against an Aratean commentator, one Attalus, who persisted in asking the second century B.C. to accept as accurate loose statements made by a poet of the early third century on the authority of an astronomer of the early fourth. One of these statements was this: 'The constellation of Boötes takes so long in setting that during the process no less than four zodiacal divisions, namely the Ram, the Bull, the Twins, and the Crab, have time to rise.' Hipparchus shows that the statement was exaggerated, and that in Central Greece Boötes did not begin to set until the whole of the Ram and a small part of the Bull had risen. But when Taurus begins to rise the opposite sign of Scorpio begins to set, and later in his work Hipparchus proves this too. The first star of Boötes sets along with the sixth degree of the sign Scorpio.¹³

This piece of knowledge only, and no secret about the primacy of the Scorpion, is what Parmeniscus parades. And the passage quoted by Dr. Fotheringham from the Aratean scholia has no other meaning. 'When certain parts of the Whale are rising,' says the Scholiast, *τότε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀρκτοφύλαξ ἄρχεται μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου ζῳδίου, τουτέστι τοῦ Σκορπίου, δύνειν, ὅς ἐστι κατὰ διάμετρον τῷ Ταύρῳ*. There is no suggestion whatever that the Scorpion was styled *τὸ πρῶτον ζῳδίου* *par excellence*. The writer means only that it was the first of the signs with which Boötes set, not the second, as it would have been if Aratus had been right, and the Ram instead of the Bull had been rising.

Parmeniscus then, if I understand him aright, gives no support whatever to Dr. Fotheringham's theory, that *πρῶτα σημεία* was a 'technical term' for the first points of Scorpio. On the other hand, he does undoubtedly oppose the explanation which I have advocated, namely, that *σημεία* merely means stars or constellations, whether in the zodiac or out of it. Parmeniscus certainly took *σημεία* to mean, not stars, but points or degrees of a zodiacal sign, that is to say, 'of the invisible ecliptic,' as Dr. Fotheringham puts it. But is it even conceivable that Parmeniscus was right? The *Rhesus* belongs to the fifth century B.C., not the second, and it is a poem, not an astronomical treatise.

¹³ Hipparch. ii. 2 23-29.

Could a poet—and that poet perhaps Euripides—make the resentment of injured soldiers express itself in a ‘technical term’ implying their sense of the disappearance of invisible points in an invisible circle? It would be too much to expect of a chorus consisting of assistants in the Greenwich Observatory.

And it is too much for Dr. Fotheringham to believe. Suddenly discarding the ally whom he has so proudly paraded, he announces that ‘we are not to take Parmeniscus too literally.’ He ‘and his contemporaries were doubtless in the habit of specifying the degrees of the invisible ecliptic that rose and set with different stars. . . . But we may rest assured that Cleostratus did nothing of the kind, much less did Euripides or whoever wrote the *Rhesus* imagine that a Trojan guard measured the movements of the invisible ecliptic. The *πρῶτα σημεία* are doubtless not the first degrees of Scorpio on the ecliptic, but the first stars of Scorpio to set.’

With these remarks, down to the last clause, I warmly sympathise. But if they are sound, what becomes of the ‘answer supplied by Parmeniscus’ on which Dr. Fotheringham so confidently relied? It was simply wrong—and ridiculous. Indeed, it seems that Parmeniscus himself to Dr. Fotheringham, as to me, appears as a dull pedant, supplying an impossible interpretation to a passage in a tragic writer. He surely cannot also be a trustworthy historian recording a habit of the *ἀρχαῖοι*, who said ‘first degrees’ when they meant first degrees of Scorpio and of no other sign. This piece of information is admittedly false. Dr. Fotheringham has no right to correct a statement, and then to use the corrected statement as evidence.

Especially since, as I shall proceed to show, this corrected statement, namely that *πρῶτα σημεία* means ‘first stars of Scorpio,’ is even less credible than that it meant ‘first degrees.’ Dr. Fotheringham proceeds: ‘The Greek *σημείον*. . . is never a zodiacal or other constellation, but either a mathematical “point,” such as the first degree of Scorpio, and the solstitial and equinoctial points on the ecliptic, or else an “indication,” such as the rising or setting of a star or group of stars which might indicate the time of year or the time of night. It is clear that the word is here used in the latter sense, except that it is not the abstract setting of the star, but the concrete star setting which is called *σημείον*.’

This is a somewhat puzzling passage. We must remember that, if Parmeniscus be discredited, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the concrete star here said to be setting was necessarily in Scorpio. And if after all *σημεία* does mean ‘concrete stars,’ why deny that it can mean ‘zodiacal or other constellations,’ which is what most readers of the *Rhesus* have supposed it to mean? For the difference between setting stars and concrete stars setting is indeed so subtle that one page further on Dr. Fotheringham abandons the attempt to maintain it. Having decided that *πρῶτα σημεία*, in spite of Parmeniscus, must mean, not degrees, but stars, he now adduces in his favour a passage from the calendar in Geminus, where Euctemon is reported as saying that on a certain day *τοῦ Σκορπίου οἱ πρῶτοι ἀστέρες δύνουσιν*.

One might have supposed this passage to tell against, not for, Dr. Fotheringham. For why should Euctemon have been at the trouble to add *τοῦ Σκο-*

ρπίου, when on the theory *πρώτοι ἀστέρες* meant 'first stars of the Scorpion'? But Dr. Fotheringham ignores this little objection. 'Euctemon,' he says, 'was an ἀρχαῖος and a contemporary of Euripides.' 'The adjective *πρώτος* applied as here to particular stars is, so far as I know, unique in the Greek calendars.' Dr. Fotheringham will find it often enough in Hipparchus, who, in fact, takes us through the constellations, telling us in each case the *πρώτος ἀστήρ* to rise and the *πρώτος ἀστήρ* to set. Nor is there anything in the least surprising in its use by Euctemon. He and the other observers cited in the Calendar usually distinguish stars by their places in the figure, as 'the Scorpion's sting,' 'Orion's shoulder,' 'the Bull's horn.' But there are several stars in the Scorpion's tail going down much at the same time. Hipparchus, who aimed at a precision unknown to Euctemon's age, distinguishes one as *ὁ τρίτος σφόνδυλος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ κέντρῳ ἀριθμούμενος, ἕκτος δὲ ὦν τῶν μετὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στήθει*. The early star-watchers did not write like that.

But if it were hard to believe that *πρώτα σημεῖα* could mean always 'the first degrees of the sign Scorpio measured on the ecliptic,' which is what Dr. Fotheringham thinks that Parmeniscus said, it is harder still to believe that it can have meant 'first stars of the constellation Scorpio,' which is what Dr. Fotheringham maintains that he ought to have said. For there is at any rate no doubt as to which the first *degrees* of an ecliptic sign are. The most westerly degrees rise first, culminate first, set first; they are always first, look at them as you will. But with the *stars* in a zodiacal *constellation* it is different. They are not strung out like beads along the ecliptic; they lie at varying distances from it, some to north, some to south. In our hemisphere a northerly star rises earlier and sets later than the corresponding point on the ecliptic, a southerly star rises later and sets sooner. It by no means follows that the first stars to rise will be also the first stars to set. The Scorpion's case is especially in point. Part of the tail stretches so far to the south that in England it never rises at all. In Greece the stars that set first were also the last to rise. By their technical term 'the first stars' the Greeks must have had to understand, not merely 'first stars of the Scorpion,' but 'first stars of the Scorpion to set.'

But if they really had this amazing expression, what can have induced them to adopt it? 'To this,' replies Dr. Fotheringham, 'there is a simple answer. If we arrange the different zodiacal constellations in the order in which they began their cosmical settings at Tenedos about 520 B.C., we shall find that Scorpio comes first after the vernal equinox. The vernal equinox was the starting-point of the Babylonian year and of the Babylonian zodiac. Cleostratus, as we shall see, derived his zodiac from Babylon, and therefore Scorpio took the first place among the cosmical settings.'

A 'simple answer' indeed. Babylon! Only to those who have felt the full blessedness of the word 'Mesopotamia' can it appear either simple or satisfactory. Does Dr. Fotheringham really expect all these confident statements to be accepted without protest? The time-honoured belief that the Babylonian year began at the equinox had, one had thought, been hopelessly shattered by Kugler, who shows that it began with a spring month kept to its

place by observation, not of the equinox, but of star-risings.¹⁴ And was the vernal equinox the starting-point of the Babylonian zodiac? This can only mean that the Babylonians made the equinoctial point itself the first point of their first sign *Ku*, as we make it the first point of our Aries. And that they did so has, of course, been assumed over and over again, generally by writers who had no idea that any other arrangement was possible. But it is only one of several arrangements adopted in antiquity, and it does not appear to have been the one favoured at Babylon, at any rate in Seleucid times.¹⁵ Further, even if the Babylonians had done what Dr. Fotheringham says they did, why should we assume without evidence that Cleostratus would have done so too? If he had, is it not likely that the Greeks in general would have followed his example from the first? But they did not. Dr. Fotheringham indeed asserts later on that Hipparchus began his series of signs with the actual spring equinox. Where is the evidence for this? It is true that the Aries of Hipparchus began at the equinoctial point, but it in no way follows that he regarded Aries as the first sign. In his only extant work he begins, not with Aries, but with Cancer—at the solstice instead of at the equinox. That he must have done so later, after he had begun to suspect precession, appears from that interesting chapter of the *Almagest*¹⁶ in which Ptolemy cites the alignments of stars which Hipparchus had made in order that his successors might see whether the stars outside the zodiacal belt were moving with those within it. Ptolemy, who himself puts Aries first, would not have started here with Cancer unless Hipparchus had done so. Again, the calendar in Geminus begins with Cancer. So evidently did that of Meton. Dr. Fotheringham's conviction that Cleostratus must have begun with the equinox cannot be considered as evidence that he did. And if he did so, why should his very singular phraseology be adopted by other Greeks, who did not? Euripides, for instance, was an Athenian, and the Athenians began their year at Midsummer.

But let us come back at last to the passage in Pliny, to explain which Dr. Fotheringham's researches have been undertaken. We were to understand that 'prima (signa)' was a translation of *πρῶτα σημεία*, and *πρῶτα σημεία* we have now learnt to interpret as 'the first stars of the Scorpion to set.' But on returning to Pliny we find, not 'prima Scorpii,' but 'prima Arietis et Sagittarii.' This is surprising, but it is more surprising still to find that Dr. Fotheringham, to whom we turn for explanation, has none to offer. At best he can suggest a reason for the presence of Aries, but he has 'sought in vain for any' that will account for the absence of Scorpio. The explanation, that his own theory is wrong, does not seem to have occurred to him. He 'inclines to the opinion that either Varro or Pliny has erroneously substituted Sagittarius for Scorpio.'

I cannot think that this inclination will be shared by many, but it may be well, before leaving this subject, to point out that even with Aries Dr. Fotheringham's explanation is not very happy. His argument is brief:

¹⁴ Kugler, *Sternkunde*, ii. 300, and *Ergänzungen zum I und II Buch*, p. 2.

¹⁵ e.g. Kugler, *Mondrechnung*, p. 74 and *Entwicklung*, p. 173.

¹⁶ *Almag.* vii. 1.

'If then we have *πρῶτα σημεῖα* of Scorpio in respect of cosmical settings,¹⁷ is there any other series that we might expect? The morning setting would naturally be matched by the morning rising, and the zodiacal constellation which first began to rise heliacally after the vernal equinox was Aries.' There were therefore two sets of *πρῶτα σημεῖα*, which elastic phrase might mean 'Scorpion setting' or 'Aries rising,' according to circumstances. But Dr. Fotheringham's expression 'first after' the vernal equinox is vague. What we want, or rather what he wants, is clearly some stars whose heliacal rising took place at the same time as the cosmical setting of the first stars in Scorpio.

Dr. Fotheringham himself has reminded us that Euctemon, as quoted in the Geminus Calendar, mentions the morning setting of *τοῦ Σκορπίου οἱ πρῶτοι ἀστέρες*. But this setting is made to take place, not after, but two days before, the vernal equinox, as determined by Euctemon himself. To require exact agreement between observers of star-risings would be absurd. But Euctemon lived within a hundred years of Cleostratus, and some at least of his observations were made nearly in the latitude of Tenedos.¹⁸ We want, therefore, to find stars which rose heliacally at, or immediately after the vernal equinox, and Dr. Fotheringham will hardly maintain that any stars of Aries were visible so soon. Especially as the most conspicuous of them, our α Arietis, was, as Hipparchus, Ptolemy, and Al Sufi alike testify, considerably less bright in antiquity than it is now.

Is there really no simpler explanation of the Pliny passage than that given by Dr. Fotheringham, which, as already observed, requires us to give 'signa' as understood a different meaning from 'signa' as expressed in the same sentence? Surely there is.

If Cleostratus made it his task to provide constellations for the zodiacal belt, the direction of which had been traced by Anaximander, we are not to suppose that throughout its whole course he could find none already awaiting him. The Scorpion with his Claws was probably familiar to men before Greek or even Babylonian astronomy arose; and indeed, the mere fact that the zodiacal constellations are conspicuously unequal in longitudinal extent proves that they cannot all have been called into existence at once by a creator whose object was to divide the zodiac into twelve equal parts. The reason why Cleostratus busied himself first with the Ram and the Archer is that there, and probably there only, he found vacant spaces. There are no parts of the zodiacal belt so empty of bright stars, or marked configurations of stars, as the regions of Aries and Sagittarius.

The constellation of Aries is easily recognised by two conspicuous stars, those marked α and β in our maps. Not only, however, is it certain that the brightest of them is brighter now than of old, but it must be noted that they are both so far to the north of the ecliptic as to be really not in the zodiacal belt at all, if we give to it its conventional breadth of twelve degrees. As

¹⁷ A star sets cosmically when it goes down in the morning twilight just before the light is strong enough to extinguish it.

A star which at the same time rises just soon enough to be seen is said to rise heliacally.

¹⁸ Ptol. Phas., p. 67 Heib.

Ptolemy's alteration of Hipparchus's figure shows, it must have required some ingenuity to bring these stars into the figured Ram. Of the stars actually in the zodiacal belt, and forming the bulk of the figure, Ptolemy marks only one as slightly exceeding the fourth magnitude, and only two others as equalling it.

This dimness of the zodiacal Aries is often remarked upon by the ancients. In the 'Catasterisms' we have the quaint explanation suggested that the Ram, the bearer of the golden fleece, had been skinned before it was taken up into the heavens. Aratus, too, has a story that, because the Ram itself was so dim, the Triangle was set in the sky to point out its place; and it is remarkable that Hipparchus in his comment confines himself to pointing out that the brightest stars in Aries are *as* bright as those in the Triangle. Nothing could show more plainly that α Arietis then was not, as it is now, a second-magnitude star.

At the western end of the Archer is a group of very noticeable stars, containing the bow and arrow. But these stars are confined to the western part of the figure—in the time of Cleostratus several of them were really in the sign of Scorpio—and, moreover, their natural connexion is with a larger group stretching far to the south, as may easily be seen in the south of Europe. In the eastern part of the constellation, where the horse-body of the centaur is now placed, there are scarcely any visible stars, and the brightest recorded by Ptolemy does not attain to the fourth magnitude. If Dr. Fotheringham's vague saying that 'Cleostratus . . . derived his zodiac from Babylon' means that he copied his constellations from a Chaldean globe, let him reflect that in the Seleucid tablets none of our Sagittarius stars is used for comparison with the places of the moon and planets. So far as I know, the only star so used in *Pa-bil-sag*, which corresponds to our Archer, is one which the Greeks placed in the constellation of Ophiuchus.

It may be remembered that Parmeniscus describes Cleostratus as an *ἀρχαῖος*. Dr. Fotheringham, who does not scruple to write 'Scorpii' for 'Sagittarii' when it suits his purpose, is properly severe upon a German commentator who proposed here to write *ἀστρολόγον* for *ἀρχαῖον*. The offence is more serious than might have been thought. 'I do not think,' he writes, 'that it has ever been noticed that οἱ ἀρχαῖοι in Hipparchus and Geminus when not qualifying a noun regularly means the early astronomers, beginning with Thales and descending as far as the third century B.C.' He is probably right: I should doubt whether Hipparchus and Geminus themselves, neither of whom even mentions Thales, ever noticed it. The *ἀρχαῖοι* of whom they speak are people who lived before them and who were busied with the things of which they are speaking. Why 'the use of the same term by Parmeniscus' should suggest 'that it had acquired something of a technical meaning,' I do not understand. Were a man to say that 'the ancients' made ivory statues, one would understand that he was speaking of ancient sculptors, but one would not conclude that to him 'an ancient' was a technical term for an ancient sculptor. But to Dr. Fotheringham the discovery is a great one. 'Had this fact been realised, chronologists would not with one consent have mistaken the astronomical calendars described in the eighth chapter of Geminus for successive official calendars of Athens.'

I should have thought that chronologists, not at all a harmonious race, had been very far from unanimity on this subject. But why should the discovery that ἀρχαῖος meant 'ancient astronomer,' even supposing it to be true, affect our theories about the Greek astronomical cycles? Apparently because Dr. Fotheringham does not consider a cycle to be a cycle unless it has been used by some one not an astronomer. Now Geminus merely says that these cycles were used by ἀρχαῖοι; ἀρχαῖοι were only astronomers, not real people like archons, and these cycles are therefore to be considered as merely 'astronomical conceits.' Indeed Dr. Fotheringham seems even to deny that the later of them owed 'their origin to defects in earlier systems proved by experience.' 'They were exercises in the art of combining days, months, and years, of which the relative mean durations had been learned in Babylon.'

Such a view seems to me unintelligible. Leaving questions as to whether or when this, that or the other cycle was in use here, there or anywhere to scholars as learned as Dr. Fotheringham, I quite agree that attempts to trace the existence of an eight-year cycle before Cleostratus are not very successful. But when the question is as to the development of Greek astronomy, if we know that a particular form of calendar was even suggested, I cannot see what difference it makes whether Athens or any other state adopted it. Undoubtedly Geminus does mean us to understand that the defects revealed by experience in one cycle were corrected in the next. And surely the sixth-century cycle attributed to Cleostratus is less accurate than the fifth-century cycle attributed to Meton, and this again than the fourth-century cycle of Callippus. Moreover the 'relative mean durations' of days, months, and years are not the same in all the cycles. Was it the better or the worse estimates that were learnt from Babylon, and is it conceivable that the ἀρχαῖοι, after amusing themselves with these 'conceits' for two centuries, could not decide between the worse and the better more easily than they could in the beginning? The 'octaeteris' itself, with all its elegance, fails through giving to the month a mean duration twenty minutes too short, which error, in the ninety-nine months contained in the period, amounts to a day and a half. It is difficult to suppose that Cleostratus would have put forth a scheme which he knew must require amendment almost as soon as it had been once tried; yet he must have known this if he had derived from Babylon even so accurate an estimate of the relative lengths of month and year as appears in the Metonic cycle.

I shall say little as to an *argumentum ex silentio*, by which Dr. Fotheringham (pp. 173 sqq.) strives to show that none of our zodiacal constellations can have been known in Greece before Cleostratus. Whatever the conclusion may be worth, the argument seems to me worthless, for what literature has come down to us which was likely to contain such evidence? But for the accident that Aratus wrote a famous poem, we perhaps could not prove that the bulk of our constellations were older than the third century B.C.

But there is a real *argumentum ex silentio*, the strength of which can only be appreciated by those who have read enough about Greek astronomy to have some idea not merely what was known about its history but what was not. To me the only true value of the passage from Parmeniscus lies in the evidence

it affords that in his time the poem of Cleostratus was still extant. Eudemus must surely have been acquainted with it. How comes it, if the borrowings from Babylon had been so recent and on such a scale as Dr. Fotheringham asserts, that neither Eudemus nor any one else has recorded them? Dr. Fotheringham must have felt this difficulty strongly, for to surmount it he propounds a theory which to me appears one of despair. He supposes, in fact, a deliberate conspiracy of silence. 'Of sixth-century Greece, with its mind open to the barbarian, later Greece was ashamed. Barely an admission is to be found in Greek sources of anything in science or philosophy learned from the Chaldaeans, the enemies in the golden age. What Thales learned abroad he was said to have learned from the Egyptians. Even Herodotus, who, as became an Asiatic Greek, still cherished in the fifth century B.C. an admiration for the civilisation of the East, is accused by Plutarch of being φιλοβάρβαρος.'

A passage more misleading was surely never written. Dr. Fotheringham admits in a footnote that Herodotus does trace to Babylon 'the sun-dial, the gnomon, and the twelve hours of the day.' He omits, however, to add that Herodotus makes the remark¹⁹ only to correct the impression he might have given that *all* scientific knowledge came to Greece from Egypt. Why should not Herodotus, who may have been born in the lifetime of Cleostratus, have mentioned other Babylonian gifts to Greece if he had known of them? As to Plutarch's accusations of philo-barbarism, who would not suppose from Dr. Fotheringham's words that Herodotus had been blamed for tracing Greek science to an Eastern origin? There is not a word of the sort in the whole essay, and the passage in which φιλοβάρβαρος occurs refers to a case in which the historian compares his countrymen unfavourably, *not* with Orientals, but with Egyptians.

Space fails me for a discussion of Dr. Fotheringham's opinions about the eclipse of Thales, and the art of predicting eclipses in antiquity. I can only say that they appear to me as unsatisfactory as those which I have been examining, and which, with all respect for the learning and ingenuity of their propounder, I cannot but think fantastic and illusory.

In conclusion, I will say that, while Cleostratus may have been, as Dr. Fotheringham seems to suggest, one 'of Earth's wisest,' I cannot think that Dr. Fotheringham, to whom he is merely a Babylonian echo, has gone far to represent him in that light. It is greatly to be lamented that we do not know more of him, but if Dr. Fotheringham is right in supposing that his 'vates sacer' was Parmeniscus, that may help to explain it.

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¹⁹ Herod. ii. 109.

A MINOAN BRONZE STATUETTE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLATE I.]

THE bronze statuette reproduced for the first time on Pl. I. and Fig. 1 has for many years past formed part of the national collections. The earliest date to which it has so far been traced is 1885, when it was included in the category of 'unclassified or suspect bronzes.' Beyond 1885 it enjoys at present the happiness of having no history; but as in that year it bore no mark of registration, the inference may be drawn that it entered the Museum with the 'old collections,' perhaps a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago. It remained in retirement until the early years of the present century, when attention was called to its affinities with the newly discovered art of prehistoric Crete; and the publication, in 1912, of the Tyllissos praying figure¹ (Fig. 2) supplied a parallel sufficiently close to establish beyond doubt that the British Museum bronze was a work of the same school and period.

The statuette represents a beardless man standing in the familiar attitude of adoration with the right hand raised to the forehead, palm upward and fingers clenched; the left hand hangs stiffly at the side, the forearm slightly in advance of the hip, and the hand tightly clenched with knuckles to the front. The feet and legs are closely pressed together and the whole pose is one of strained attention, which is emphasised by the Minoan mannerism of exaggerating the curve of the back. On the other hand there is none of the Minoan pinched-in waist or slimness of figure; the waist is normal and the outlines suggest obesity. The statuette is heavily and solidly cast, apparently from a wax model; the metal appears to be almost pure copper. The surface for the most part is in wonderfully good preservation and shows well the naturalistic finish, particularly on the breast and arms; and the faintly incised lines which indicate details of costume are drawn with delicacy and precision. As in most Minoan bronzes, the technique of the casting has not proved equal to the artistic demands made upon it; the details of the face are blurred and at several points are lumps and excrescences of waste metal, which apparently there has been no attempt to remove.² The more noticeable of these are the rough furrows under the chin and on the right shoulder; the curious lump on the left wrist, shaped like a pointed leaf, suggests the branch or spray held by votaries, but is probably only another flaw in the casting. The height of the statuette is .195 m. ($7\frac{3}{4}$ ins.), and the height over all, including the base, .22 m. ($8\frac{3}{4}$ ins.).

The figure stands on an oblong base about three millimetres in thickness;

¹ 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1912, Pl. XVII, p. 223; Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 68, Fig. 14.

² On similar defects in other Minoan bronzes, see Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 67.

in front of the left toe, the left half of the front is rectangularly cut back about 4 mm. Below the base is a rectangular plug about 2 cm. in length. The combination of plug and base common on Minoan bronzes; to give only the better known examples, it is found, on the Tylissos figure, on the Gournia statuette,³ and on a praying man from the Cave of Psychro.⁴ There can be no doubt that it is a deliberate feature to facilitate mounting in a base slab



FIG. 1.—MINOAN BRONZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. 1:2.



FIG. 2 —MINOAN BRONZE FROM TYLISSOS.

and that the plug does not represent merely the metal jet of the casting, as the Gournia excavators have suggested.⁵ The cut-away of the base-plate probably is likewise intended to provide a better grip for the mount. The Tylissos statuette has two such cut-backs at back and front; and in the Psychro

³ *Gournia*, Pl. XI, B 21.

⁴ To be published by Sir Arthur Evans in the forthcoming *Palace of Minos*. I am indebted to Sir A. Evans for the reference.

⁵ *Gournia*, l.c. Compare also such

bronzes as those figured on Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 161, Figs. 55, 56, where the base-plate is omitted and there is a plug under each separate foot.

bronze this is developed into a decorative feature and the whole front edge is cut into a regular scallop pattern.

The costume is indicated with care and comprises high Cretan boots and an elaborate combination of waist-band or belt and kilt. The boots, reaching half-way up the calf, are of the type which has long been familiar from the footgear of the soldier on the 'Chieftain' Vase from Hagia Triada⁶ and the Petsofa figurines,⁷ where the colouring has led Prof. J. L. Myres to suggest that, like modern Cretan boots, they were made of white or pale buff-coloured leather; the details, however, are more clearly indicated than on any previously known example. The sole is flat and heel-less; the quarter-pieces are cut with a triangular slope up to the ankles where a seam runs round the entire leg, and on the outer side a smaller seam runs directly down from the ankle-seam to the edge of the quarter-piece. On the front is a pointed toe-cap with a raised seam on each side running back to the quarter-piece, and a third seam running up the middle of the foot. Above the ankles, the boot is in one piece.

Round the waist comes a thick band of strongly convex outline; on the right half of the front of this are incised half a dozen lines sloping up to the left, of varying length and roughly parallel—obviously a fold-over in the cloth. At the back, a flat loop projects on the right above this band; on the left side the surface is worn, but traces of a second loop are still visible. Below this band comes a second and much narrower belt, marked off by incised lines; the markedly concave profile of this second zone at once suggests that it is the familiar Minoan metallic belt, to which presumably would be attached the 'Libyan sheath' worn underneath the kilt. The presence of this sheath in combination with the kilt is suggested also on the Tyliossos and Leyden statuettes;⁸ but in the present instance this feature is so exaggerated as to raise a doubt as to whether a 'gliedfutteral' is intended, or whether we have not to deal with an actual case of ithyphallism.

Below the belt falls the kilt; at the back it assumes the form found on the Tyliossos and Psychro statuettes—rounded and reaching to just above the knees; an incised line represents an ornamented border. On the left thigh the kilt is cut away to expose almost the whole of the leg; then in the front it falls almost to the feet in a long flap or apron; the left edge of this is slightly sloped inwards, with a rounded edge at the bottom, and a faintly incised line runs just within the edge. The right side of the flap falls straight, and a raised band, with an incised line running down the middle, falls parallel to the edge. This may be a band of raised ornament; the Psychro statuette, which has a similar flap, shows furrowed lines down the right side; but it seems rather to be an object distinct from the kilt, and the question may be raised whether it does not represent a hanging tail, the combination of which with the kilt is not infrequent.⁹

⁶ The footgear is best illustrated in Mosso, *Palaces of Crete*, p. 227, Fig. 107.

⁷ *B.S.A.*, Vol. IX. p. 363 Pl. IX.

⁸ *Jahrb.*, xxx., 1915, Pl. I., p. 65.

⁹ *E. g.*, on a seal impression from Hagia Triada, *Mon. Ant.*, xiii., p. 43, Fig. 40; and on a gem from Mycenae, Furtwaengler, *Ant. Gemmen*, iii. p. 44, Fig. 20.

The kilt is fastened on the right hip, both ends passing up under the belt; and at the junction hangs down a loose end with a heavily indented border. This appears to be the end of the rear part of the kilt. The end of the fore part may be the fold over the upper band round the waist; but it is not certain whether this upper band, above the belt, is to be regarded as the top of the kilt, or as a separate object. In favour of its being part of the kilt is the fact that the loops are attached to it, and similar loops are shown in the Rekhmara fresco (Fig. 3)¹⁰ clearly attached to the kilt; while against this view is the fact that in no other example does the kilt so far rise above the belt. If it is a separate piece of clothing, it would appear to be a folded waist-cloth, like the modern cummerbund; in shape it strongly recalls the girdle of the Berlin 'snake-charmer,' which appears to be a votive ceinture, fastened in front, and allied to the snake girdles of Knossos.¹¹

In the Rekhmara fresco we may trace the belt, the two loops and the kilt fastened on the right side with the end hanging down in front. The prolongation of this loose end into the rounded apron is seen on the Psychro bronze, which, save for the absence of the upper roll about the waist, presents an exact parallel to our bronze. In discussing the Psychro bronze, Sir Arthur Evans calls attention to various seal impressions¹² which seem to show a similar rounded flap, and suggests that it is a ritual garb used in ceremonial processions, a conclusion which is supported by the hieratic attitude of the British Museum statuette. The seal impressions are all of M.M. iii. date, and the Psychro bronze is also assigned to the same period. It seems probable that the apron is characteristic of that epoch, in which case the position of our bronze in Minoan chronology is fixed in the Third Middle Minoan period.

The head is disfigured at some points by blurred casting; the rough furrows beneath the chin are particularly noticeable. The ears are cast flat with no attempt at interior modelling; the eyes are deep sunk; the nose is slightly aquiline and finely modelled; and the lips appear parted in a smile. The top of the head is smooth as though clean-shaven, save for three ridges, of which the two at the side, beyond doubt, represent hair; they originate in a spiral curl over each temple and sweep back as a slightly raised line behind the ears to unite at the back of the neck in a flat plait or hair-slide, whence two thick snaky pigtails fall down the back. The third ridge is larger and in



FIG. 3.—MINOAN ENVOY ON THE TOMB OF REKHMARA AT THEBES.

¹⁰ Reproduced from Bossert, *Alt Kreta*, Pl. CCLVII.

¹¹ Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, Pl. XIX.; vide also Evans, *B.S.A.* ix. p. 83.

¹² *J.H.S.* xxii, p. 78, Fig. 5 (ritual procession with the double axe); cf. also *ibid.* Fig. 6 and Pl. VI. 7; *Mon. Ant.* xiii. p. 41, Fig. 35.

higher relief; it rises on the front of the head, immediately behind the raised hand; the end is broad and flat, in shape strongly suggestive of a snake's head; it then falls in serpentine curves behind the left ear into the hair knot, out of which the tip of a tail just emerges on the left side (Fig. 1). The interpretation of this third ridge is a matter of doubt. If it represents hair, we have three pigtales, as on the Gournia bronze; but the analogy is not convincing, for in the Gournia statuette all three locks are of equal thickness, and the middle one is the longest of the three; whereas in the British Museum bronze, the middle ridge is the shortest, and by its more pronounced relief is clearly differentiated from the side-locks. Supposing it not to represent hair, and eliminating it from the analysis of the coiffure, this will consist of two locks knotted behind and falling in two tails, an arrangement which is exactly paralleled by the hair-dress of the Tyliossos and Psychro bronzes. Comparison with these two closely allied examples suggests strongly that the arrangement of the hair in all three statuettes is intended to be identical, and that the middle lock on our bronze is not hair at all; and its resemblance to a snake has already been noted.

Interpreting the centre ridge to be a snake, or possibly an artificial representation of a snake, a new light is thrown upon the significance of the statuette, which now enters the numerous company of figures associated with the Minoan snake-cult. In the case of some of these doubt exists as to whether deity or votary is intended, but in the present instance there is no suggestion of divinity; a worshipper is represented and in this respect the statuette may be considered the masculine counterpart of the well-known Berlin bronze, formerly known as the 'Mourner'.¹³ Thiersch has denied any religious significance to this, seeing in it merely a snake-charmer and comparing it with the bull grapplers.¹⁴ Caskey has called it a priestess performing magical rites with serpents in honour of the goddess.¹⁵ But on an almost identical statuette found at Hagia Triada,¹⁶ while the snakes are omitted, the posture of the right hand is repeated. Similarly the Psychro and Tyliossos bronzes reproduce the hieratic attitude and almost the costume of our bronze with the exception of the snake. Obviously no stress need be laid on the presence of the snake, which is merely a ritual attribute. Whether the bronzes display the snake or not, all alike represent the same class of worshipper, male and female, standing in stiff reverence before the shrine of the goddess.

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¹³ Hall, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX.

¹⁴ *Aegina, Heiligtum d. Aphaia*, p. 372.

¹⁵ *A.J.A.*, 1915, p. 248.

¹⁶ Mosso, *Palaces of Crete*, Fig. 26, p. 69; Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*, Pl. CXLVII.

THE GREEK OF CICERO.

It has occurred to me more than once that there was yet some work to be done on this topic, even after the meritorious and very accurate labours of Steele,¹ the notes and indices of a series of editors, notably Ernesti,² Orelli,³ and Tyrrell and Purser, and the dissertations of Bolzenthall,⁴ Font,⁵ and Laurand.⁶ Of these, the editors are concerned chiefly with establishing a correct text, and explaining the meanings of the words, which last task has for the most part been satisfactorily performed (see Tyrrell and Purser, *passim*, also Boot's excellent edition of the *Letters to Atticus*). Laurand mentions the matter only incidentally, and gives a list, not very reliable, of the words used in the rhetorical works; Font's chief interest is not lexicographical, but rather an attempt to answer the question why Cicero should ever use a Greek word at all when a Latin one was available. Bolzenthall I have not been able to consult, but gather from Font's synopsis of his work, pp. 3, 28 *sqq.*, that it is largely superseded by Steele. Steele sets out to study the whole vocabulary of the letters, including quotations, but omitting the Greek words in the other works; and his chief interest, apart from tracing the quotations to their sources, is in a grammatical analysis of the words used by Cicero and his correspondents, with a list of those words which occur only or for the first time in the letters. How admirably this work has been done is evident to any one who studies it closely; the very few errors I have been able to detect arise almost wholly from the fact that the materials for forming a judgment which were available in 1900 were less abundant than those which were at hand at the time of writing (1920).

My object has been, first, to give as complete and reliable a list as possible of the words used by Cicero himself (not his correspondents, though I have included half-a-dozen words quoted from Atticus and Caesar), omitting literary quotations of all sorts, including proverbs and the chapter-headings of the *Paradoxa*, and taking account of all the works, whole or fragmentary, which have come down to us. This list is my own compilation, not taken over from the earlier ones, which, except that of Merguet,⁷ are not full alphabetical lists of all the words, and include quotations as well as Cicero's own words. Within its assigned limits it is, I think, fairly complete and in accordance with up-to-date texts.

¹ *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, xxi. (1900), pp. 387-410.

² *Claudio Ciceroniana*, at the end of his ed.

³ *Onomasticon*, in Baister-Orelli's ed.

⁴ *De graeci sermonis proprietatibus quae in Ciceronis epistolis inveniuntur*, Cüstrin, 1884.

⁵ *De Cicerone graeca uerba usurpante*, Paris, 1894.

⁶ *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron*, pp. 61, 73-76. Paris, 1907.

⁷ *Lex. zu den philos. Schriften*, end. This gives the words in the philosophical treatises only.

Secondly—and this is the more important object—I have tried to compile some material for answering the question: How did an educated man talk, in Greek-speaking circles, at that date? We know fairly well how he wrote, for publication at least; we have much evidence of the style of speech of provincials, more or less educated, in the non-literary papyri of Egypt; but outside of Cicero, I know of but little that can tell us what the Greek *sermo urbanus* was like after the classical period. The question is of some interest in itself, but more so as helping to throw light on two other questions, viz.: To what extent did the Atticising movement, initiated apparently in part by the Rhodian school,⁸ affect educated speech? and, Would the vocabulary and syntax (apart from rhythm and other rhetorical features) of a non-literary work, such for example as the second Gospel, strike a cultured reader as offensively rustic, or as merely artless? And would a markedly literary, yet still Hellenistic style, say that of Diodorus Siculus in one of his bursts of platitudinous reflection, or of Dionysios of Halikarnassos in a speech, be so far different from the language of every-day life, as to be hard of comprehension by, say, a poor and uneducated Greek?

It may be objected that Cicero is a foreigner, and thus poor evidence for colloquial usage. But it must be remembered that even for a well-educated Roman his Greek appears to have been very good; that he commonly wrote,⁹ spoke, and disputed in it, had Greek correspondents, had lived for years in Greece, and was the close friend of Greeks, and of the largely Hellenised Atticus. No doubt an Athenian could have told by small nuances of pronunciation and perhaps of choice of words that a foreigner was speaking to him; but if we remember how often in our own experience the nationality of an English-speaking Frenchman is betrayed only by slight differences of intonation which would disappear on paper, we may, I think, assume that a passage of plain Greek written by Cicero, and one written, for example, by his old tutor, Antonius Molon of Rhodes, would differ only in an almost imperceptible degree.

In my list of words I have given full references, save for those words which occur very commonly. Letters to Atticus are cited without title; *ad familiares*, by the abbreviation F; other works, by the usual abbreviated titles. I have annotated the words as follows: c denotes a classical usage, including Attic prose, unless followed by the sign -a; a, Attic prose and comedy, including Menander, but not Xenophon or Aristotle, who, as transitional authors, are cited by the usual abbreviations of their names. C indicates a word found only in Cicero; C¹, a word which occurs for the first time in him; h, a Hellenistic word. Unless the contrary is stated, words marked c or a persist in Hellenistic usage; where a nearly contemporary author, such as Diodorus or Philodemos, seems to have been the first to use the word, he is cited by name. Here I have been greatly helped not only by the investigations of Steele, but by the *Lexicon Suppletorium* of Herwerden. Liddell and Scott, on the

⁸ Christ-Schmidt, *Griech. Lit.*, ii. 2, p. 263.

⁹ In seasons of distress, as during his

exile and after the death of Tullia, he used Greek as little as in his official communications.

other hand, bristles with sins of omission and commission to such an extent that I have marked with a query all information for which I can find no better authority. No part of the lexicon stands in more need of revision than the articles on post-Attic words; and a good dictionary of Hellenistic, which should take into account the evidence of papyri and inscriptions, is greatly to be desired. Words found in the N.T. are marked accordingly, on the authority of Soutar's lexicon; LXX usage I have seldom taken into account, partly because of the abnormal character of much of its Greek, partly owing to the length of time over which its compilation was spread.

A.

- ἄβδηριτικός, 'silly' vii. 7/4. Luc. *quomodo historia* 2; hence perhaps a.
 ἀβλάβεια, Tusc. iii. 16. ? C in this sense (ἀβλαβής, *innocens*, a).
 ἀγέλαστος, Fin. v. 92. a.
 ἀγέννεια, x. 15/2. h.
 ἀγοητεύτως, xiii. 3/1. C (—τος h, late).
 ἀγών, i. 16/8. c; N.T.
 ἀδεῶς, xiii. 52/1. a.
 ἄδηλος, Acad. ii. 54. c; N.T.
 ἀδιαφορία, ii. 17/2. ? C.
 ἀδιάφορος, Fin. iii. 53. Stoic t.t.
 ἀδιήγητος, xiii. 9/1. a (ἀνεκδιήγητος, N.T.).
 ἀδικαίαρχος (pun), ii. 12/4. C; cf. for formation ἀδικαιόδοτος, Diod.
 ἀδιόρθωτος, xiii. 21a/1. a, but h in tech. sense 'unrevised.'
 ἀδόλεσχος, xvi. 11/2. a.
 ἀδύνατος, i. 1/2. c; N.T.
 ἀδωροδόκητος, v. 20/6. a.
 ἀζηλοτύπητος, xiv. 19/4. C¹.
 ἀηδής, xii. 9. a.
 ἀθαμβία, Fin. v. 87. c (Demokritos).
 ἄθεος, N.D. i. 63, iii. 89. c; N.T.
 Ἀθηναῖος, ii. 9/4 and quot. c; N.T.
 αἰνιγμός, ii. 19/5; vi. 7/1. c (a poetical).
 αἵρεσις, F xv. 16/3, *haeresis*, xiv. 14/1, 'school,' h in this sense. N.T.
 αἵρετός, xv. 19/2. c.
 αἰσχρός, ix. 6/5 and quot. c; N.T.
 αἰτία, xv. 12/2. c; N.T.
 Ἀκαδημική, sc. σύνταξις xiii. 12/3; the full phrase 16/1. h.
 ἄκαιρος, ix. 4/3. c (—ως; N.T.).
 ἀκαταληψία, xiii. 19/3. } h (Academic t.t.).
 ἀκατάληπτος, Acad. ii. 18. }
 ἀκενόσπουδος, F xv. 17/4. C¹.
 ἀκέραιος, xv. 21/2. c; N.T.
 ἀκηδία, xii. 45/1. h mostly.
 ἀκκίζομαι, ii. 19/5. a.

- ἀκίνδυνος, xvi. 18/1. c.
 ἀκοινονόητος, vi. 3/7. a. — τως vi. 1/7. C.
 ἀκολασία, xiv. 11/1. a, less commonly h.
 ἀκοπία, F xvi. 18/1. C (ἄκοπος c).
 ἄκουσμα, xii. 4/2. a.
 ἄκρατος, F xiv. 7/1. c; N.T.
 ἀκροστιχίς, de diu. ii. 111. h.
 ἀκροτελεύτιον, v. 21/3. a.
 ἀκρωτήριον, v. 20/1. c.
 ἀκτίς, ii. 3/2 (math.) c in general sense.
 ἀκύθηρος, vii. 32/2. h.
 ἄκυρος, xvi. 17/1. h (ἀκυρῶ N.T.).
 Ἀλαβανδεῖς, F xiii. 56/1.
 ἄλῃ, x. 1/4. c, mostly poet.
 ἀλίμενος, ix. 13/5. a.
 ἄλις, ii. 2/8, 19/1. c.
 ἀλιτενής, xiv. 13/1. h (Diod., Strab.).
 ἀλληγορία, ii. 20/3; orat. 94. h (Philodemos) as rhet. t.t. (a, ὑπόνοια).
 ἄλλος, vi. 5/2 etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 ἀλογῶ, xii. 3/2. c—a; h.
 ἀλογεύομαι, vi. 4/3. C.
 ἀλογίστως, ix. 10/4. a.
 ἀλόγως, xii. 35; xiii. 48/1. a (ἄλογος, N.T.).
 ἀλύω, vi. 5/1. c—a; h.
 Ἀμαλθεία, i. 16/18; *Amalthea*, ii. 20/2; Ἀμαλθεῖον, i. 16/18.
 ἀμάρτημα, xiii. 44/3; xiv. 5/1. a; N.T.
 ἄμεμπτος, vii. 1/9. a; N.T.
 ἀμεταμέλητος, vii. 3/2; xiii. 52/1. a; N.T.
 ἀμηχανία, xv. 29/1. c.
 ἄμορφος, vii. 8/5. c.
 ἀμφιβολία, F vii. 32/2. Arist., as t.t.
 ἀμφιλαφία, Q.F. ii. 4/3, 14 (15 b)/3. C¹ (ἀμφιλαφής c).
 ἄν, ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
 ἀναβολή, i. 21/1. c; N.T.
 ἀναθεώρησις, xiv. 15/1, 16/2. C¹; cf. Diod. xiii. 35/4.
 ἀνάθημα, i. 1/5.; N.T.
 ἀναλογία (usually *analogia* in Varro), vi. 2/3; x. 11/4, Tim. 13. a; N.T.
 ἀναντίλεκτος, Q.F. ii. 8(10)/1. C¹.
 ἀναντιφώνησις, xv. 13/2. ἀναντιφώνητος, vi. 1/23. Both C.
 ἀναπάντητος, ix. 1/3. C¹.
 ἀναπολόγητος, xvi. 7/5. h; N.T.
 ἀναφαίνω, ii. 10/1. C, c; N.T.
 ἀναφέρω, xiii. 49/1; with dat. c (but mostly with εἰς and acc.); N.T.
 ἀναχωρῶ, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 ἀνέκδοτος, ii. 6/2; xiv. 17/6 'unpublished.' h (Diod.) in this sense.
 ἀνεκτός, xv. 19/1; — ὅτερα, xii. 45/1 (— ὥς quot.). c; N.T.

- ἀνεμέσητος, xiii. 12/2; xvi. 7/2. a.
 ἀνεμοφόρητος, xiii. 37/4. h.
 ἀνεξία, v. 11/5 'ut Siculi dicunt.' C.
 ἀνηθοποίητος, x. 9/6 'not in character.' h (Diod.).
 ἀνήκεστος, ix. 4/2. c.
 ἀνήρ, i. 18/6 and quot. c; N.T.
 ἀνθηρογραφοῦμαι, ii. 6/1. C¹.
 ἄνθος (pl., 'elegant extracts'), xvi. 11/1. h.
 ἀνιστορησία, vi. 1/18. C (ἀνιστόρητος, h).
 ἀνοίκειος, xvi. 11/4. h (Diod.).
 ἀντίθετον, orat. 166. a.
 ἀντιμυκτηρίζω, F xv. 19/4. C; but cf. ἐκμ—Lc. 16¹⁴.
 ἀντιπολιτεύομαι, vii. 8/5. a.
 ἀντίπους, Acad. ii. 123. a, h (Strabo).
 ἀντίχθων, Tusc. i. 68 ('S. hemisphere'). ? C¹ in this sense.
 ἄνω, xv. 4/1. c; N.T.
 ἀξία, Fin. iii. 20, 34 ('honestum') Stoic t.t.
 ἀξιοπίστως, xiii. 37/3. a.
 ἀξίωμα, Acad. ii. 95; Tusc. i. 14; de fat., i. 20, 21. Arist.
 ἀπάθεια, Acad., ii. 130. Stoic t.t.
 ἀπαιδευσία, xiii. 16/1. a (ἀπαίδευτος, N.T.)
 ἀπάλαιστρος, orat. 229. h.
 ἀπαντῶ, vii. 5/3. c; N.T.
 ἀπάντησις, ix. 7/2; xvi. 11/6. h; N.T.
 ἀπαρρησίαστος, ix. 20/2. h.
 ἀπειρία, Fin. i. 21. c (ἄπειρος, N.T.).
 ἀπελεύθερος, vi. 4/3, 5/2. a; N.T.
 ἀπεραντολογία, xii. 9. C¹.
 ἀπογι(γ)νώσκω, vi. 5/2. c.
 ἀπόγραφον, xii. 51/3 ('copy'). h, but elsewhere —ος.
 ἀπόδειξις, Acad. ii. 26. c.
 ἀποθέσεις, i. 16/13; xii. 12/1, 36/1, 37a (= 37/4). h.
 ἀποκοπή, u. χρέος.
 ἀπολιτικώτατος, viii. 16/1. The superl. is C.
 ἀπολογισμός, xvi. 7/3. a.
 ἀποπροηγμένον, F ix. 7/2; F in iii. 151; *apoproegmenon*, ibid. 15. Stoic t.t.
 ἀπορία, vii. 12/4, 21/3, etc. c; N.T. ἀπορώ, vii. 11/3; vi. 1/8, etc. c; N.T.
 ἀποσκήπτω, xii. 5/1. c.
 ἀπότευγμα, xiii. 27/1; F ix. 21/1; Q.F. iii. 2/2. Stoic t.t.
 ἀποτόμως, x. 11/5. a; N.T.
 ἀποτρίβω, vii. 5/5. a.
 ἀποφατικός, topic, 49. Arist. t.t.
 ἀπόφθεγμα, F ix. 16/4, de off., i. 104. Xen., Arist., h.
 ἄπρακτος, i. 14/6. a.
 ἀπροσδιόνυσος, xvi. 13/1. C¹.
 ἀπρόσιτος v. 20/6. h; N.T.

- ἀπροσφώνητος, viii. 8/1. C¹.
 ἄρα, xii. 5/11 and quot. c ; N.T.
 ἄργος, u. λόγος.
 ἄρειος, u. πάγος.
 ἄρέσκω, ii. 3/3 (τὴν ἀρέσκουσιν sc. γνώμην). h in this sense.
 ἀρετή, x. 10a/4 and quot. c ; N.T.
 ἀρήγω, ix. 4/2. c—a; Xen.
 ἀριστεία, xiv. 15/2; xvi. 9. c.
 ἀριστοκρατικώτατος, ii. 15/3; — κῶς, i. 14/2; ii. 3/4. a.
 ἄριστοι ('*optimates*') ix. 4/2. c.
 Ἀριστοτέλης, xii. 40/2; — εἰος, xiii. 19/4. h.
 ἀρμονία, Tusc. i. 19; Tim. 27. c.
 ἀρρώστημα, Tusc. iv. 23 ('*moral imperfection*'). Stoic t.t.
 ἀρχαῖος, vi. 1/18 (τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας, sc. κωμωδίας). h in this sense.
 ἀρχέτυπον, x. 5 c (= 5/4), xvi. 3/1. h (Dion. Hal.).
 ἀρχή, x. 10/4. c ; N.T.
 Ἀρχιμήδεις, xii. 4/2; xiii. 28/3. h.
 ἀσαφέστερος, xiii. 25/1. a.
 ἀσελγής, ii. 12/2. a (ἀσέλγεια, N.T.).
 ἀσμενιστός, ix. 20/2, 16/9. h.
 ἀσμεναίτατα, xiii. 22/1. a (— ως, N.T.).
 ἀσπάζομαι, ii. 9/4, 12/4. c ; N.T.
 ἄσπουνδος, ix. 10/5. c.
 ἀστρατήγητος, vii. 13/1, h. ἀστρατηγικώτατος, viii. 16/1. C.
 ἄστυ, vi. 5/2. c (h mostly uses πόλις).
 ἀσύγκλωστος, vi. 1/17. C¹.
 ἀσφάλεια, ii. 19/4; xvi. 8/2. ἀσφαλής, vii. 13/3; — ὡς Q.F.i. 2/3;
 All c; N.T.
 ἀσώματος, N.D. i. 30. a.
 ἀταραξία, F xv. 19/2. Demokritos, Epicurus.
 ἀτελής, xiv. 12/1 (possibly a quot.). c.
 ἄτεχνος, topic. 24 (rhet. t.t.). Arist. in this sense.
 ἀτοπώτατον, xv. 26/1. c; ἄτοπος, N.T.
 Ἀτρεΐδαι, vii. 3/5 ? parody of Eur.
 ἀτριψία, xiii. 16/1. C.
 ἀττικισμός, iv. 19/1 ('*atticism of style*'). h in this sense.
 Ἀττικός, i. 13/5; — ὥτατος, vi. 5/3 (pun); — ὥτατα, adv. xv. 1a/12. c.
 ἄτυπος, ('*Balbus*'), xii. 3/2 *e coni.*; *clypo*, M. C¹ in this sense; *atypus*
 Gell. iv. 2/5.
 ἄτυφος, vi. 9/2. a.
 αὐθεντικῶς, x. 9/1. C¹.
 αὐθωρεί, ii. 13/1. h.
 αὐτός, ix. 4/2, etc. (xv. 27/3 *e coni.*; *autem*. M.) c; N.T. αὐτότατα, vi.
 9/2, cf. αὐτότατος Ar. Plut. 83 (πέπαικται κωμικῶς Schol.).
 αὐτονομία, vi. 1/15. c.
 αὐτόχθων, vii. 2/3. c.

ἀφαίρεσις ('lessening regimen'), vi. 1/2. ? C¹ in this sense. Cf. the use of ἀφαιρεῖν, Ar. Ran. 941 and comm. ad loc.

ἄφατος, xiii. 9/1; xv. 19/2. c.

ἀφελής, i. 18/1; — ὥς, vi. 1/8, 7/1. Both c (ἀφελότης, N.T.).

ἀφίδρυμα ('shrine'), xiii. 29/1. ? C¹; h (Diod.). a, ἱδρυμα.

ἀφίημι, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

ἀφιλόδοξος, ii. 17/2. C¹ (other comps. of α + φιλ— in N.T.).

ἀφίσταμαι, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.

ἀφομιλῶ, F xvi. 17/2. C.

ἀφρακτον or *aphractum*, iv. 11/4, 12/1. h.

ἀχαριστία, ix. 7/4. a (ἀχάριστος; N.T.).

B.

βαθύτης ('mental depth,' 'profundity of thought'), iv. 6/3; v. 10/3; vi. 1/2. ? C. in this sense.

βατταρίζω, vi. 5/1 ('chatter'). h; cf. N.T. βατταλογῶ.

βδελύττομαι, xv. 29/2. a; N.T.

βλάμμα, Fin. iii. 69. Stoic t.t.

βλάσφημος, xv. 11/4. a; N.T.

βουλευτήριον, 2 Verr. ii. 50. c.

βουλεύω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

βούλησις, Tusc. iv. 12. c.

βούλυσις, xv. 27/3. C (βουλυτός c).

βοῶπις, ii. 9/1, 12/2, 14/1, 22/5 (nickname of Clodia).

Βροῦτος, xv. 12/2.

Γ.

γαυριῶ, xvi. 5/5. a, but mostly h.

γε, vi. 1/20; xvi. 15/3. c; N.T.

γενικῶς, i. 14/2, —ώτερον, ix. 10/6. Arist. in this sense.

γεροντικός, xii. 1/2. a, but rare; —ώτερον, ibid. C; γέρων, de r.p. ii. 50. c; N.T.

γεωγραφικός, ii. 6/1 (title of a book); *geographia*, 7/1, etc. h (Strab).

γεωμετρικῶς, xii. 5b. Arist.

Γημήτηρ, N.D. ii. 67.

γλαῦξ, F vi. 3/4; ix. 4/2 (prov., γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας; but translated, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5.) a.

γλίσχρως, xvi. 1/5. c.

γλυκύπικρος, v. 21/4. c.

γραμμή, iv. 8a/4 and understood ii. 3/2 (math. t.t.). c.

γυμνασιώδης, i. 6/2, 9/2. C.

Δ

δ' ('Book IV.'), xii. 38a/2. h in this sense.

δαιμόνιον, de diu. i. 122 (of Sokrates). a; h, generally δαίμων in this context.

- δαίμων, Tim. 38. c.
 δάκνω, xiii. 20/4. c; N.T.
 δάμαρ, vi. 4/3. c (archaic).
 δέ, ii. 16/4, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 δέδοικα, vi. 4/3, 5/2 and quot. c.
 δεῖ, vi. 1/20. c; N.T.
 δέρρις, iv. 19/1 (sense doubtful). a.
 δεύτερος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 δή, vi. 4/3 and quot., δήπου, ibid. c; N.T.
 Δημήτηρ, iv. 8a/2, N.D. ii. 67.
 ἄῆμος, vi. 6/2, vii. 3/10. c; N.T.
 Δημοσθένης, xv. 1a/2.
 διά, with acc. ix. 4/2; with gen. ibid. c; N.T.
 διάθεσις, xiv. 3/2. a.
 διαίρεσις, vi. 1/15. c; N.T.
 διαλεκτική, de Or. ii. 157, topic. 6, 57; *dialectici* topic. 56. a.
 διάλογος, v. 5/2; xv. 13/2, orat. 151.
 διαμένω, xv. 12/2. a; N.T.
 διανοητικός, F xv. 16/1. a.
 διαπολιτεία, ix. 4/2. C¹.
 διαρρήδην, F xvi. 21/6. c.
 διάρροια, F vii. 26/2. a.
 διατύπωσις, Q.F. iii. 5/4. Arist.
 διάφασις, ii. 3/2. Theophr.
 διαφόρησις, F xvi. 18/1. C¹.
 δίβαφος, ii. 9/2. h.
 δίδακτος, x. 12a/4. c; N.T.
 διευθετῶ, vi. 5/2. h. (διασκευάζω, a).
 διευκρινῶ, vii. 8/3, 5.
 δικαίω ('execute') 2 Verr. ii. 148; said there to be Sicilian, but c in this sense.
 δίκροτον or *dicrotum*, v. 11/4, etc. a.
 Διόδωρος, F ix. 4.
 διοίκησις, F xiii. 57/1 (administrative t.t.). h (Strabo).
 Διόσκουροι, N.D. iii. 53. c— a (— κοροι). h; N.T.
 διφθέρα, xv. 24/1. c.
 διπλῇ (critical sign), viii. 2/4. h.
 δόγμα, Acad. ii. 27, 29. a.
 δοκιμάζω, ix. 4/2. a; N.T.
 δοκῶ, vi. 4/3, 5/1; ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 δόξα, Fin. ii. 20., N.D. i. 85.
 δύναμις, ix. 6/5. c; N.T.
 δυνατός, F ix. 4, de fato. 1, 17. c; N.T.
 δυσδιάγνωστος, v. 4/1. C¹; h (Dion. Hal.).
 δυσεκλάλητος, v. 10/3. C¹; h (Dion. Hal.), cf. N.T. ἀνεκ—.
 δυσεντερία, F vii. 26/1; — ικός ibid. c.

δυσουρία, x. 10/4. c.
 δυσχρηστία, xvi. 7/6 ('tight money'), h; δύσχρηστος, vii. 5/3. c. δυσ-
 χρηστήμα, Fin. iii. 69, Stoic t.t.
 δυσωπία, xiii. 33/2; xvi. 15/2. C¹.

E.

ε' ('Book V'), xii. 38a/2. cf. δ'.
 εάν, xv. 12/2. c; N.T.
 εαυτόν, αὐτόν, vi. 5/2; ix. 4/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 ἐγγήραμα, xii. 25/2, 29/2, 44/2. C¹ (from Atticus).
 ἐγκέλευσμα, vi. 1/8. Xen.
 ἐγκωμιαστικός, i. 19/10. Arist.
 ἐγώ, vi. 4/3 (μον, μοι) and often quot. c; N.T.
 ἐθελοντής, ix. 4/2. a.
 εἰ ('si') ii. 16/4 ('num'), ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
 εἶδος, topic. 30 and quot. a, late; N.T.
 εἶδωλον, ii. 3/2; F xv. 16/1, Fin. i. 21. c.
 εἶκω, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 εἰλικρινής, Q.F. ii. 6(8)/1. c; N.T.
 εἰμαρμένη, N.D. i. 55, de diu. i. 125. c.
 εἰμί, vii. 5/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 εἴμι, ix. 4/2; xiv. 22/2. c.
 εἶρων, de Or. ii. 270, Brut. 298, de off. i. 108. c.
 εἰρωνεύομαι, F iv. 4/1, bis. c.
 εἰρωνεία, xvi. 11/2, Acad. ii. 15; ironia, Brut. 292. a.
 εἰς, ii. 3/3; ? vi. 4/3, 6/2 (with ellipsis of vb. of going). c; N.T.
 εἰς, vi. 4/3 (εἰς Lachmann) and quot. c; N.T.
 ἐκάτερος, ii. 3/3, 9/3. c.
 ἐκλογή, xvi. 2/6 (Reid; eclogarii uolg.). h (N.T. as theol. term.).
 ἐκτενεία, x. 17/1; ἐκτενής, xiii. 9/1 ('officious friendliness'; 'ostentatiously friendly'). h (N.T. in different sense).
 ἐκτοπισμός, xii. 12/1. h (Strab.)
 ἐκφώνησις, x. 1/3. h.
 ἔκχυσις, ii. 3/2. Arist.
 ἐλάχιστος, de fat. 22. c; N.T.
 ἐλευθερία, ix. 14/2. c; N.T.
 ἐλπίζω, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 ἐμετική, xiii. 52/1 ('regimen of emetics'). h (? c in this sense).
 ἐμός, vi. 5/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 ἐμπερπερεύομαι, i. 14/4. Arr. Epict. ii. 134. cf. περπερεύεται, 1. Cor. 13⁴.
 ἐνάργεια, Acad. ii. 17. a.
 ἐν, i. 13/4, etc.; ii. 19/5, expressing agency; ἐν δυνάμει, pro imperio, ix. 6/4. c, last two uses chiefly h; N.T.
 ἐνδελέχεια, Tusc. i. 22. c.
 ἐνδόμυχος, v. 14/3, 21/4. c—a (poet).
 ἐνερευθέστερος, xii. 4/1. h; comp. C.

- ἐνθουσιασμός, Q.F. iii. 4/4. a.
 ἐνθύμημα, i. 14/4, topic. 56 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 ἐνιαύσιος, v. 14/1. c.
 ἔννοια, topic. 31; Acad. ii. 30; Fin. iii. 21; Tusc. i. 57. a.
 ἐντάφιον, xii. 29/2. c.
 ἔντεχνος, F vii. 32/2 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 ἐντυραννοῦμαι, ii. 19/1. C.
 ἐξακανθίζω, vi. 6/1. C.
 ἐξασφαλίζομαι, vi. 4/3. C¹; Strab.
 ἐξελεύθερος, vi. 5/1. h; N.T. uses ἀπ— only. Dio. Cass. seems to use
 ἀπελ. = *libertinus*, ἐξελ. = *libertus*.
 ἐξοχή, iv. 15/7 ('eminence'). ? C¹ in this sense; N.T.
 ἐξωτερικός, iv. 16/2; Fin. v. 12. Arist.
 ἐπαγγέλλομαι, ii. 9/3. a; N.T.
 ἐπάγω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 ἐπαγωγή, topic. 42. Arist.
 ἐπέχω, vi. 6/3; Acad. ii. 59, 148. Skept. t.t.
 ἐπὶ with gen. ii. 5/3, with dat. quot. only. c; N.T.
 ἐπιγεννηματικός, Fin. iii. 32. Acad. t.t.
 ἐπιδεικτικός, orat. 37, 207; *epidicticus*, ibid. 42. a.
 ἐπιδήμιος, xii. 10. c.
 ἐπικεφάλιον, v. 16/2. h.
 ἐπίκτητος, vii. 1/5. c.
 ἐπίκωπος or *epicopus*, v. 11/4; xv. 16/1. ? C¹. Cf. Gell. x. 25.
 ἐπιλέγω, vi. 5/2. c.
 ἐπιμελοῦμαι, x. 10/6 with gen. c; N.T.
 ἐπισημασία, i. 16/11; xiv. 3/2. h (Diod.).
 ἐπίσκοπος, vii. 11/5 (administrative t.t.). a.
 ἐπίτευγμα, xiii. 27/1. h (Diod.).
 ἐπιτομή, v. 20/1. h.
 ἐπιφορά, F xvi. 23/1 (med. t.t.). ? C¹.
 ἐπιφώνημα, i. 19/3. C¹.
 ἐπιχρόνιος, vi. 9/3. c, but rare.
 ἔπος ('epic') Q.F. iii. 9/6; but *epicus*, opt. gen. or 1, 2, etc. c.
 ἐποχή, vi. 6/3, 9/3; xv. 21/2 (Skept. t.t.), xiii. 21/3 (nautical). h.
 ἐπτάλοφος, vi. 5/2 C¹. δίλοφος, etc., c.
 ἐπταμηνιαῖος, x. 18/1. h; —μηνος, c.
 ἔρανος, xii. 5/1. c.
 ἔργον, xiii. 25/3 *e coni.*; *at ego* codd. c; N.T.
 ἐργώδης, xv. 19/1. c.
 ἔρμαιον, xiii. 19/5. c.
 ἐρωτικός, ix. 10/2. a.
 Ἐσπερος, N.D. ii. 53. c.
 Ἑστία, N.D. ii. 67.
 ἔσω, iv. 8a/4. c; N.T.
 ἔτι, xvi. 1/1 and quot. c; N.T.

- ἐτυμολογία topic. 35; Acad. i. 32. h (Dion. Hal.).
 εὐαγγέλιον, ii. 3/1; xiii. 40/1 ('good news') h; N.T.; ii. 12/1 ('reward to bringer of good news; plur). c.
 εὐαγώως, xiii. 23/3 *e conit.*; εὐαγῶς or εὐλαβῶς codd. C; —ος a.
 εὐανάτρεπτος, ii. 14/1. C¹.
 εὐγένεια, F iii. 7/5. c; εὐγενής, viii. 9/3; xiii. 21a/4. c; N.T.
 εὐδαίμων, ix. 11/4. c.
 εὐδοξία, Fin. iii. 57. c.
 εὐελπιστία, ii. 17/2. h.
 εὐεργέτης, ix. 4/2, 5/3. c; N.T.; εὐεργετῶ, ix. 4/2. a; N.T.
 εὐήθεια, vi. 2/10. c (μωρία; N.T.).
 εὐημέρημα, v. 21/2. h; εὐημέρια, ix. 13/1. c.
 εὐθανασία ('honourable death'), xvi. 7/3. Quoted from Atticus; ἄπ. εἶρ. in this sense.
 εὐθυμία, Fin. v. 23, 87 (Demokritos).
 εὐθυρρημονῶ, F ix. 22/5. C¹; cf. εὐθυρρημονέστερος, F xii. 16/3, from Trebonius.
 εὐκαιρία, xvi. 8/2; Fin. iii. 45, de off. i. 142. εὐκαιρος, iv. 7/1; εὐκαίρως, xiii. 9/2; Q.F. ii. 3/6. All a; N.T.
 εὐκόλως, xiii. 21a/3. a.
 εὐλαβοῦμαι, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 εὐλογία, xiii. 22/4. a; εὐλογος, xiii. 5/1, 7, 33/3; xiv. 22/2; xiii. 6a. c.
 εὐλυσία, F xvi. 18/1 (med.) ? C¹.
 εὐμένεια, xvi. 11/2. c.
 εὐπινής, xii. 6/4, —ῶς; xv. 17/2. C¹ in this sense; Dion. Hal.
 Εὐπολις, iv. 1/18.
 εὐπόριστος, vii. 1/7. h.
 Εὐριπίδης, F xiii. 15/2.
 εὐριπιστός, xiv. 5/2. C¹.
 εὐστομάχως, ix. 5/2 ('good-naturedly'). C¹.
 εὐταξία, de off. i. 142 (phil. t.t.) ? C¹ in this sense.
 εὐτόκῃσεν, x. 18/1. h, including the form of the augment.
 εὐτραπελία, F vii. 32/1 (pun.). Arist. in this sense; N.T. (= βωμολοχία).
 εὐχρήστημα or —ία, Fin. iii. 69. Stoic t.t.
 ἐφίημι ('permit'), ix. 4/2. c, but frequent in h.
 ἐφίσταμαι ('notice'), xiii. 38/1. Arist. in this sense.
 ἔχω, xv. 12/2. c; N.T.
 ἔω, xvi. 1/1 unless corrupt, and quot. c; N.T.
 ἔωλος, xiii. 21a/1, F ix. 2/1. c.

Z.

- ζηλοτυπία, Tusc. iv. 17 (18). a (rare); h.
 ζηλοτυπῶ, xiii. 13/1; 17/2 (18). a.
 ζήτημα, vii. 3/10; F ix. 20/1. a; N.T.
 ζῶ, ii. 12/2 (ζώσης φωνῆς), xii. 2/2; xiv. 21/3. c; N.T.
 ζφδιακός, de diu. ii. 89. h.

H.

- ἡγεμονικός, N.D. ii. 29. Stoic. t.t.
 ἡδονή, F xv. 19/2, 3; Fin. ii. 8, 12, 13; iii. 35. c; N.T.
 ἡθικός, orat. 128 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 ἡθος, x. 10/6, 12a/4, de fat. i. c; N.T.
 ἡμεῖς, vi. 5/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 ἡμερολογδόν, iv. 15/3. c.
 Ἡρακλείδειον, xv. 4/3, 13/3, 27/2; xvi. 2/6. h.
 Ἡρώδης, ii. 2/2, etc.
 ἥρως, vii. 13/1; xiv. 4/2, etc.; often written *heros*. Homer. and h in this sense.
 ἡσυχάζω, ix. 4/2; Acad. ii. 93. c; N.T.

Θ.

- θάμα, vi. 5/1. c.
 Θεόπομπος, xii. 40/2.
 θεός, xiii. 29/1 (πρὸς θεῶν) and quot. c; N.T.
 Θεοφάνης, ii. 5/1.
 θέσις ('generalised case'), ix. 4/1; topic. 79, orat. 46. Arist.
 θετικός, Q.F. iii. 3/4; — ὡς Parad. 5. ? C¹ in this sense; Strab.
 θεώρημα, xiv. 20/3, de fat. ii. h, θεωρητικός, ii. 16/3. Arist. θεωρία ('enquiry'), xii. 6/2. c.
 θορυβοποιῶ, F xvi. 23/2. h (Diod.).
 θυμικός, x. 11/5. h.
 θύμωσις, Tusc. iv. 21. h.

I.

- ιδέα, orat. 10; Acad. i. 30; Tusc. i. 58. a.
 Ἰλιάς, viii. 11/3 (I. κακῶν). c.
 ἵνα, vi. 5/2 and quot.; see section on grammar. h; N.T.
 ἰσοδυναμῶ, vi. 1/15. h.
 ἰσονομία, N.D., i. 50, 109. Epic. t.t.
 ἴσος, xiii. 51/1. c; N.T.
 ἱστορία, xiii. 10/1. c; ἱστυρικός, i. 19/10; vi. 1/8, 2/3; h in this sense.
 ἰσχύω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

K.

- καθήκον, xv. 13/6; xvi. 11/4; Fin. iii. 20, de off. i. 8 ('officium'). Stoic. t.t.; h; N.T.
 κάθοδος, vii. 11/1. a.
 καθολικός, xiv. 20/3. h.
 καί, ii. 12/4; vi. 1/20, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 καιρός, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 κακία, Fin. iii. 39, 40; Tusc. iv. 34 (κακός quot. only). c; N.T.
 κακοστόμαχος, F. xvi. 4/1 ('fastidious'). ? C; Anth. xi. 155, 4, the right reading is clearly κακοστομάτων.

- καλός, ii. 19/1; vii. 11/1, etc. (*καλῶς* quot. only). c; N.T.
 Καλλιπέδης, xiii. 12/3, see comm. *ad loc.*
 καμπή, i. 14/4 (rhet. t.t.). a.
 Κάμιλλος, vi. 5/3.
 κανών, F xvi. 17/1. a; N.T.
 παραδοκῶ, ix. 10/8. c.
 κατά, ii. 7/4, 17/4, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 κατάβασις, xiii. 13/2, 31/3, 32/2 (title). c; N.T.
 καταβίωσις, xiii. 1/2. C¹.
 κατακλείς, ii. 3/4 ('clausula'). ? C¹ as t.t.
 καταληπτός, Acad. i. 41 and u.l. ii. 18. *κατάληψις*, Fin. iii. 17; Acad. ii. 17, 31, 145. Both Acad. t.t.
 κατάλυσις, ix. 4/2. a.
 κατασκέπτομαι, vi. 5/2. h.
 κατασκευή, i. 14/4. a (—*άζω*; N.T.).
 κατάστασις, iv. 13/2. c (h rather *περι*—).
 κατάχρησις, orat. 94. Arist.
 κατηγορήμα, Tusc. iv. 21 ('predicate'). Arist.
 κατηφής, xiii. 42/1 (a quot.?). c.
 κατήχησις, xv. 12/2 ('education,' 'upbringing'). h (*κατηχῶ*, N.T.).
 κατόρθωμα, Fin. iii. 24, 45; iv. 15, de off. i. 8. *κατόρθωσις*, Fin. iii. 45.
 Stoic t.t.
 καχέκτης, i. 14/4. h.
 κενός, v. 20/3. Cf. Thuc. iii. 30/4 and Classen, *ad loc.*; u. inf.
 κενόσπονδος, ix. 1/1. C¹.
 κέντρον, Tusc. i. 40 (math. t.t.). a.
 κεπφούμαι or κεκέπφωμαι, xiii. 40. C¹.
 κέρας, v. 20/9, 21/9; vi. 1/13 ('musical instrument'). Xen.
 κεφάλαιον, v. 18/1; xvi. 11/4. a; N.T. (*κεφαλή* quot. only).
 κηδεμονικός, ii. 17/3. h.
 Κικέρων, ii. 9/4, 12/4.
 κινδυνεύω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T. *κίνδυνος*, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 κληρονομῶ, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.
 κοιλία, F xvi. 18/1. c; N.T. *κοιλιολυσία*, x. 13/1. C.
 κοινότερος, xiii. 10/2. a.
κολακεία, xiii. 27/1, 30/1. c; N.T.
 κόμμα, orat. 211, 223 (rhet. t.t.). h.
 Κόνων, vi. 5/2.
 Κορία, N.D. iii. 59.
 κόσμος, Tim. 35. c; N.T.
 κρίνω, xiii. 31/3; F. ix. 4. c; N.T. *κρινόμενον* ('point at issue') orat. 126, topic. 95 seems h.
 κρίσις, F ix. 4. c; N.T.
 Κρόνος, N.D. ii. 64.
 Κροτωνιάτης, vi. 4/3, 5/6; —*ικός*, 5/2.
 κύκλος, N.D. ii. 47. c; N.T.

κύριος, Fin. ii. 20; N.D. i. 85 (the κ. δόξαι). Epic. t.t.
 Κύρος, ii. 3/2; ix. 25/1; xiii. 38a/2; in the last Wilamowitz—Moellendorf
 would read Κυρσᾶς, *Platon*, Vol. II. p. 27².
 κῶλον, Brut. 162; orat. 211, 223 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 Κωρυκαῖοι, x. 18/1.
 κωφός, xiii. 19/3 (κ. πρόσωπον). h in this phrase.

Λ.

Λακωνικός, x. 10/3.
 λακωνισμός, F xi. 25/2 ('laconic saying'). h, ? C¹.
 λαμπρός, v. 20/6. c; N.T.
 λαυθάνω, vi. 1/8. c; N.T. λεληθότως, vi. 5/3; F ix. 2/3. h.
 λαπίζω, ix. 13/4 ('swagger'). C¹ in this sense. λάπισμα, ix. 13/4. C.
 λέγω, vi. 4/3; ix. 7/13. c; N.T. Cic. never uses λαλῶ, but *δυεκκάλητος*.
 λέξις, xvi. 4/1 (παρὰ λ. 'ungrammatically' ? C). Elsewhere quot.
 λεπτός, ii. 18/2 (κατὰ λ.) and quot. a in this phrase.
 λέσχη, vi. 5/1; xii. 1/2. c.
 Λευκοθέα, Tusc. i. 28; N.D. iii. 48.
 λιγκύθος, i. 14/3 ('purple patch'), C¹ in this sense.
 λήμμα, de diu. ii. 108. Arist.
 λήρος, xiv. 21/4; xvi. 1/4. a; N.T.
 λήψις, vii. 7/3; ix. 2/1, etc. ('attack' sc. of fever). c.
 λιτότης, vii. 26/2 (not rhet. t.t.). h (Diod.).
 λογικός, xiii. 19/5; Fin. i. 22; Tusc. iv. 33, de fat. i. Arist.; N.T.
 λογοθεώρητος, Dicta fr. 22. C¹.
 λόγος. ἀργὸς λ., de fato. 20; Stoic t.t. Elsewhere quot.
 λοιπός, vi. 1/30 (τί λοιπόν;). c; N.T. cf. Mod. Gk. λοιπόν = οὖν.
 λύπη, Tusc. iii. 61. c; N.T.
 λυρικός, orat. 185. h in this sense.

Μ.

μάκαρ, xii. 3/2 u. νῆσος.
 μάλα, i. 14/2; xiii. 42/1; xv. 12/1. c; μάλλον, ix. 4/2. c; N.T. μάλιστα,
 quot. only.
 μανία, Tusc. iii. 11. c; N.T.
 μαντική, N.D. i. 55, de diu. i., de legg. ii. 32. c; μάντις de diu. i. 95 and
 quot. c.
 μέγας, ix. 4/2 and often quot. c; N.T.
 μεθαρμόζω, xii. 12/2. a.
 μείλιγμα, ('inferiae'), xiii. 27/2. a.
 μελαγχολία, Tusc. iii. 11. c.
 μέλει, xii. 2/2, 3/3; xiv. 17/3 and quot. c; N.T.
 μελέτη, v. 10/3. c.
 μέλλω, ix. 4/2; τὸ μέλλον, ix. 10/8. c; N.T.
 μέμψις, viii. 2/2; xiii. 13/2, 49/1. c.
 μέν, vi. 5/2; F xvi. 8/1 and quot. c; N.T.

μένω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
μέρος, xiii. 22/2 (τὰ κατὰ μ.). a; N.T.
Μεσοποταμία, ix. 11/4.
μεσότης, Tim. 23 (math. t.t.). c.
μετέωρος, v. 11/6; xv. 14/4. c.
μετωνυμία, orat. 93. h.
μή, ii. 16/4, etc.; *μήπω*, often; *μηδέ*, vi. 5/2; xvi. 15/3; *μηδείς*, vi. 1/16
 (never *μηθ*—). c; N.T.
μηλοῦμαι, xii. 51/2. C in middle; act. c, but rare.
μήν ('month'), vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
μικρός, ii. 9/4; xiii. 21a/1 (*σμικ*— quot. only). c; N.T.
μικροψυχία, ix. 11/4. Arist.; u.l. *μακρ*—, C, but cf. *μακροθυμία*.
μισάνθρωπος, Tusc. iv. 25. a.
μίτος, xiv. 16/3 (κατὰ μ.). h.
μνᾶ, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
μνημονικός, xiii. 44/3; xiv. 5/1. a.
μουσοπάτακτος, Q.F. 8 (10)/1. C.
Μυλασεῖς, F xiii. 56/1.
μυστικός, iv. 2/7; vi. 4/3 ('private'). h in this sense. *mysteria* always in
 Lat. letters.
μῶμος, v. 20/6, c—a; h; N.T. in peculiar sense.

N.

νέκνυα, ix. 11/2. Tusc. i. 37. h (Diod.).
νεκνομαντεῖον, Tusc. i. 37. c.
νεμεσῶ, v. 19/3. c.
νεόκτιστος, vi. 2/3. c.
νεωτερισμός, xiv. 5/3. c.
νεώτεροι, vii. 2/1. c.
νήσος, xvi. 13/2; *μακάρων*, v. xii. B/2. c; N.T.
Νίκων, F vii. 20/3.
Νόμος, N.D. iii. 57.
νομοφύλαξ, de legg. iii. 46. c.
νόσημα, Tusc. iv. 23. c; N.T.
νουμηνία, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.

Ξ.

ξύλλογος, vi. 5/1; *σύλλ*—, xiii. 30/3, 32/3. c.
ξυνάορος, vi. 5/1. c (Doric) only.

O.

ό, ή, τό, passim; *οδε*, quot. only. c; N.T.
οβελίζω, F. ix. 10/1 (gram. t.t.). h.
οβολός, vi. 5/2. a.

- ὁδός, v. 21/13; vii. 1/5 and quot. c; N.T.
 οἶδα, vi. 4/3; ix. 7/3, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 οἰκείος, i. 10/3; ix. 4/2. Acad. ii. 38. c; N.T.
 οἰκοδεσποτικός, xii. 44/2. C¹ (—της; N.T.).
 οἰκονομία, vi. 1/1, 11 ('arrangement'). h mostly in this sense.
 οἰμώζω, Q.F. iii. 9/8 (? a quot.). a.
 οἴχομαι, vi. 1/1 and quot. in Pis. 25/61. c.
 ὀλιγωρῶ, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.
 Ὀλος, ii. 17/3; xiii. 40/2. c; N.T.; but u. infr.
 ὀλοσχερῶς, vi. 5/2. h mostly.
 Ὀμηρικῶς, i. 16/1. h.
 ὀμοιόπτωτον, Dicta. fr. 16. h.
 ὀμοειδής, ii. 6/1. Arist.
 ὅμοιος, xiii. 15/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 ὁμολογία, Fin. iii. 21. Stoic. t.t.
 ὁμολογουμένως, ii. 17/1. Xen.; N.T.
 ὁμοπλοία, xvi. 1/3, 5/3. C.
 ὁμώνυμος, vi. 5/2. c.
 ὄναρ (adv.), i. 18/6. a (noun in N.T.). ὄνειρον, vi. 9/3 (proverb).
 ὀξύπεινος, ii. 12/2; iv. 13/1. c.
 Ὅποῦς, Ὅπουντιος, vi. 2/3.
 ὄργανον, F xi. 14/1. c.
 ὀρίζων, de diu. ii. 92. Arist.
 ὀρμή, de fin. iii. 23; v. 17 and often in phil. works; Stoic. t.t. ὀρμαίνω quot. only.
 ὀρῶ, x. 8/7 (misquot. of Thuc.); ὀρώμενον, ii. 3/2 (math.). c; N.T.
 ὄς, vi. 4/3. c; N.T.
 ὅσος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 οὐ, οὐδέ, οὐδέις (never οὐθείς), οὐποτε, οὐτε *passim*, but mostly quot. c; N.T. (but once or twice οὐθείς).
 Οὔριος or *Vrius*, 2 Verr. iv. 148 (title of Zeus); v. 12/1. c.
 οὗτος, *passim*. c; N.T.
 ὀφείλημα, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.; ὀφείλω, *ibid.* c; N.T.
 ὀψιμαθής, F ix. 20/2. a.
 ὄψις, ii. 3/2 ('sight'). c.

II.

- πάγος. Ἄρειος π., i. 14/5, elsewhere *Ariopagus*, —*itae*. a; N.T.
 παθητικός, orat. 128. Arist.
 πάθος, xii. 3/2; F vii. 26/1, often in phil. works and quot. c; N.T.
 παιδεία, ii. 3/2 (Κύρου π., with pun); F ix. 25/1. c; N.T.
 παῖς, ii. 15/3 and quot. c; N.T.
 παλιγγενεσία, vi. 6/4. h (Philo).
 παλινοφδία, ii. 9/1; iv. 5/1; vii. 7/1. a.
 Πανάιτιος, xiii. 8.
 πανήγυρις, i. 14/1. c; N.T.

- πανικόν ('canard,' 'scare'), v. 20/3; xiv. 3/1; xvi. 1/4; F xvi. 23/2.
 πᾶν, xv. 27/1. c.
 παρά, xiii. 10/1, 16/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 παραβεβλημένοι ('spurious,' sc. στίχοι), F. ix. 10/1. ? C in this sense.
 παράγραμμα or παρὰ γράμμα (kind of joke), F. vii. 32/2. Arist.
 παραδίδωμι, vi. 5/2; uid. inf.
 παράδοξος, vi. 1/16; Acad. ii. 136; Fin. iv. 74; Par. 4. a; N.T., but
 also Stoic t.t.
 παραινετικῶς, x. 10/1. h.
 παρακινδυνεύω, xiii. 27/1. a.
 παρακλέπτω, x. 12/2. a.
 παράλυσις, xvi. 7/8. Theophr.
 παράπηγμα, v. 14/1. h.
 παραφθέγγομαι, vi. 4/2. a.
 παραφυλάττω, vi. 9/2. a.
 παρεγγείρησις, xv. 3/3. C¹.
 πάρειμι, iv. 13/2; vi. 5/2; x. 8/7 (Thuc., misquoted). c; N.T.
 πάρεργον, v. 21/13; vii. 1/6; ἐν π. Q.F. iii. 93. a.
 παριστορῶ, vi. 1/25. C¹.
 παρόδῳ, ἐν, v. 20/6. Arist.
 παρονομασία, de Or. ii. 256.
 παρρησία, i. 16/8. a; N.T.
 πᾶς, vi. 5/2; F xv. 17/1. c; N.T.
 πάσχω, ix. 4/2; xv. 20/3. c; N.T.
 πατήρ, vi. 5/2 and quot. c; N.T.
 πατρίς, ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
 πειθῶ, Brut. 59. c.
 πειράζομαι ('be attacked by,' sc. a disease), xvi. 7/8. h (Strab., cf. N.T.).
 Πειρήνη, xii. 5/1.
 πειρῶ, ix. 4/2. c.
 πεντέλοιπος, xiv. 21/4; xv. 2/4. C.
 πεπλογραφία, xvi. 11/3. C; but πέπλος = miscellany, h.
 περί, xiii. 52/2; x. 13/1, etc.; after its noun ix. 4/2; an archaism? c;
 N.T.
 περίοδος, Brut. 162, orat. 204; i. 14/4. Arist.
 περιοχή, xiii. 15/3 ('passage'). ? C¹ in this sense, for which cf. Act. 8³².
 Περιπατητικός, xiii. 19/4. h.
 περίπατος, F xvi. 18/1. a.
 περισκεψάμενος, vi. 4/3. a.
 περίστασις, iv. 8a/2, xvi. 11/4. h.
 Περσεφόνη, N.D. ii. 66.
 Περσική, sc. στοά, xv. 9/1, where see comm. a.
 πέψις, F xvi. 18/1. Arist.
 pegma, iv. 8/2 ('binding' of book). C¹ in this sense.
 πιθανός, xiii. 19/5. a.
 πίνος, πεπινωμένος, xvi. 7/2. h; —ως, xv. 16/1. C.

- Πλάτων, ix. 13/4.
 πλουδοκῶ, x. 8/9. C; cf. *καραδοκῶ*.
 πλούς, xv. 21/3. a (πλός; N.T.).
 Πλούτων, N.D. ii. 66.
 ποῖ, xii. 5/1; ποι, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 ποιητής, F ix. 10/1. c; N.T.
 ποιητικός, Fin. iii. 55. Stoic t.t.
 ποιότης, Acad. i. 25; N.D. ii. 94. Plato.
 ποιούμαι, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 πόλεμος, v. 20/3; ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
 πολιορκῶ, ix. 4/2. c.
 πολιτεία, πολιτεύομαι, *passim*. c, πολίτευμα, vi. 1/13; ix. 7/3. a.
 πόλις F xv. 17/2. c; N.T.
 πολιτικός (subst. and adj.), *passim*; -κώτερος, ii. 1/3, -κῶς, *ibid.*, -κώτερον, adv. v. 12/2. a.
 πολυγραφώτατος, xiii. 17/2(18). C¹.
 Πολυκλής, vi. 1/17.
 πολύς, *passim*. c; N.T. πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, vi. 1/20. a.
 πομπεύω, xiii. 32/3 (figurative). ? C¹ in this sense.
 ποτέ, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 πράγμα, vi. 1/17. c; N.T. *πραγματεύομαι*, ix. 4/2. a; N.T.
 πραγματικός or *pragmaticus*, xiv. 3/2, de Or. i. 198; — κῶς, Q.F. ii. 14 (15 b)/2. h; in sense of 'attorney' C¹.
 πρακτικός, ii. 7/4, 16/3. a.
 πράξις, x. 13/1; xiv. 12/1, 19/5 (with pun). c; N.T.
 πρόπον, xiii. 16/1; orat. 70; de off. i. 93. Plat. N.T.
 πρόβλημα, xii. 2/2, 4/2, etc. Arist. in this sense.
 προβολή, xiii. 21/3 ('boxer's guard'). Carneades.
 προέκκειμαι, vi. 5/2. C¹.
 προηγμένον or *proegmenon*. Fin. iii. 15, etc. Stoic t.t.
 προθεσπίζω, viii. 11/3. Aesch.; h.
 προκοπή, xv. 16. h (Diod.); N.T.
 Προκύων, N.D. ii. 114. h.
 πρόληψις, topic. 31, N.D. i. 43, 44; Acad. ii. 30. h.
 πρόνοια, N.D. i. 18; ii. 58, 73 and quot. c; N.T.
 προοικονοῦμαι (mid.) Q.F. ii. 3/6. ? C¹ in this mood.
 πρόπλασμα, xii. 42/4. h.
 πρόπυλον, vi. 1/26, 6/2. c, but usually plur.
 πρὸς, often; π. θεῶν, xiii. 29/1. c; N.T.
 προσανατρέφω, vi. 1/2. C¹.
 προσδοκία, F vii. 32/2 (παρὰ πρ.). Arist.
 πρόσληψις, diu. ii. 108 ('minor premise'). h.
 προσνεύσις, v. 4/2. h.
 προσπάσχω, ii. 19/1. a.
 προσφώνῳ, xiii. 21a/1; xv. 13/6; xvi. 11/4 ('dedicate'). h, προσφώνησις, xiii. 12/3. C¹.

πρόσωπον, xiii. 32/3 ('person,' 'character'). h; xiii. 19/3, u. κωφός; F xv. 17/2 ('face'). c; N.T.
 πρότερος, i. 16/1, 2 and quot. *πρῶτος*, vi. 5/2 and quot. Both c; N.T.
 προὔργου, ix. 4/3. a.
 πρώην, vi. 4/3. c.
 πυνθάνομαι, x. 1/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 Πυρόεις, N.D. ii. 52. h.
 πυροί, vi. 6/2. c.

P.

ῥαθυμότερα, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5. a.
 ῥήτωρ ('orator'), orat. 61. c; but *rhetores* ('rhetoricians'), 93. h; N.T.
 ῥητορεύω, xv. 16a. a.
 ῥοπή, xvi. 5/4. a.
 ῥυθμός, orat. 67. ? 170. a, *rhythmici*, de Or. iii. 190. h (Dion. Hal.).
 ῥωπογραφία, xv. 16a. C.

Σ.

σαρδόνιος (γέλως), F vii. 25/1. c.
 σεμνός, ii. 1/3; xii. 5/1; xv. 12/1 (u.l. —ὤς). c.
 σημείον, xiii. 32/3 (? 'abbreviation'). c; N.T.
 σησιωδέστερον, vii. 17/2 (a coinage).
 Σιποῦς, Σιπούντιοι, vi. 2/3.
 σίλλυβος or *sillybus*, iv. 4a/1, 8/2. C.
 σιωπῶ, vi. 8/5. c; N.T.
 σκέμμα, vii. 8/3, 21/3; x. 1/3. a.
 σκέψαι, xii. 3/2. a.
 σκήπτομαι, xvi. 9. c.
 σκῆψις, i. 12/1. c.
 σκιαμαχία, F xi. 14/1. C¹.
 σκόλιος, xiii. 39/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 σκοπός, ii. 18/1; xv. 29/2. c; N.T.
 σκόρδον, xiii. 42/3 (so Tyrrell). h; a frequent vulgarism.
 σκοτεινός, Fin. ii. 15. c; N.T.
 σκυλμός, iv. 13/1. h.
 σκυτάλη, x. 10/3. c.
 σόλοικος, xiv. 6/2 ('in bad taste'). Xen., cf. ὑποσόλ—.
 Σοφοκλῆς, Q.F. ii. 15/3.
 σοφίζομαι, ii. 16/2. a (act. LXX, N.T.); σοφιστεύω, ii. 9/3; ix. 9/1. a,
 σοφιστής, quot. only.
 σοφός, F ix. 22/5; Fin. ii. 24; Tusc. v. 7 and quot. c; N.T.
 σοφία or *sophia*, ? F ix. 10/2, de off. i. 153. c; N.T.
 σπένδομαι, xv. 29/2. c.
 σπονδεδάζων, vii. 2/1. h.
 σπονδάζω, xiii. 21a/1; F xv. 18/1. a; N.T. σπονδαῖος, v. 3/2; xiii. 52/3.
 a; N.T. σπουδή, ii. 1/8; F. xvi. 21/6 and quot. c; N.T.

- στάσις, topic. 93 ('*depulsio criminis*'). h.
 στείχω, vi. 5/2. c—a (poet.).
 στέργω, ix. 16/7; στοργή, x. 8/9, both c.
 στερέμνιος, N.D. i. 49. Epic. t.t.
 στερητικός, topic. 48 (rhet.). Arist.
 στεφάνη or *stephane*, N.D. i. 28 (Parmenides).
 Στίλβων, N.D. ii. 53. h.
 στραγγουρικός, F vii. 26/1. c.
 στρατήγημα, N.D. iii. 15. a.
 στρατύλλαξ, xvi. 15/3. C (Stratilax in Plaut. *Truc. dram. pers.* is a ghost-word; see Lindsay's crit. note.)
 σύ, *passim*. c; N.T.
 σύγγραμμα, xvi. 6/4. c.
 συγκατάθεσις, Acad. ii. 37. Acad. t.t.
 συγκινδυνεύω, ix. 4/2. a.
 συγκύρημα, ii. 12/2. h.
 σύγχυσις, vi. 9/1; vii. 8/4. c; N.T.
 συζήτησις, F xvi. 21/4. h; N.T.
 συζυγία, topic. 12, 38. Arist.
 σύλλογος, see ξυλ—.
 συμβίωσις, F ix. 10/3. h. *συμβιωτής*, F ix. 10/3. a.
 σύμβολον, topic. 35. Arist. in this sense.
 συμβουλευτικόν, xii. 40/2. Arist.
 σύμμετρος, F xvi. 18/1. c.
 συμπάθεια, iv. 15/1, etc., N.D. iii. 28, etc. Arist., h, *συμπαθῶς*, v. 11/7; xiii. 44/1. h. *συμπάσχω*, xii. 11. a; (N.T. *συμπαθῶ*).
 συμπολιτεύομαι, vii. 7/7. a.
 συμπόσιον, ii. 12/2. c; N.T.
 συμφιλοδοξῶ, v. 17/2. h.
 συμφιλολογῶ, F xvi. 21/8. C¹.
 συμφιλοσοφῶ, iv. 18/2. Arist.
 συμφορά, xii. 41/2. c.
 σύν, quot. only.
 συναγωγή, ix. 13/3; xvi. 5/5. a (N.T. in different sense).
 συναγωνιῶ, v. 12/2. h.
 συναπογράφομαι ('enlist along with'), ix. 4/2. a, late.
 συναποθνήσκω, vii. 20/2. c.
 σύνδειπνος, Q.F. ii. 15/3. c, *σύνδειπνον*, F ix. 20/3. a.
 συνδιημερεύω, viii. 9/3. Xen.
 συνέχον ('next point'), ix. 7/1. a.
 σύνναος, xii. 45/2. h.
 συννοσῶ, ii. 2/1. c—a.
 σύννους, xiii. 42/1 (? a quot.). a.
 σύνταξις, xiii. 12/3; xv. 14/4. h.
 σύνταγμα, xvi. 3/1 ('collection of writings'). ? C¹; Diod.
 συντάσσομαι, xvi. 7/3 ('compile'). h.

σύντηξις, x. 8/9 (metaphorical). Arist. ? C in this sense.
σύντομος, vii. 3/5. c (—ως; N.T.).
συσκευάζομαι, ii. 17/1. a.
σφαῖρα, N.D. ii. 47. h, as t.t. *σφαιροειδής*, Tim. 17. c.
σφάλμα, x. 12a/2. c.
σφόδρα, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
σχεδιάζω, vi. 1/11. a. *σχεδιάσμα*, xv. 19/2 ('invention,' 'trumped-up story'), cf. *σχεδιάζειν* = *nugari* (Diod. often). ? C in this sense.
σχεδόν, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
σχῆμα, topic. 34, Brut. 141, 275; orat. 85, 181 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
σχολή, ii. 5/3 ('leisure'). c. *schola*, ix. 22/5; Fin. ii. 1 ('disputation'), h. *σχόλιον*, xvi. 7/3. C¹ (from Atticus).
σῶζω, vi. 5/2; xvi. 15/3. c; N.T.¹
Σωκρατικῶς, ii. 3/3. h.
σῶμα ('collection,' 'collected edition'), ii. 1/3. h.
σωφροσύνη, Tusc. iii. 16, *σώφρων*, ibid. c; N.T.

T.

ταξιάρχης, xvi. 11/3. c.
τε, vi. 5/2, etc. and quot. c; N.T.
τέθριππα, v. 21/7. c.
τεκμηριώδης, vii. 4/3. Arist.
τέκνον, vii. 2/21 and quot. c; N.T.
τελευτῶ, iv. 8/1 (Soph., with a pun). c; N.T.
τέλος, xii. 6/2; xiii. 12/3; Fin. i. 42; iii. 26. c; N.T. *τελικός*, Fin. iii. 55. Stoic t.t.
τέμπη, iv. 15/5. c—a.
-τέον, facteon, i. 16/13 (comic hybrid).
τέρας, viii. 9/4. c; N.T.
Τεύκρις or *Teucris*, i. 12/1, 14/7.
τεχνολογία, iv. 16/3. C¹.
τίς; iv. 1/20 and quot.; *τις* vi. 5/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
τίτος, ii. 9/4, 12/4.
τοι, ix. 7/3 and quot. c.
τοιούτος, xvi. 15/3. c; N.T.
τόκος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
τοπική, sc. *τέχνη* topic. 6. h.
τοποθεσία, i. 13/5, 16/18. C¹.
τότε, ix. 9/3 and quot. c; N.T.
τρεῖς, xiii. 57/1. c; N.T.
τρισαρειοπαγῖται, iv. 15/4. C.
τρίψις, F xvi. 18/1 ('massage'). ? C¹ in this sense.
τρόπος, Brut. 69 (rhet. t.t.); ix. 4/2. Former sense h, latter c; N.T.
τροποφορῶ, xiii. 29/1. cf. Schol. Ar. Ran. 1432. C¹.

¹ Whether Cicero wrote *σῶζω*, or *σάζω*, etc., can hardly be determined.

τύμβος, de legg. ii. 64. c.

τύπος ('statuette'), i. 10/3, c. τυπωδώς, iv. 13/2. h (Strab.).

τυραννίς, ii. 17/1, etc., and quot.; c, τυραννῶ, ix. 4/2, etc.; c, τυραννοκτόνος
or tyrannoclonus, vi. 4/3; xiv. 6/2. h.

τυροταρίχης, iv. 8/1; xiv. 16/1; F ix. 16/9. ? C.

τυφλώττω, ii. 19/1. c.

τετύφωμαι, xii. 25/2. a; N.T. τῦφος, xiii. 29/1. a. Written as Latin by
Varr. ap. Non. 229, 16 M., and elsewhere.

Τ.

ύγιής, x. 12/4 and quot. c; N.T.

ύπαλλαγή, orat. 93. h (Dion. Hal.).

ύπάρχοντα ('property,' 'goods'), vi. 4/3, 5/1, h (χρήματα, οὐσία, c), cf.
1 Cor. 13³.

ύπεκτίθεμαι, vii. 17/4. c.

ύπερ, with gen. ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

ύπεραπτικός, xv. 1a/2 (with pun). C¹.

ύπερβολή, F vii. 32/2, topic. 45. a, ύπερβολικώς, v. 21/7; vi. 2/4. h.
Former also N.T., but not in tech. sense.

ύπέρεν, x. 1/3. a.

ύπηνέμιος, xiv. 10/1 ('windy'). h.

ύπηρεσία, ix. 13/5. a.

ύπό, with gen. xvi. 15/3; with dat., quot. only; with acc. ix. 2/1. c;
N.T.

hypodidascalus, F ix. 18/4. a, rare.

ύπόθεσις ('case'), topic. 79; i. 14/4, etc. a.

ύποθήκη ('counsel'), ii. 17/3; ύπ. or hypotheca ('pledge,' 'pawn'), F xiii.
15/2. c.

ύποκορίζομαι, ix. 10/4. a.

ύπομεμφίμοιρος, vi. 1/2. C; cognates h.

ύπόμνημα or hypomnema, ii. 1/2; xv. 23; xvi. 14/4. c.

ύπομνηματισμός, v. 11/6; F xiii. 1/5. h.

ύποσόλοικος, ii. 10/1; xiv. 21/3. C¹; cf. σολοικός.

ύπόστασις, ii. 3/3 (ύ. nostram ac πολιτείαν), h in this sense (προαίρεσις, c.).

ύπουλος, x. 11/1. c.

ύποφυρῶ, vi. 5/1 with tmesis. C, but φυρῶ, c.

ύπόπιον, i. 20/5 ('disgrace,' 'one in the eye for . . .'). ? C¹ in this sense;
cf. ύπωπιάζω, Luc. 18⁵, 1 Cor. 9²⁷ ('treat contemptuously').

ύστερος, i. 16/1 (ύ. πρότερον, 'Ομηρικώς, i. e. wrong end first, like Homer's
τρέφεν ἥδ' ἐγένοντο, A 251). h phrase.

ύω, N.D. ii. 111; Hyades, ibid. c.

Φ.

Φαέθων, N.D. ii. 52. h, as name of planet.

Φαῖδρος, xiii. 39/2.

- φαινοπροσωπῶ, vii. 21/1; xiv. 22/2. C.
 φαλάκρωμα, xiv. 2/3 and c. ? ibid. 2. h (LXX).
 φαλαρισμός, vii. 12/2. ? C.
 φαλλός, xvi. 11/1 (Gurlitt, *uallo* codd.; 'indecenty'). c, but C in this sense.
 φαντασία, ix. 6/5; F. xv. 16/1; Acad. i. 40; ii. 18. a. h often (N.T. always) in sense of 'display,' 'showiness.'
 φέρω, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 φθονῶ, v. 19/3; ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 φιλαίτιος, xii. 41/2; xiii. 20/2; F iii. 7/6. c.
 φιλαληθῶς, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5. h.
 φιλαυτία, xiii. 13/1. h (φίλαυτος, N.T.).
 φιλειδήμων, xii. 6/2 (doubtful). C¹; Strabo.
 φιλέλλην, i. 15/1. c.
 φιλένδοξος, xiii. 19/3. h.
 φιλήδονος, F xv. 19/3. c; N.T.
 φιλιππίζω, de diu. ii. 118. a.
 φιλογυνία, Tusc. iv. 25. h.
 φιλοδίκαιος, F xv. 19/2.
 φιλοθέωρος, F vii. 16/1. a (late) and h.
 φιλόκαλος, F xv. 19/3. a.
 φιλολογία, F xvi. 21/4. Arist.
 φιλόλογος, xiii. 12/3 (-ώτερος, C¹), 52/2; xv. 15/2. Arist. in this sense.
 φιλόπατρις, ii. 1/4; ix. 10/5. h.
 φιλοπροσηνέστατα, v. 9/1. C.
 φιλορρήτωρ, i. 13/15. h (Philodemos).
 φίλος (noun), ix. 4/2; adj., quot. only. c; N.T.
 φιλοσοφία, de Orat. i. 9, and often as a Lat. word. φιλόσοφος, ii. 12/4; -ως, xiii. 20/4; -ώτερον, vii. 8/3; φιλοσοφῶ, i. 16/3; ii. 5/2, 13/2; F xi. 27/5. c, the first two also N.T.
 φιλοστοργότερος, xiii. 9/2. The posit. in Xen.; N.T. φιλοστόργως, xv. 17/1. Arist.
 φιλοτέχνημα, xiii. 40/1. C¹.
 φιλοτιμία, vi. 9/2; vii. 1/1. c.
 Φλιούς, vi. 2/3.
 φλύαρος, F xv. 18/1. a.
 φοβερός, xiii. 37/2. c; N.T.
 φρονῶ, vi. 5/2. c; N.T. φρόνησις, de off. i. 153. a; N.T.
 φύγας, vii. 11/1. c.
 φυρατής, vi. 9/2; vii. 1/9. C, cf. ὑποφυρῶ, φυρῶ, vi. 4/3, 5/1. c.
 φυρμός, xiv. 5/1. C¹ (Diod.).
 πεφύσσηται, v. 20/6 ('glorior'). a; N.T.
 φυσικός, vii. 2/4, de Orat. i. 217. Xen.; N.T. φυσιολογία, de diu. i. 90. Arist.
 φωνή, ii. 12/2. c; N.T.
 Φωσφόρος, N.D. ii. 53. h.
 J. H. S. VOL. XLI.

X.

χαίρω, viii. 8/2 and quot. c; N.T.
 χαρακτήρ, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5, topic. 83; orat. 36, 134. a; N.T.
 Χερρονησιτικός, vi. 5/2.
 χολή, F xiv. 7/1. c; N.T.
 χρέος, vii. 11/1 (χρεῶν ἀποκοπής). c.
 χρεωφειλέτης, vii. 8/5. h; N.T.
 χρήσιμος, Tusc. iii. 16. c; N.T.
 χρησμός, ix. 10/5. c.
 χρηστομαθής, i. 6/2. h (-ῶς Philodemos).
 χρόνος, N.D. ii. 64. c; N.T.
 χρονιώτερος, F xvi. 8/1 (med.). c.
 Χρύσιππος, F ix. 4.
 χώρα, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

Ψ.

ψευδέγγραφος, xv. 26/1. C¹.
 ψευδόμενος, de diu. ii. 11 (logical t.t.). h.
 ψευδησιόδειος, vii. 18/4. C.
 ψῆφος, vi. 4/3, 5/1. c; N.T.
 ψιλῶς, xii. 4/2. a.

Ω.

ὦ, vi. 1/17; x. 15/2, etc. c.
 ὠνή, v. 16/2 ('saleable commodity'), vi. 4/3 ('sale'). Latter sense c;
 former inscr., e.g. Ditt. Syll.² 226. 52.
 ὠφέλημα, Fin. iii. 33, 69. Stoic t.t.

The above list might be lengthened by including a number of established loan-words from Greek, such as *acratophorus*, *dica* (2 Verr. ii. 44), *idiota*, and others; but as these have been sufficiently discussed by Laurand (op. cit. p. 62 *sqq.*) and others, and in any case belong rather to the history of Latin than of Greek in their Romanised form, I omit them. Neither do I intend to make a detailed study of the words listed (about 1000, including proper names). From the point of view of their structure, I have nothing to add to the remarks of Steele in the article already cited; but I would call attention in general to certain outstanding characteristics of the vocabulary, perceptible without elaborate statistics. Cicero might, to judge by his tastes in Greek literature, be expected to classicise. Of the scores of quotations, for which see Steele, p. 393 *sqq.*, from various poets, two only can be traced definitely to post-Attic writers, one to Rhinton and one to Leonidas of Tarentum (Q. ix. 18/3, x. 2, where see T. and P.), while another, viii. 5/1, πολλὰ μάτην κεράσσιν ἐς ἡέρα θυμήναντα, has perhaps an Alexandrian flavour. In prose, the Platonic epistles and Thucydides divide the honours, save for one scrap of Epicurus. It would seem as if the later philosophers whom he read for their content furnished him in matters of style only with the many technical terms with which his works are besprinkled. In his own Greek style, when he wrote for

the public, he no doubt showed himself a true follower of the classicising Rhodian school which had so profoundly influenced his Latin.¹⁰ Yet the familiar style of his letters is interspersed with as plain and colloquial, in other words, as Hellenistic, a Greek as his Latin is easy and informal. A very large percentage of the vocabulary is Hellenistic; not a few words are unexampled elsewhere, *i. e.* formed part of the current vocabulary of his day,¹¹ for that he should coin them is most unlikely; there are one or two frankly vulgar words, as *σκόρδον* and probably *ἐμπερπερεύομαι*.

In more detail—in small matters of spelling, such as the assimilation or non-assimilation of *συν-*, we cannot gather much information from our ill-written MSS.; yet it would seem that the Hellenistic verb *εὐτόκησεν* has the Hellenistic augment *εὐ-* for *ἡν-*. Hellenistic formations, such as the long list of compounds of *εὐ-*, meet us at every turn; and very numerous words have non-classical meanings while classical enough in form. In this connexion it is noticeable that *τὰ ὅλα*, on both occasions that it occurs, means *τὰ πάντα*, resembling the modern usage.

Pronunciation is indicated in two places. One is the reading *τὰ κενὰ* helping to date the variant *καινὸν-κενὸν* in Thuc. iii. 30/4, cf. Arist. Eth. iii. 1116^b 6, and agreeing with Diod., who likes the phrase and often uses it (xvii. 86/1; xx. 30/1, 67/4); which indicates that *ε* and *αι* were pronounced alike, and incidentally that even to the educated ear Greek quantity was growing less distinct. A clearer indication is given in F ix. 22/3: *cum 'bini' (loquimur) opscenum est. 'Graecis quidem' inquires, i. e. bini* sounded like *βίνοι*, the distinction between *ει* and *ι* being lost. We now see the significance of a point in Cicero's translation of the epitaph on Thermopylae,

dIc, hospes, Spartae nos te hIc uIdIsse iacentIs
dum sanctIs patriae legIbus obsequImur.

To him, the original was a series of I-sounds, and his rendering brings this out most clearly.¹²

Turning to the discussion of his grammar, we must note in the first place that almost the only pieces of continuous Greek we have (in vi. 4 and 5) are written in an affected and purposely obscure style, in riddles, as Cicero himself says. To this fact we owe the archaic *ἄστυ*, *δάμαρ*, *ξυνόπος*, the last being also Doric; the tmesis *ὑπό τι πεφυρακέναι*; and the whole roundabout and artificial tone. Still, even here the syntax is Hellenistic. The chief characteristics of non-Attic grammar which I have noted here and elsewhere are as follows:—

1. Disappearance of the dat. case has already begun; it is replaced by *εἰς* with the acc. vi. 5/2.
2. *ἵνα* after a verb of commanding, expressed or understood, as vi. 5/2.
3. Perfect as a historic tense, xiii. 20/4; xiv. 6/2. This would be particularly natural for a Roman.

¹⁰ I think it likely, though it is not yet proved, that his prose rhythms are Rhodian in origin.

Philodemos gives us new examples of more than one *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον* of Cicero.

¹² See Rhys Roberts, *Eleven Words of Simonides*, Camb. 1920, pp. 15, 21.

¹¹ The recovery of a good part of

4. An odd construction, of which I can find no other example, is the use of *παραδίδωμι*, vi. 5/2, where, apparently in the sense of 'submitted accounts showing that. . .', it is followed first by a participle and then by an infinitive. We may, however, recollect the fairly numerous cases in Attic where the infinitive carries on a construction which began with some other form of *oratio obliqua*.

There are also a few things which seem like Latinisms. The quasi-imperative fut. indic. *μηλώση*, xii. 51/2 is, indeed, in itself passable Greek; but Cicero's reason for using it is likely enough his fondness for that construction in Latin. In vocabulary, the odd words *ὑποπεφυρακέναι* and *φυράτης* are naturally accounted for by *conturbare*. How easily Cicero could slip from one language into the other is indicated by the macaronic *facteon* and *ὁμοιον-que* (xiv. 51/1), which seem to look forward to Ausonius' oddities, Drummond's *highissimus*, and Lowell's *stickere bowieknifeo*. Often, again, a name is written in Greek letters for no particular reason, as F xiii. 15/2, 56/1. An isolated archaism is *ἐλευθερίας πέρι*, ix. 4/2, perhaps motived by some reminiscence of a tragic tag, such as *τυραννίδος πέρι*, Eur. *Phoen.*, 524.

It is instructive to compare this non-literary Hellenistic with the equally non-literary style of most of the N.T. Here we find indeed a general resemblance in vocabulary and grammar, but the details are very different. Putting aside the theological terms of the one and the philosophical and other technicalities of the other, we see that the words common to the two documents are for the most part found also in classical style. Now and then we can see how a tendency just appearing in Cicero has become developed a century later; thus Cicero uses *συμπάθεια*, etc., but *συμπάσχω*, while in the N.T. the secondary formation *συμπαθῶ* has displaced the latter. To Cicero again, *περπερεύομαι* is apparently a slang word, from its jocular context; St. Paul can use it in the gravest and most elevated writing. But on the whole, Cicero's departures from the older forms of expression lead in a different direction from those of the later writers. They coincide with him but rarely in the use of words which we find for the first time in him, as a glance down the word-list will show clearly. We are thus reminded of the fact that, quite apart from Hebraisms, Latinisms, and all the vagaries natural to a language in process of becoming a *lingua franca*, Hellenistic, even as revealed by our imperfect records, contains many divergent tendencies, and therefore it is hazardous to generalise from the documents of one region to the practice of another.

H. J. ROSE.

RED-FIGURED VASES RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Plates II.-VIII.]

IN Vols. XVIII. (1898) and XXXI. (1911) of the *Journal* I gave some account of black-figured vases acquired by the British Museum subsequently to the appearance of Vol. II. of the *Catalogue of Vases* in 1893. On page I of the latter volume a promise was made that another paper should follow, describing red-figured vases similarly acquired; but its appearance has been delayed by the war and other circumstances, with the result that the number of vases now included amounts to nearly fifty. Seventeen other vases acquired during the period 1895-1920 are omitted here as having been already published elsewhere, but a list is appended on page 150. The total number of red-figured vases added to the collection since 1894 is thus over sixty. The *terminus post quem* for this paper goes back over a year previous to the publication of the *Catalogue* in 1896, as several vases were acquired while it was passing through the press, and were too late for inclusion.

In view of the large number of vases included in this paper, I have thought it advisable to make the descriptions as brief as possible, especially as the majority are not remarkable for their subjects. The vases are described as far as possible in chronological order, and for this purpose they may be roughly classified in five groups, corresponding more or less to the classes adopted by Mr. J. D. Beazley in his recent work on *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, from which I have derived much valuable assistance.

These five classes are :

- (1) Early archaic or 'severe' style (Chachrylion, Epiktetos, etc.).
- (2) Ripe archaic or 'strong' style (Euphronios, Douris, etc.).
- (3) Late archaic.
- (4) Early free or 'fine' style.
- (5) Ripe free or 'late fine' style (Meidias).

In the last class are included one or two vases which more strictly belong to the period of the South Italian wares, though they still retain much in common with the work of Athenian artists. Beginning with a cup which illustrates the transition from the B.F. to the R.F. method, we thus cover in our survey the whole period of the development and decline of this phase of Greek art.

I. EARLY ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(1) KYLIX of 'mixed' technique.

Ht. 17 cm. Diam. 37.2 cm.

This cup was presented to the Museum by Miss A. F. Pariss in 1896, and is mentioned by Klein in his *Lieblingsinschriften*, 2nd edn., p. 54, no. 2. It belongs to the transitional class with B.F. interior design and R.F. exterior designs, which I have discussed in a previous paper in connexion with the potter Hischylos (*J.H.S.*, 1909, pp. 110, 115). It is there mentioned in the list of kylikes of mixed style, and is assigned to the workshop of Chelis, who on one occasion uses the *καλός*-name Memnon, which also occurs on this vase. Hoppin, in his list of vases attributed to Chelis,¹ does not include those which bear the name Memnon, which in point of fact is also used twice by Chachrylion. We



FIG. 1.—INTERIOR: KYLIX OF 'MIXED' TECHNIQUE.

cannot therefore be absolutely certain from what workshop the cup came, but it must belong to the earliest phase of the R.F. period, while the new method was still in the trammels of the B.F. method, the treatment of the exterior with the large eyes leaving little room for figure subjects.

The B.F. design in the interior (Fig. 1), which is a rough piece of work and in very bad condition, represents a slinger moving to the right and turning round to aim with his sling in the opposite direction. He wears a Corinthian helmet, greaves, a short tunic ornamented with an engraved pattern of crosses, and a cloak with purple stripes and border over his shoulders. A bag made of the skin of a panther, which hangs at his back, may be a case for holding the sling. Round the figure is inscribed ΜΕΜ. ΟΝ ΚΑ . . Σ, Μέμ(ν)ων κα(λός). Slingers are not a very common subject on Greek vases; other examples are

¹ *Handbook of R.F. Vases*, i. 183 ff.

E 285 in the Brit. Mus., and Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 18, 1 (a vase in the late Dr. Hauser's collection).

On the exterior (Fig. 2) we have on either side the typical large eyes of the B.F. kylix, but in the R.F. method. The space between is occupied on one side by an ithyphallic mule, which stands braying to the right, and on the other side is a trefoil-shaped object, probably intended to represent a nose.² On each side of the handle is a palmette of the type common on B.F. vases.

(2) KYLIX by *Euergides* (Plate II.).

Ht. 13 cm. Diam. 30 cm.

This cup was known some 70 years ago, but had since then been lost sight of. It reappeared at a sale at Sotheby's in 1920, and the Museum had the



FIG. 2.—EXTERIOR: KYLIX OF 'MIXED' TECHNIQUE.

good fortune to secure the vase, which bears the signature of the potter *Euergides*, and is the best existing example of his work. It was published in the *Annali* for 1849, but the illustration, which was used by Rizzo in his monograph on Skythes,³ and by Hoppin in his recently-issued handbook, is now shown to have been a most unsatisfactory one. Beazley's verdict that *Euergides'* painter was of rather mediocre ability must, I think, be modified now that the vase itself is before us.

The cup has both interior and exterior decoration. In the interior is represented a dancing girl to right, with head turned round to left, holding castanets in her hands. She wears a long chiton of crinkly and partly transparent material with short sleeves. Her right leg is kicked up behind. Round the edge of the circle runs the potter's signature ΕΥΕΡΛΙΔΕΣΕΡΩΙ . . . Εὐεργίδης ἐποίησεν). An almost identical figure occurs on an alabastron at Athens,

² Cf. the Ricketts-Shannon cup, *J.H.S.*, 1909, pl. 8.

³ *Mon. Piot*, xx. 142.

with the same signature, and another on a kylix in the Louvre, which Pottier assigns to Epilykos.

On the exterior we have two scenes each closed by a Sphinx, seated with head turned away from the centre; each one on the left holds up her right paw. The side A represents a nude youth leading two horses with halters, and carrying a stick or goad behind his head. Above him is inscribed ΠΛΕΧΣΙΠΡΟΣ, Πλήξιππος or 'Whipper,' a sort of descriptive name. It occurs on two other cups in the Museum (E 20-21), which may also be from Euergides' workshop. On B, a nude athlete walks to right, looking round and holding a javelin in both hands; facing him are two draped youths, one of whom holds a rod, the other a flower. The attitude of the javelin-thrower shows that he is just preparing for a throw, drawing the pointed end back with his left hand so as to pull the thong of the *amentum* tight, as explained by Mr. Norman Gardiner in describing a similar figure on a kylix at Munich.⁴

As regards the artistic qualities of this cup, the interior figure is distinctly good, and almost equal to the contemporary work of Epiktetos. The exterior figures are somewhat dwarfed in proportions, and recall the work of the painter Skythes,⁵ whom Rizzo is probably right in regarding as the actual painter of Euergides' cups. The composition has not really advanced beyond the stage of the transitional cup-painters. The vase is in astonishingly fine condition, and there is not a trace of injury about it; the varnish is brilliant in the extreme. The shape of the rim should be noted, recalling the cups of Brygos.

(3) KYLIX signed by Chachrylion (Fig. 3).

Diam. of complete vase about 23.5 cm.

These fragments of a cup, which were purchased in 1897, are illustrated by Hoppin in his *Handbook*, i. pp. 158, 159, but as he only gives one of the exterior subjects (B), I publish the other here also for completeness' sake. The cup is also given in Nicole's list of Chachrylion vases,⁶ but is not mentioned by Beazley.

The cup is in very fragmentary condition, only the upper part of the interior design and isolated bits of the exterior designs being preserved. A peculiar feature of the decoration is that the interior has been left red, except for the central design, and the exterior only is varnished over. The surface of the red clay is ruddled over. The interior design exhibits very fine drawing. Purple pigment is used for the wreath, flames, bow, and inscription. Below the exterior designs is a band of palmettes and lotos-flowers alternating.

In the interior a beardless archer with long hair kneels or sits to the right, and looks down at an arrow held in his left hand; in the right he holds an unstrung bow. He wears a Corinthian helmet with two bull's horns and a flowing crest rendered in silhouette. Only the head, shoulder, and left fore-arm remain, and above is painted the inscription . . . ΛΙΟΝ . . . ΕΝ, Χαχρυ]λίων [ἐποίησ]εν. The subject is one typical of early R.F. interiors, but I have not come across an exact parallel.

⁴ *J.H.S.* xxvii. 262.

⁶ *Rev. Arch.* iv. (1916), p. 396, No. 71, 19.

⁵ Cf. Beazley, *Vases in Amer. Mus.*, p. 21,

The exterior design (A), which is not given by Hoppin, represents a sacrifice or libation. A woman (of whom only an arm holding bowl, sleeve and edge of chiton, and part of feet remain) holds a fluted libation-bowl over an altar, of which only part of the base and the flame on the top remain. On the left is visible part of the torso of a man to right, who carries a large basket on his shoulder. On the right are seen the right half (to the waist), and right forearm of a youth looking to the left, who has drapery twisted round his waist and holds a fruit in his left hand. On the extreme right are seen the foot



FIG. 3.—FRAGMENTS OF KYLIX BY CHACHRYLION.

and part of the leg of a figure moving to right. Above the altar is the inscription . . . ΟΣ ΚΑ . . . , which must be intended for Λέαγρ]ος κα[λός, as that is the only καλός-name ending in -ος used by Chachrylion.

The fragment remaining of the other design (B) represents a procession of three youths moving to the right. The first youth, whose figure is complete except one knee and part of the right hand, looks back, and wears a myrtle-wreath and a mantle ornamented with stars, and a border over his right shoulder; in his right hand he carries a rod held behind him, and in his left are flutes. Of the second only one foot and part of the leg are visible, and of the third (on the right) only one heel. Above is part of an inscription . . . νΟΣ . . . κα]λός.

(4) KYLIX.

Ht. 7.7 cm. Diam. 19.8 cm. Found in Asia Minor, and purchased in 1896.

This cup also belongs to the early archaic period, but is of somewhat inferior workmanship, and cannot be assigned to any particular workshop. It has been made up from fragments and is practically complete; the varnish is of a dull black.

There is only an interior design (Fig. 4), which represents a young soldier stooping to left, with couched lance. He wears anklets, and a helmet with flowing crest and cheek-pieces, and holds a circular shield with device of a cock to left at the level of his knee. The legs are out of proportion in the drawing.



FIG. 4.—KYLIX: EARLY ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(5) ALABASTRON, of the school of Epiktetos (Plate VIII.).

Ht. 8.2 cm. From Attica; purchased 1902.

The vase is complete except that one ear-handle and part of the edge of the lip are missing, and it has been repaired at the neck. The varnish is brown, and purple is used for wreaths and inscriptions. The minute and careful drawing is of the early archaic period, to which the inscriptions also show that it belongs. The designs consist of two single figures in panels separated by broad vertical bands of upright palmettes. Above and below the designs are continuous bands of enclosed palmettes, those above being upright, the lower horizontally placed to left. On the bottom of the vase is a large single palmette.

(A) A woman stands to right, with left hand raised as if in greeting; she wears a long chiton with wide sleeves, and her hair is tied in a knot behind

with a fillet, the ends of which hang free. On the right is inscribed ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ, ἐποίησεν, but no artist's name.

(B) A woman stands to left, facing the other; her right hand is held in front of her with fingers upright and palm outwards; she wears a coif, sleeved chiton, and mantle over her shoulders. Round her head is inscribed ΠΡΟΣΑΛΟΡΕΥΟ, προσάγορεύω, and on the upper edge of the lip is the inscription Ο. ΑΙΣΚ . . . ὁ (π)αῖς κ[αλός].

This vase is discussed by Brueckner, *Lebensregeln auf athenische Hochzeitsgeschenken*, pp. 8, 11, who explains it as a 'Besuch bei den Epaulien,' or visit paid by a friend to the bride on the ἐπαύλια or day following the wedding. The expression προσάγορεύω was probably a ceremonial form of greeting used on these occasions. It occurs on other vases of the school of Epiktetos, one of which, an alabastron similar to the one under discussion, is in the Louvre, and has been published by M. Pottier, who refers all these vases to a supposed artist Παιδικός.⁷ The signature ἐποίησεν by itself is also found on other vases of this period, mostly of the school of Epiktetos, but one in the Louvre (G 40) is assigned by Pottier to the school of Chachrylion.⁸

It would therefore seem that we may assign this vase to the school of Epiktetos. But it is worth noting that the signature of the painter Psiax is found on two other alabastra, one at Karlsruhe, the other at Odessa, each of which has a single figure painted each side, and we must not therefore ignore the possibility that this little vase is also his work.

II. RIPE ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(1) KYLIX, of the school of Euphronios (Plate III.).

Ht. 9.5 cm. Diam. 24 cm. Bought 1897.

This vase has been made up from fragments, but is almost complete; it had been broken and riveted in ancient times. The surface is covered with a good black varnish, and the red clay of the design has been ruddled over. The inner markings are in brown, the inscriptions in purple. The drawing on the exterior is hasty and careless, but that of the interior is more meritorious. It would seem that, as in the case of Pamphaios' 'Sleep and Death' cup (B.M., E 12), two hands had been at work on it. The use of the καλός-names Athenodotos and Leagros clearly brings it within the circle of Euphronios and his school. It is also mentioned by Klein (*Lieblingsinschr.*¹, p. 92, no. 10).

The interior design, which is enclosed within two red circles, represents an Amazon striding to the left, holding a spear couched in the right hand. She wears a chiton of crinkly material, a large chlamys with bands of pattern (embattled, rays, zigzags, and dots) over her shoulders, and a helmet with crest and cheek-pieces; on her left arm is a *pelta* ornamented with two eyes

⁷ Pottier, *Révue des Études Grecques*, 1893, pp. 40, 41; cf. also G 82 and G 101 in that collection; and see *id.*, *Cat. des Vases du Louvre*, p. 924. Hoppin, *Handbook to R.F. Vases*, ii. 275, assigns this group to Paidikos, but does not mention the B.M. vase.

⁸ See Klein, *Meisters.* pp. 111, 220; *J.H.S.* xii. 346; *Röm. Myth.* 1890, p. 341; Pottier, *Cat. des Vases du Louvre*, p. 910.

divided by a band of maeander. In the field is inscribed ΑΟΕΝΟΑΤΟΣ, 'Αθηνόδ(ο)τος.

The exterior design (A) represents three nude youths kneeling to left, each with spear in right hand and circular shield in left; they have long hair, and wear crested helmets with cheek-pieces. On the shield of the first is a kylix; on the second, a horse to left; on the third, ρΟΓΛΑΞΛ, Λέαγρος. Above is the inscription ΛΕΑΓΡ . . ΚΑΛΟΣ, Λέαγρ(ος) καλός.

The design on (B) is similar, but the head of the foremost youth is missing; the shield-devices are (1) bull's head between eyes; (2) tripod; (3) the word ρΟΓΛΑΞ, καλός, which is also repeated in the field.

Beazley, in his discussion of vases by the 'Panaitios Painter,'⁹ incidentally refers to this cup as resembling a fragmentary one in New York with the καλός-name Panaitios. It may therefore be assigned to the vases of the Euphronios-cycle which were decorated by that artist, the producer of the Theseus cup in the Louvre and of the Brit. Mus. Eurystheus-cup (E 44). Five of his vases bear Euphronios' signature as maker; seven have the καλός-name Athenodotos, and one besides the present example has that of Leagros in addition. Mr. Beazley may, however, be right in preferring to associate our vase and the New York cup with the Colmar Painter, another artist of the beginning of the ripe archaic style. He assigns to this painter sixteen cups, three of which have the καλός-name Lysis. The style of our cup, at all events that of the exterior, is hardly worthy of the man who could produce the lovely interior of the Theseus cup in the Louvre, to say nothing of the Eurystheus scene on the Brit. Mus. example.

(2) KYLIX, of the school of Euphronios.

Ht. 8.8 cm. Diam. 18 cm. Found in Rhodes, and given by Sir A. Biliotti, 1901.

This vase is much broken, nearly all of the right side of the design being deficient. From the style of the drawing it may be assigned to the Panaitios painter already discussed; the style resembles that of the B.M. vase E 46, attributed to him by Beazley.¹⁰ The black varnish is good; the inner markings are executed in light brown, the wreath and inscription in purple. The pupil of the eye is close to the inner angle, which is open.

The design is in the interior only, and represents, within two circles of red, a youth kneeling to left, who is just about to drink from a large cup shaped like a female breast (μαστός), which he holds tilted up in his right hand; he has apparently partly filled it from a krater beneath. His left hand has held a knotted staff, and he wears a wreath and a mantle hanging from the right elbow and left arm, which latter is now missing. In the field is the inscription ΟΣ. ΝΟΓΑΞ, . . . ος καλός (?), which may be intended for Λέαγρος καλός, a name which also occurs on the B.M. cup E 46.

(3) KYLIX.

Ht. 9.2 cm. Diam. 23 cm. Found at Vulci, and presented by Miss A. F. Pariss, 1896.

⁹ *Vases in Amer. Mus.* p. 87.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 87.

This vase was found at Vulci in 1845, and is included in a Sale Catalogue of that year (No. 116).¹¹ It has been made up from fragments, and most of the rim is wanting. The black varnish is good; there are no inner markings, but purple and thinned-out varnish are used for accessories. The eye is of transitional type, with inner angle open.

The design is on the interior only (Fig. 5), and is surrounded with a border of 'stopped' maeander; it represents a nude woman stooping to right and plunging both hands into a laver on a fluted stand, the capital of which is ornamented with an egg-and-tongue moulding; round the bottom of the laver is a hatched band in thinned varnish. The woman wears earrings and a tight-fitting coif, the strings of which are in thinned brown varnish, the clasp being indicated



FIG. 5.—KYLIX BY BRISEIS PAINTER.

by two black dots. Above the laver is inscribed (in thinned varnish) ΑΠΟΣΙ, and on the left is ΑΛΟΠ in purple.

Beazley¹² assigns the kylix to the 'Briseis painter,' the artist of the two Museum cups E 75 and E 76, the latter of which represents the story of Briseis. These were formerly assigned by Hartwig to his 'Bald-head Painter.'

(4) KYLIX, of the school of Douris.

Ht. 9.2 cm. Diam. 23.5 cm. Found at Orvieto.

This cup was formerly in the Bourgnignon collection, and was acquired at the sale of the same in 1901. It is No. 52 in the Sale Catalogue, and an inadequate illustration is given on p. 18 of that publication. The vase is much broken, and has been repaired in antiquity. The drawing is of the 'late strong' style, and is suggestive of the school of Douris; the vase is given by Hoppin¹³

¹¹ *Notice d'une collection de vases peints d'Etrurie*, 1845.

¹² *Amer. Vases*, p. 110; see also Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. 102.

¹³ *Handbook*, i. 283.

in the list of works which have been attributed to that master. The pupil of the eye is near to the inner angle, which is slightly open, thus showing an advance in the treatment of that organ. Purple is used for inscriptions, wreaths, and strings of suspended objects.

In the interior (Fig. 6), within a circle of 'stopped' maeander, is represented a youth seated on a stool to right, holding on his knees a large bird-cage, containing a bird, perhaps a fighting quail; he appears to be opening the cage with his right hand, the fingers of which are outspread. He wears a fillet, and over his legs and left shoulder hangs a garment. Above are the inscription ΑΙ ΚΑΛΟΣ, ὁ π]αῖς καλός, and a bird-clapper with long handle. That such instruments were used in antiquity for scaring birds off crops is suggested by



FIG. 6.—KYLIX: SCHOOL OF DOURIS.

an allusion in Virgil, *Georgics* i. 156, 'Et sonitu terrebis aves.' But the lexicons give no hint as to the name by which they were known.

Exterior (A): Three ephebi, of whom the middle one sits on a stool to right, the others stand facing him, leaning on sticks. All wear cloaks, and the right-hand youth holds out an open set of tablets in his right hand. In the field are a bird-clapper and a writing-tablet with *stilus*, also the inscription ΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, ὁ π]αῖς καλός.

Exterior (B): Similar; in the middle, youth as on (A) with stick in left hand; on the left, wreathed youth in cloak, leaning on stick and holding out an open tablet-case. The right-hand figure is missing. In the field, clapper and tablets, and the inscription ΑΟΓΑ. ΣΚΑ, Ν]α ὁ παῖς καλός.

Tame birds and other animals kept in cages are represented on other vases; one is given in No. V, 16, below (Plate III.; other examples are Petrograd 1791 (*Compte-Rendu*, 1860, Pl. I.); Bibliothèque Nationale 361 (Reinach, *Rép.* ii. 262); and *Mon. dell' Inst.* x. Pl. 37 (rabbit in cage).

(5) NOLAN AMPHORA (Plate IV.)

Ht. 30·5 cm. Found in S. Italy or Sicily, and given by Mr. E. P. Warren, 1896.

Although not mentioned by Beazley or Hoppin in their lists, this vase is evidently one of the works of the 'Charmides painter,' as the *καλός*-name implies. The drawing is of the 'later strong' period, the treatment of the eye being transitional, with pupil in the open inner angle. The vase is slightly repaired, and has the usual brilliant varnish, with inner markings in brown, purple being used for inscriptions and other details. The handles are double-grooved, and below the designs is a band of 'stopped' meander.

Like most vases of this class, it has a single figure painted on each side,



FIG. 7.—LEKYTHOS, BY BOWDOIN PAINTER.

the action of the two being connected. Usually in such cases the scene is of the 'pursuing' type, a god, hero, or man pursuing on one side, and the pursued figure, generally a woman, on the other. In the present case we have:

(A) Eros flying to right, wearing fillet; he holds out flaming torches, two in the left hand and one in the right. On the right is the inscription *ΚΑΛΟΣ ΧΑΡΜΙΔΕΣ*, *καλὸς Χαρμίδης* (see Klein, *Lieblingsinschr.*², p. 145, No. 17).

(B) Youth retreating to right with hands extended, wearing a mantle with border. In the field is inscribed *ΚΑΛΟΣ*.

(6) LEKYTHOS (Fig. 7).

Ht. 17·8 cm. Found in Rhodes and presented by Sir Henry Howorth, 1916.

Slightly repaired; good black varnish; purple for inscriptions and details. Treatment of eye archaic. On the shoulder, black rays and palmettes; below the design a band of maeander.

A nude youth to right plunges his hands into a laver; above hangs a sponge. In the field is inscribed ΚΑ . . ζ, κα(λό)ς, and on the laver is ζΤΚΟ in large black letters.

Beazley (*Amer. Vases*, p. 72) assigns this vase to the painter of the Bowdoin box.¹⁴ As he points out, red-figured lekythi are not found until the archaic style was fully developed, owing to the survival of the B.F. technique for this shape. But he reckons no fewer than sixty-two examples which he attributes to this one artist alone.

(7) LEKYTHOS.

Ht. 32.8 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

Style still somewhat severe, the treatment of the eye being archaic, but the vase is assigned by Beazley¹⁵ to the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy vase, which is of more developed style. Good black varnish; purple for fillet and inscriptions. Round the neck, egg-pattern.

Nike flying to right, looking back, and holding out a phiale in right hand. She wears a chiton, ornamented with stars, and bordered himation, and her hair is looped up at the back with a long purple fillet. In the field is inscribed ΚΑΛΟΣ Ε, καλὸς εἶ.

Beazley's verdict on the painter of this group is that he has 'reduced the fabrication of Brygan pieces to a mechanical process,' his work entirely lacking originality. The subject of a flying Nike, though always decorative, is certainly a stock one on R. F. lekythi, and occurs, for instance, on ten of the lekythi by the Bowdoin artist mentioned above.

III. LATE ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(1) KYLIX.

Ht. 8.5 cm. Diam. 23 cm. Bought 1895.

The vase has been repaired, but is almost complete. The surface of the designs has been ruddled, and the black varnish is of good quality. The drawing is somewhat careless, but still slightly archaic, the eye being in elementary profile. Inner markings in light brown. Below each handle is a double palmette.

Interior. Within a border of 'stopped' maeander, Satyr and woman. The Satyr stands to right in three-quarter back view, looking down on the woman and placing his right hand on her shoulder; a wine-skin hangs from his left shoulder. The woman is seated on a rock; she wears a coif, chiton, and himation, her arms being muffled in her drapery. In the field is an ivy-spray.

Exterior (A). Three youths with drapery over their shoulders: the first on the left holds a kylix by the foot in his extended left hand, and balances a

¹⁴ See also Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. 98.

¹⁵ *Amer. Vases*, p. 96; see also Hoppin, *Handbook*, ii. 324.

stick in the right; the middle one leans on a stick and raises a kylix to his lips, and the third bends forward, holding up a wine-jug.

(B). A similar design. The youth on the left moves to right with lyre in left hand and stick in right; the next has a stick over his shoulder and holds out a kylix; the third, who is bearded, retreats to right, holding a stick in his right hand. Part of the head of the middle figure is wanting. Above, a *λέβης* is suspended by cords.

(2) OINOCHOE (Plate VIII.).

Ht. 19 cm. From Cervetri. Bought 1912.

The form of this jug, with its trough-shaped lip, is an unusual one; there is a similar example in the British Museum (E 564). It is further peculiar for an oinochoe in having an obverse and reverse design. The varnish is a brilliant black, and the surface of the figures has been deeply ruddled. Drawing of the late archaic period, the eye being transitional, with the pupil near the inner angle, which in the figure (B) is slightly opened.

(A) Scythian or Persian, mounted on a mule, to right; he sits facing the front, with head turned to left, on a side-saddle, with a ledge to support his feet. He is bearded, and wears a Phrygian cap with flaps, and a tight-fitting garment, covered with dotted squares forming a chequer-pattern, which has long sleeves and reaches to the ankles; over this is a cuirass. In his right hand is a battle-axe with spike.

(B) A similar figure, walking to right, carrying a flail in right hand and a battle-axe over his left shoulder; a bow hangs at his left thigh. His undergarment is decorated with a pattern of ovals, and he wears shoes, the points of which are slightly turned up.

Beazley assigns the vase to the painter of the Brussels oinochoae,¹⁶ and calls attention to the strong, bold drawing of this artist, who excelled in his treatment of subjects on *λουτροφόροι*. His oinochoae are all of the same unusual form as this vase.

(3) OINOCHOE.

Ht. 21 cm. Found at Vulci.¹⁷ Presented by Miss Pariss, 1896.

Ordinary form; much broken, but only a small fragment wanting. Drawing of 'late strong' style, the eye archaic in treatment. Inner markings in light brown; purple for fillet and inscription. On the top of the handle is an enclosed palmette; on the neck, band of similar palmettes, and below the design a broad red line.

The design (Fig. 8) represents a Satyr leaping to left, with head turned to right, wearing a fillet; his left hand is placed on his head, and in the right he holds out an ivy-branch. On the right are a *thyrsos*, and the inscription *ΗΟΡΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, ὁ παῖς καλός*.

(4) ALABASTRON (Plate V.).

Ht. 20.5 cm. Presented by Mr. C. Fairfax Murray, 1917.

Late archaic period; eye still archaic; careful drawing.

¹⁶ *Amer. Vases*, p. 133; see also Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. 104.

¹⁷ Canino Sale Cat. (*Notice de Vases peints*), 1845, No. 36.

Designs in panels, divided by vertical bands of spirals: (A) Priestess (?) moving to left, carrying olive-branches in left hand, and holding torches in her right; she has her hair gathered in a knot at the nape of the neck, and wears an embroidered *sphendone*, chiton spotted with crosses, and himation over her arms.

(B) Woman to right, with left hand raised; she has long hair bound by a fillet, with a curl hanging down in front, and wears a long chiton fastened up the sleeves, and himation. At her side is a cock walking to right.

Above the design, elongated tongue-pattern and band of maeanders and diagonal-cross squares; below, a band of key pattern and a plain red line.



FIG. 8.—OINOCHOE: SATYR.

IV. EARLY FREE STYLE.

(1) STAMNOS.

Ht. 44 cm. From the Morrison collection, 1898 (Sale Cat. No. 281).

Brilliant black varnish; inner markings in brown, with purple for details and inscriptions. Drawing of the finest period, the eye in correct profile.

(A) Combat between a mounted horseman and a foot-soldier (Plate VII.). The latter thrusts with his spear at the former, whose horse advances to right; his left foot is placed on a high rock. The horseman is armed with a spear, and

a bow at his back; he wears a crested helmet, short chiton, breast-plate with Gorgoneion, and shoes. The foot-soldier has crested helmet, chiton, and breast-plate, and is armed with sword and shield, the latter bearing the device of an arching snake. On the right a youth armed with spear hastens up; he wears a *petasos*, bordered chlamys, and high boots with tongues at the sides, and round his head is a fillet shown in the colour of the clay. In the field is the inscription ΚΑΛΕ, καλή.

(B) Libation-scene: In the centre is a draped, bearded man to right, with sceptre and laurel-wreath, on either side of whom stands a draped woman, with a fillet wound several times round her head. The woman on the left holds a libation-bowl, from which wine falls on the ground, and the other holds an oinochoe tilted up so that the wine overflows from it; it is held with the spout to the front, and is consequently much foreshortened. In the field hangs a sash, and in front of the woman on the left is inscribed ΚΑΛΕ, καλή.

Subsidiary decoration as follows: on lip and round base of handles, egg-pattern; above the design, B.F. tongue-pattern; below, continuous band of maeanders in threes, broken by saltire crosses; above and below the handles palmettes joined by tendrils.

The paintings on this stamnos approximate in style to the work of the Altamura painter, and of the Lykaon painter.¹⁸ Though certainly not by either artist, it is more likely to belong to the period of the later one (the Lykaon painter), the drawing being of the earliest phase of the free style (contemporary with the vase-painter Polygnotos), with great attention to detail. It may be compared with G 342 in the Louvre (Millingen-Reinach, Pls. 49-50), which is by the Altamura painter.

(2) HYDRIA OR KALPIS (Plate IV.).

Ht. 18.5 cm. Bought 1920.

This vase is one of the most charming and delicately-executed products of the later red-figure period. The care and refinement with which the vase is modelled and the decoration executed makes it difficult to believe that it is contemporaneous with the later free style. The group to which it belongs, of which there are three or four more examples in the British Museum, is included by Mr. Beazley among the work of the ripe free period, but I am disposed to regard it as an earlier development.¹⁹ The drawing, it is true, shows no signs of archaism, and the subject is more in keeping with the pyxides and round-bellied lekythi of the end of the fifth century; but the treatment of the handle-palmettes and the maeander-band under the figures recalls the work of the period of Duris and Brygos.

The subject is a simple one: a woman at her toilet, regarding her face in a mirror, and an attendant holding a perfume-jar and a box probably containing jewels. Most of the small hydriae and amphorae in this group are decorated with similar scenes.

The vase was purchased at a sale at Sotheby's in 1920.

¹⁸ Beazley, *Amer. Vases*, pp. 144, 172.

¹⁹ *Vases in Amer. Mus.* p. 196. See Brit. Mus. E 202, 204, 207.

(3) LEKYTHOS.

Ht. 35·2 cm. From Sunium. Bought 1905.

Careful drawing, of early fine period; eye in profile. Surface of design ruddled; purple for details. Much repaired and neck restored.

Design (Fig. 9) representing Demeter with the car of Triptolemos. The goddess stands turning to the left and holding out a wheat-ear over the winged car, which is empty. She wears a laurel-wreath, chiton, and himation with crenellated border, and on her right wrist is a bracelet in thinned gold;



FIG. 9.—LEKYTHOS OF EARLY FREE STYLE.

in her left hand is a long sceptre. On the seat of the car is an embroidered cushion. Above Demeter her name was inscribed ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ; on the right of the sceptre was inscribed vertically ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΣ Κ. ΝΟ., Διότιμος κ(α)λό(ς), but these names were modern and have now been removed.

Round the base of the neck is an egg-pattern; on the shoulder of the vase, three palmettes and two honeysuckle ornaments; above and below the design are maeander patterns.

(4) KANTHAROS (Plate V.).

Ht. 11·3 cm. Diam. 10·7 cm. Bought 1919.

Early free style, with eye in profile.

On one side of the cup is a woman seated in a chair; her hair is knotted up at the back, and she wears a chiton with wide loose sleeves, over which is a himation. She is engaged in spinning, and holds out the distaff in her left hand, the top inserted in a mass of flax, from which she draws out a thread with her right hand, to be wound on the spindle which hangs below.²⁰ The same action is to be seen on a relief from the frieze of the Forum of Nerva at Rome.

On the reverse is a woman standing, turning to the left, and holding out in her right hand an object of embroidered material with a ring attached to the edge, probably a cap of conical form. In her left hand she holds up an alabastron. She is attired like the other, with the addition of a fillet round her hair.

(5) KANTHAROS.

Ht. 14 cm. Diam. 11 cm. Bought in 1898.

The drawing is of an advanced period; good black varnish. One handle with the rim and side adjacent, and the foot, have been restored.

(A) Scene at tomb: A nude youth with a staff in left hand stands to right before a tall *stèle* on a base, down which is inscribed vertically ΠΑ. ΝΟΝ ΙΑΙΠΕ, Πλ(ά)νω(ν) (χ)αίρε.

(B) Similar: The youth stands to left and holds a *thyrsos*; the *stèle* has no base, and on it is inscribed ΑΤΙΑ. The head of the youth is wanting above the mouth, as is also part of a plant on the right of the figure.

For other inscriptions on *stelae*, see Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, ii. 263, 272.

(6) KYLIX.

Ht. 8 cm. Diam. 22 cm. Bought 1920 (Fairfax-Murray coll.).

This kylix is of no great artistic merit, but it gives a new version of a well-known subject. On one side of the exterior (Plate III.) we have a scene from the combat of Theseus with the Minotaur, but here the combat is over; the Minotaur is fallen dead, with closed eyes, against a column of the labyrinth, and the victorious Theseus is receiving a wreath from Nike in recognition of his valour. It is very rare to find any other moment represented except the actual combat, which is a great favourite with B.F. painters, and on the Theseus cups of the period of Euphronios and Douris usually occupies the interior design. On a B.F. amphora also purchased by the Museum last year, this subject is depicted on both sides of the vase. The subject somewhat lost its popularity after the early years of the fifth century, but was revived on the well-known cup at Madrid signed by Aison, and its counterpart, No. E 84 in the Museum collection.

The other designs are of no great interest; on the other side of the exterior we have a bearded man, marked as a king by his sceptre, between two women, one of whom holds out a wreath, the other a libation-bowl; in the field are the inscriptions καλή and καλός. In the interior Nike is represented, confronted by a draped youth. Between them is inscribed καλός.

²⁰ See on the subject Bluemner, *Technologie*, 2nd edn., i. 121 ff.; Smith, *Dict. of Antiqs*³. i. 897.

(7) KYLIX.

Ht. 9.8 cm. Diam. 22 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

The vase has been broken across and mended. The varnish is poor and of a greenish tinge. Drawing hasty, with eye in profile; inner markings in light brown and details in purple.

In the interior, within a circle of maeander pattern in threes, broken by red cross squares, is a bearded man advancing to right, carrying a long wand, surmounted by a lotos-flower at the top, horizontally in his right hand. He wears a wreath, and a cloak hangs over his extended left arm; his hair appears to be long, and rolled up at the back. It is possible that the figure is intended to represent Zeus; there is a very similar figure on a vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Cat.* 371), where, however, the thunderbolt carried by Zeus leaves no doubt of his identity. The lotos-topped sceptre is, as a rule, a mark of a superior deity, such as Zeus or Poseidon.

The exergue of the design is left red.

Exterior (A) Gymnasium scene: In the centre a nude youth with strigil in right hand and staff in left, moving to right; behind him is a goal-post. On either side is a draped youth facing him, each holding a stick. In the field hang a sponge, three aryballi, and a pair of jumping-weights.

(B) Similar scene: All three youths wear mantles, and the one in the centre stands holding a wreath (?) over the post; the other two look round as they turn away. In the field are two aryballi and a pair of jumping-weights.

Under the handles are double palmettes, with an ivy-leaf each side.

(8) KYLIX

Ht. 4.8 cm. Diam. 16 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

Low foot; good black varnish, inner markings in light brown. Slightly repaired. Drawing late and careless.

Interior design only: Within a thin red circle a nude youth advances towards an altar on the right, his hands extended above it, with palms downwards. On the left is a fluted column on two steps. The exergue is left red.

(9) KYLIX.

Ht. 7 cm. Diam. 21.7 cm. From the Deepdene collection; given by Mr. G. Durlacher, 1917.

The form of the cup is late, with low broad foot but no stem; the interior of the bowl is rebated about half-way down. Careless drawing; eye nearly in profile; no accessories in interior; good varnish.

In the interior, within a double circle, is a bearded man wearing a himation, with spear or wand in right hand, facing a woman wrapped in a mantle; she wears earrings and necklace, and her hair is covered with a coif.

The exterior (Fig. 10) is decorated on either side with panels of lozenges in oblique lines, forming a diaper pattern; they are alternately black, and red with black dots. On either side are panels of inverted elongated B.F. lotos-buds. Under each handle is a panel with vertical borders of network pattern, in which is a B.F. goat leaping to right, very carelessly drawn in silhouette.

Underneath the foot are carefully moulded and painted concentric circles.²¹

The style of ornamentation on the exterior is not unknown on vases of this period; compare, for instance, the B.M. kotyle E 151, and one or two others uncatalogued; but this and the following seem to be the only instances of its adoption for a kylix. We may also compare the 'lattice-amphorae' of fifth-century date so often found in tombs in Cyprus and Rhodes.

(10) KYLIX, similar to the last, but somewhat later in style, the treatment of the eye being less archaic.

Ht. 6 cm. Diam. 21·3 cm. Similarly acquired.

In the interior, a bearded man, wearing himation and shoes, with a staff in his right hand, faces a woman who holds out a libation-bowl to him; she wears a chiton and mantle, and a coif covering the back of the head.

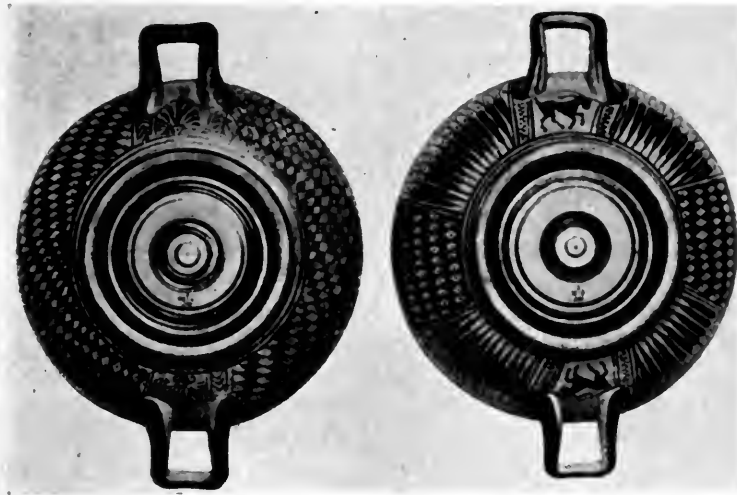


FIG. 10.—TWO KYLIKES: EARLY FREE STYLE.

On the exterior (Fig. 10) are panels of lozenges as on the preceding vase, but with white crosses on the black lozenges, and under each handle a B.F. palmette between vertical bands of chevrons.

Underneath the foot, concentric circles as before.

V. RIPE FREE STYLE.

(1) BELL-KRATER.

Ht. 27·5 cm. Bought 1900.

Drawing, of late fine style, somewhat careless; no accessories. Much repaired; good varnish.

The principal subject (Plate VII.) represents a group of boxers. In the centre of the scene is a small Doric column, on the abacus of which rest a cushion and an aryballos with cord; round the centre of the shaft is a fillet.

²¹ Cf. E 128 in Brit. Mus.

On the left are two youths boxing, with the left feet well advanced and arms nearly horizontal; each has seized his opponent's nearer arm above the elbow, and raises the other arm, as if to ward off a round-hand blow. They have thongs bound about their wrists. On the right of the column a bearded judge hastens up with raised rod; he wears a wreath and cloak, and his face is partly missing. Behind him Nike, wearing radiated fillet and long chiton with double overfold, holds out a wreath in both hands.

In reference to the position of the boxers, each with the left foot well advanced, Mr. E. N. Gardiner²² points out that this is characteristic of boxers on Greek vases, and that it is not, as suggested by Mr. K. Frost,²³ a mere convention, but is the result of the sideways position usually adopted for blows at the head. The Greeks appear to have discountenanced body-hitting altogether.

On the reverse of the vase are the usual three draped youths, the two outer holding sticks and facing the middle one, who turns to left. Below the rim of the vase is a laurel-wreath with a purple line below; below each design is a maeander pattern, that on the obverse broken by two cross squares.

(2) BELL-KRATER.

Ht. 32 cm. Diam. 36 cm.

This krater, which was purchased in 1920, was formerly in the Deepdene collection, but does not appear to be included in Tischbein's engravings of those vases, though he illustrates a very similar one in Vol. V. Pl. 8. (Reinach, *Rép.* ii. 335). Like the majority of the Deepdene vases, it belongs to the latest stage of Attic vase-painting, and was probably actually made in South Italy. The work is rather careless; purple and white are occasionally employed for details. The ornamentation is of the usual type: a laurel wreath round the neck, maeander with chequer-squares below the design, and egg-pattern round the bases of the handles.

The principal design represents the contest of Marsyas and Apollo, a very favourite subject at this period. The Satyr is seated on a rock in the centre of the scene to right, playing the flutes; he has shaggy hair and beard, and wears a wreath coloured purple. Before him stands Apollo, in an attitude of surprise, with a long branch of laurel in his left hand; he wears a laurel-wreath, and a chlamys hangs over his left arm. On either side of the central group is a woman facing the scene, wearing a long chiton with overfold; the one on the left holds a lyre, and the other draws up the edge of her garment on her right shoulder.

On the reverse are the usual three draped youths.

(3) CALYX-KRATER (Plate VII.).

Ht. 31.5 cm. Bought 1907.

The style resembles that of the school of Meidias, but is coarser and more careless. The foot has been repaired. The varnish is of a reddish-brown, much discoloured; the Erotes and part of the central figure on (A) were in some opaque pigment, which has completely disappeared, leaving a red

²² *Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 419.

²³ *J.H.S.* xxvi. 219. This is even less

likely in the cases of vases of the later period such as the present one.

silhouette, the wings being in the usual R.F. technique. Gilding has originally been used for the raised beads of which the necklaces are composed.

(A) This scene may represent the courting of Anchises and Aphrodite, the principal figures being a youth in Oriental costume and a woman accompanied by Erotes; but, as in many other scenes on vases of this style and period, the characterisation of the figures is not strongly marked, and there is also an absence of action, which suggests that the painter had no very definite intention beyond an effective grouping of figures. The same feature is to be observed in some of the large vases from Kertch published in the plates of Stephani's *Comptes-Rendus*,²⁴ and also in many of the vases of Southern Italy.

In the centre is a woman seated to left, with head turned to right, lifting up the end of her drapery with her right hand; her left elbow rests on a casket ornamented with wave-pattern. Her hair falls in ringlets over her shoulders, and she wears a radiated band over her forehead ornamented with wave-pattern, and a garment over her knees embroidered with a broad border of wave-pattern and rays. Owing to the disappearance of the opaque pigment, her features and other details are no longer visible. An Eros stands with right hand on her left shoulder, and below her another crouches to right with a sash across his knees; the details of the wings alone remain, the rest of the figures having been covered with pigment. On the woman's right, at a slightly higher level, stands a youth (Anchises?) holding two spears in his left arm; he wears a Phrygian cap with long flaps and a wreath round it, and a chlamys over his left arm. His hair falls in long curls, and is visible over his head behind the cap, which is drawn as if transparent. Beyond him a bearded Satyr, infibulated, leans forward with left foot raised as if on a rock, holding up his left hand. Below him sits a woman watching the scene, wearing *sphendone*, necklace, bracelet on right wrist, bordered chiton, and himation with girdle covering her thighs; her hair is gathered in a bunch of curls at the back, and one curl falls in front of her ear. Beneath the casket, in the centre of the scene, is a young Phrygian seated to right, looking round; in his left hand he holds two spears. He wears a Phrygian cap (like the other but not transparent), short chiton richly ornamented with bands of wave-pattern and rays, and trousers with horizontal bands of pattern; behind him is a myrtle-plant. On the right of the scene are two women, each wearing earrings, necklace, bracelet on left arm, *sphendone*, long chiton with girdle and himation, their hair being arranged like that of the one on the left. The nearer one stands to left, fingering her necklace, the other moves away, looking back and carrying a large casket on her left hand; between them is an Eros (as before). Above the design are four pairs of myrtle-sprays.

(B) Scene in the garden of the Hesperides: In the centre is a tree with large fruit, on the upper level; on the left of it stands a woman conversing with another seated to right on the other side of the tree and looking round; each wears a radiated *sphendone*, necklace and bracelets, and sleeveless chiton with

²⁴ See Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases*, i. 1 ff. For an interesting study of the Greek painted vases of this period (fourth century B.C.) see P. Ducati, *Saggio di studio sulla ceramica attica figurata*. Rome, 1916.

girdle; the chiton of the one on the right has a border of wave-pattern. They have luxuriant hair, gathered at the back in a bunch of curls, with a ringlet falling in front of the ear. On either side is an Eros hovering in the air. Below the women another Eros attacks a goose with a club (?); the opaque pigment having worn away in both cases, the interpretation is not certain. A nude boy stands to left, looking down at this group. On the left of the scene a youth seated to left with drapery under him raises his right hand as if conversing with a woman, at whom he looks up; her hair and costume resemble those of the middle figures, and with her left hand she draws forward the edge of her drapery. On the right a similarly-attired woman leans to right, with left foot raised on a rock, and also draws forward her drapery with her left hand. Beneath the seated youth is a myrtle-plant.

Subsidiary ornamentation as follows: round the rim, egg-pattern, with a laurel-wreath below; below the designs on each side two rows of egg-pattern, enclosing on (A) palmettes horizontally enclosed, sloping to right; on (B) maeanders with a chequer-square in the middle; at the bases of the handles are also egg-patterns.

(4) PELIKE.

Ht. 36 cm. Bought 1910.

Drawing of late fine style; inscriptions and fillets in purple. Lip repaired; varnish discoloured.

(A) Contest of flute-players (Plate VII.). In the centre of the scene is a base with two steps, on which a flute-player stands to right, and another is mounting it on the left. Each has a band (*φορβέλον*) round his mouth, and wears a myrtle-wreath and long-sleeved robe with dotted border, embroidered with rows of pointed leaves. On the right, Nike floats down, holding a long purple sash in both hands; she wears a radiated *sphendone*, necklace, and long spotted chiton with overfold. On the left another flies down, holding in right hand a large libation-bowl, in the left two, one inside the other; she wears a coif and radiated *sphendone*, and a sleeveless chiton with overfold and dotted border. Above the first Nike is inscribed ΚΑΛΗ, καλή; above the other, ΚΑΛΟΣ, καλός.

(B) The usual design of three *ephebi*, one on each side facing the central figure, who stands to the right; the one on the left leans on a stick. All wear purple fillets and thick cloaks. In the field hangs an *alabastron*.

Above the design, laurel-wreath; below, 'stopped' maeanders with diagonal-cross squares at intervals; under the handles, palmettes with tendrils.

For the subject on the obverse, which is not a common one on vases, compare B 188 and E 354 in the Brit. Mus.; the reverse of the Antaios krater in the Louvre (G 103); and a vase at Leyden (Roulez, *Vases Grecs*, Pl. 18; Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 274).

(5) PELIKE.

Ht. 30 cm. From Capua. Bought in 1901.

The vase is of the late fine period, the drawing resembling that of many of the vases of this style found in the Cyrenaica. The brilliant black varnish

is discoloured in parts; inner markings are rendered in thin black lines, thinned out to brown for the hair, and the body of Eros is painted white.

(A) Satyrs surprising a Maenad (Plate VIII.). The Maenad reclines to right in the centre of the scene against a bundle of reeds, her head resting on her left arm; below her is rocky ground strewn with flowers. She wears a short chiton. Above hovers Eros with wings spread, to right, and on each side of her a Satyr approaches in a stooping attitude, with hand extended. Behind each Satyr another retreats in an outward direction, looking round.

(B) Three draped youths, two standing to right, facing the third; in the field hangs a sponge.

Round the lip, and above and below the design, are egg-patterns, and at the base of the handles, addorsed palmettes.

The vase is mentioned by von Salis in his article on the Naples vase representing preparations for the Satyric Drama.²⁵ He points out that the sleeping figure must be an ordinary Maenad, and not Ariadne, and that there is no adequate reason for associating the subject with the Satyric Drama. Similar scenes occur on the following vases: Brit. Mus. E 555; Berlin 2241; Naples S.A. 313; Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. 340, and ii. 261 (Bibl. Nat. 852).

(6) OINOCHOE (Plate IV.).

Ht. 11 cm. From Athens. Bought 1910.

Late fine style.

In a panel, bordered above and below by tongue-pattern, is represented an infant in a high chair to right, waving a rattle in the form of a club; round his head is a purple fillet. The chair has a solid base, and a board above, through which the child's legs protrude, and is of the same hour-glass-shaped form as that depicted on a vase formerly in the Van Branteghem collection.²⁶ On the left is an oinochoe; on the right a toy cart, with handle leaning against the edge of the design.

(7) OINOCHOE (Plate V.).

Ht. 8.3 cm. From Athens. Bought 1910.

Late fine style. Slightly repaired; dull black varnish.

Design in a panel with borders of egg-pattern above and below, representing a child in cart drawn by two other children. The first child wears a garment leaving the right shoulder bare, and holds out a stick in the right hand; the other two are nude, with belts across the breast; the nearer one looks back and the other holds out a torch-holder in the left hand. The cart is in the form of a seat on solid wheels, with pole.

These two jugs belong to a well-known class of vases, evidently made as toys for children. Not only are the subjects appropriate, but jugs of this type are frequently depicted on them, and must have been used as playthings. The reason for their frequent occurrence is not quite clear, as they hardly seem suitable for toys. Possibly the game described by Pollux (ix. 113) under the name *χυτρίνδα* may give a clue. It corresponded to our 'Tom Tiddler's ground,'

²⁵ *Jahrbuch*, xxv. (1910), p. 137.

²⁶ Froehner, *Coll. Branteghem*, No. 163.

but the object of the attacking party was not to catch the player representing Tom, but to touch a jug which represented his property. Sometimes, however, the latter player was himself called the *χύτρα*.

(8) OINOCHOE (Plate IV.).

Ht. 13 cm. Bought 1910.

Late fine style. Repaired; varnish discoloured.

The design is in a panel with a border of egg-pattern above, and represents a woman at a meal. She is seated in a high-backed chair on the left, before a table on which is a dish with domed cover between two high stands, to the nearest



FIG. 11.—LEKYTHOS OF RIPE FREE STYLE.

of which she puts out her right hand. She wears a spotted coif, earrings, chiton, and himation. On the right a boy with himation over his left shoulder stands touching the stand nearest to him with his right hand, his left holding a skyphos represented in silhouette. Above the table hangs a sash.

For the subject compare E 769 in Brit. Mus.

(9) LEKYTHOS (Fig. 11).

Ht. 17 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

Late careless work of fine style, with good varnish. Broken at neck.

Artemis, to right, aims with her bow and arrow; she wears chiton, spotted himation girt round her waist, and boots. The bow-string is indicated by a line of raised varnish. In front of Artemis is a square rock or box; behind hangs a sash.

On the shoulder is a band of B.F. palmettes; above the design, band of quares of maeander and of dotted crosses, alternating.

(10-11) PAIR OF LEKYTHI (Plate IV.).

Ht. of each 33 cm. Acquired from the Rome collection, 1909.

Both have been repaired; they have wide lips and thick, short necks; the varnish is dull. The body in each case is plain, with the design on the shoulder.

The design on the one being complementary to that on the other, the vases are evidently a pair, and the ornamentation is identical in each case; round the neck is egg-pattern; on the top of the body, sets of four maeanders divided by chequer-squares, and at the bottom similar ornament except that some of the squares have cross-squares instead of chequers.

The two designs represent Eros carrying a casket to a woman; on the one vase he is shown flying to right holding a large casket, and on the other is the woman seated in a high-backed chair to right, looking down into the casket, which lies open on her knees, and taking a necklace therefrom with her right hand. Her hair is drawn into a knot at the crown of the head, and she wears chiton and himation. On each vase the design is framed each side by palmettes enclosed and set horizontally inwards.

From the subjects it may be conjectured that this pair of vases was made to be given as a wedding-present, and if so, they certainly show very good taste on the part of the donor.

We may note here the predominance at this period of vase-subjects dealing with the life of women. It does not, of course, imply any feminist movement, such as we hear of somewhat later in the plays of Aristophanes. The ladies represented on the vases are, like most Greek women, content with their homes and the pleasures to be derived from the domestic arts or simple pastimes. Their chief excitement in life must have been their own or their friends' weddings. The popularity of these subjects is reflected in the six following vases, four of which have wedding scenes.

(12) LEKYTHOS of round-bellied type.

Ht. 14.2 cm. Found at Athens, and bought 1895.

Late fine style; brilliant glaze; jewellery, fruit, and hydria in low gilt relief, but the gilding is largely worn away.

The design (Plate III.) represents a scene in a garden, with rocky ground indicated by a line faintly incised in the varnish. In the centre is a tree with fruit, on the left of which a boy is crawling on the ground, with drapery about his feet. On the right of the tree a nude woman stoops down and holds out a bird on her right forefinger to the boy; her left hand rests on her raised right knee. Her hair is gathered in a knot and confined by a broad band with key-pattern and jewelled upper edge; she wears necklace, bracelets, chiton, and himation embroidered with crosses. Behind her stands a woman holding a necklace suspended from her outstretched right hand; her hair is arranged as in the preceding figure, and she wears earrings, necklace, jewelled girdle, chiton,

and himation embroidered with palmettes between bands of maeander. Behind the boy a third woman advances, holding out her hands to take a gilded hydria standing on a high rock. Her hair has a jewelled band round it and flows loose behind; she wears necklace, earrings, and bracelets, chiton, and himation thrown over the left shoulder and fore-arm.

Round the lower part of the neck is a B.F. tongue-pattern; on the shoulder, a band of enclosed palmettes between lines. Below the design all round, egg-pattern; below the handle, double palmette with long upright tendril and two *phiae* each side.

(13) FRAGMENT OF LOUTROPHOROS-AMPHORA (Plate VII.).

Ht. 12.5 cm. Length 28.5 cm. Bought 1896.

Best period of fine style; eye in developed profile. Varnish browned by fire.

The part which remains consists of a fragment of the upper part of the body and a small portion of the flattened shoulder, just showing where the neck springs. On the shoulder is an elongated tongue-pattern, and below this, two rows of egg-pattern.

The design, so far as it is preserved, represents a marriage-scene: on the left is the bride, wearing sleeved chiton and starred veil; only her face, the upper part of the body, and the right arm remain. On the right the bridegroom holds out his right hand to her; he wears a wreath and bordered himation. The lower part of his face, shoulders, and most of right side, and legs are missing. Between them Eros flies right with right arm extended. On to the left is the *νυμφευτρία* (?) wearing a chiton and holding a torch in either hand; the upper part of her head and all below the elbow are wanting. On the right is a similar figure with torch, wearing a bordered himation, her hair falling in long curls; only the lower part of the face and the right side remain.

The form of the vase probably corresponded to that illustrated by Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art*, x. 667, Fig. 365, an amphora of elongated type with slim neck and handles, derived from the 'prothesis-amphora' of the B.F. period. It may be noted that the change from funeral to nuptial scenes for the decoration of *λουτροφόροι* took place about the middle of the fifth century. A change was also made later in the form, the body becoming spherical, with vertical handles formed of double loops, and resting on a detached stem, instead of being prolonged to a low foot. E 810 in the Brit. Mus. is an example of this type, which Wolters identifies as a *λέβης γαμικός* for providing warm water rather than a *λουτροφόρος*.²⁷ The old form was at all events preserved for the marble *λουτροφόροι* which came into vogue for placing on tombs in the fourth century. See on the subject generally Wolters in *Ath. Mitth.* xvi. (1891), p. 371 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio's *Dict.*, s.v.; and Perrot, *loc. cit.*

(14) LOUTROPHOROS, model of (Fig. 12).

Ht. 13.4 cm. Bought 1910.

²⁷ *Jahrbuch* xiv., (1899), p. 219.

Late fine style. Slightly repaired. On the shoulder is a tongue-pattern, and below the designs, egg-pattern.

On the body are two designs : (A) Eros and a bride : The bride is seated to right in a high-backed chair, wearing chiton and himation ; at her feet is a tendril with volutes. Before her a diminutive Eros flies down with outstretched hands. On the left a female attendant in a chiton brings an open casket, and on the right stands another to left, wearing chiton and himation,



FIG. 12.—MODEL OF LOUTROPHOROS.

holding out a spotted sash, which she has taken from an open casket held in her left arm.

(B) Bride and bridegroom clasping hands ; The bride is on the left, veiled, with chiton and himation ; the bridegroom faces her, extending his right hand to meet hers, and wears a chiton leaving the right shoulder bare.

On the stem of the vase are two figures : (A) Nike flying to right, holding in both hands a casket, over which hangs a sash. (B) Woman moving to right, with outstretched hands, wearing chiton with overfold. Below all round is a laurel-wreath.

• The form of the vase is a combination of the two types discussed under the preceding heading ; the upper part reproduces the older elongated form



FIG. 13.—SUBJECT ON BODY OF PYXIS: WEDDING PROCESSION.

of body, neck, and handles, but the stem is organically distinct, though not actually detached from the rest of the vase.

(15) PYXIS (Plate VI.).

Ht. 17 cm. Diam. 17 cm.

This pyxis was bought at a sale at Sotheby's in December 1920, and is one of the finest examples of its class, apart from the interest of the subject. Round the body is represented a wedding procession (Fig. 13),²⁸ with several new features. The moment selected is that of the departure of the married pair from the bride's home, indicated by a pair of folding-doors on the left of the scene, one of which is being closed by a maid who looks out to take a last sight of her mistress. The bridegroom mounts a car drawn by four horses, in which the bride stands, covered with her wedding veil. On the further side of the horses, facing them, is a woman with a torch, presumably the bride's mother.²⁹ The torch indicates that the procession took place at night. Behind the bridal pair is a procession of three figures: first a man, who may be the *πάροχος*, or groomsman, also holding a lighted torch; next, a maid carrying the bride's *trousseau* in the form of a flat square box, presumably for dresses, and a bundle of nondescript shape containing other articles of costume or toilet; and lastly, another attendant carrying a *λουτροφόρος*, of the type represented by No. 14 above. The part which these vessels played in connexion with weddings we have

having been taken under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Smith, the inventor of the machine.

²⁸ Cf. Schol. in Eur. *Tro.* 315: νόμιμον γάρ ἐστι τῇ μητρὶ δαδουχεῖν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις τῶν θυγατέρων, and Schol. in Eur. *Phoen.* 344: ἔθος ἦν τὴν νύμφην ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν γαμοῦντος μετὰ λαμπάδων εἰσάγεσθαι.

²⁸ The subject is reproduced in Fig. 13 by means of the cyclograph, the photograph

already discussed. The composition is completed by the herald who leads the way, holding a *caduceus* or herald's staff, and wearing the usual *petasos*, chlamys, and high boots of such officials.

This pyxis belongs to a class of which the Museum already possesses two or three fine examples, belonging to the ripe free style, and illustrating various aspects of women's life in Athens. But it is rare to find a representation of a wedding procession full of such interesting detail.³⁰

The scene on the cover is also characteristic of the period. We have here three cosmic deities, such as are seen on the famous Blacas Krater, and on another pyxis in the Museum (E 776). First is Helios driving a four-horse chariot, and also distinguished by a representation of the sun at the upper edge of the design. Next comes a goddess in the close-fitting tunic of the charioteer, driving a two-horse chariot; and thirdly, within a space cut off by two parallel curved lines, a goddess on horseback seated sideways on the off-side of her steed, and holding up her hands with a gesture of surprise or encouragement. The interpretation of these two figures presents some little difficulty. We may, however, assume that the riding figure is Selene the Moon, as she is usually represented on horseback on the vases, although in the East Pediment of the Parthenon she is undoubtedly driving a chariot. For the other figure the names of Eos or Nyx immediately suggest themselves, but the difficulty is that here the goddess has no wings, such as we are accustomed to associate with those two personifications. On the Sabouroff pyxis in Berlin (No. 2519) we have a scene almost exactly like that on the Museum vase, but here the third figure is winged. Furtwaengler called her Eos; but Robert points out that the Moon would not come between the Sun and Dawn, and prefers to call her Nyx. There is indeed a Roman sarcophagus on which Nyx is unwinged, and she appears thus on Trajan's column; but this is not good evidence for Greek vases. But on the whole I prefer the identification as Nyx in the present case.

(16) PYXIS.

Ht. 7.3 cm. Diam. 16.8 cm. Bought 1907.

Late fine style; good black varnish; inner lines in light brown or black. Flat circular shape, with projecting rim and base (cf. E 776 and E 782 in B.M.). The bronze ring of the lid is broken away.

Round the body is a laurel-wreath, and the main design is on the lid (Plate III.), representing four women playing, each wearing chiton of crinkly material and himation. The first, who wears a broad band round her hair, picks up the end of her himation as she runs to right towards the second, who is seated facing her in a high-backed chair, and holds out a long spotted sash. Behind her is a large chest. The third woman runs to left, holding out an embroidery frame; below is a wool-basket, and behind her a stork to left. The fourth, who wears a coif, is seated to right in a high-backed chair, and tosses up five

³⁰ D 11 in the B. M. may be compared with this; but here the bride and bridegroom are on foot.

balls in the air; before her is a bird in a large cage which rests on the ground (cf. No. II. 4 above).

Round the edge of the lid is a band of black chevrons.

(17) OINOCHOE, with design in opaque pigment (Plate IV.).

Ht. 23 cm. Found in a tomb at Mitsovo, Macedonia. Bought 1906.

Design in opaque colours over white, with yellow markings, and details in raised gilt; the hair is stippled yellow. On the neck, laurel-wreath with berries in raised gilt; below the design, a raised gilt line. The practice of painting in opaque colours on a black ground is not new, but it is very rare to find instances of it in the late R.F. period, and especially when executed with the care and delicacy of the present example.

The design represents the marriage of Dionysos and the Basilinna or wife of the Archon Basileus at the festival of the Anthesteria. In the centre is the Basilinna, seated to right in a high-backed chair, wearing wreath, earrings, necklace, bracelets, white chiton, and red himation. Her left hand holds a sceptre, and the right is thrown over the back of the chair as she turns to look at Dionysos, who stands to right with right hand on his hip. He wears a wreath, and in his left hand is a *thyrsos*, round which is tied a fillet. In front of the woman an Eros flies down, offering a casket in which are three gilt balls, and behind Dionysos another flies down with a sash in both hands; their wings are blue and gilt, and both wear fillets. On the right stands Nike to left, holding a burning torch in each hand; she wears a wreath, bracelets, armlets, and necklace, and a blue sleeveless chiton; her wings are red and gilt.

The mystic marriage of Dionysos and the Basilinna took place on the second day of the Anthesteria.³¹ The chief authority for the details of the ceremony is the speech of Demosthenes *contra Neaeram*, 73-76, in which he accuses her daughter Phano of unlawful participation: αὕτη ἡ γυνή . . . εἰσῆλθεν οἱ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων τοσούτων ὄντων εἰσέρχεται ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνή . . . ἐξεδόθη δὲ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυνή, ἔπραξε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πατρία τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς πολλὰ καὶ ἅγια καὶ ἀπόρρητα (§ 73). Further on he says (§ 76): ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ἀνοίγεται τὸ ἀρχαιοτάτον ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγιώτατον ἐν Λίμναις τῇ δωδεκῇ τῷ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός. Aristotle in the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία (3, 5) gives the additional information: ἔτι καὶ νῦν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἡ σύμμιξις ἐνταῦθα (i. e. in the Βουκόλιον near the Prytaneum) γίνεται τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ ὁ γάμος.

The old temple of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις contained a ξόανον of Dionysos Eleuthereus,³² and also a *stèle* on which were inscribed the regulations concerning the union of the Basilinna with the god, who was represented by the old wooden image.³³ Full details of the marriage ceremony and the solemn procession to the Βουκόλιον are given by Mommsen; ³⁴ our vase, which probably dates from the first half of the fourth century, gives the proceedings in the

³¹ Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 392.

³² Paus. i. 38, 8.

³³ Demosth. c. *Neaer.* § 75.

³⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 394.

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more conventional fashion in which bridal scenes are usually represented on vases of this period (cf. Nos. 13-15 above).³⁵

(18) OINOCHOE (Plate V.).

Ht. 14 cm. Found near the Olympieion at Athens. Bought 1910.

Repaired; varnish discoloured. Design in opaque white with yellow markings.

In a panel, with egg-and-dart pattern above, and egg-pattern below, is a design representing two Nikae flying towards a tripod, one on each side; each wears a long chiton with overfold (that of the one on the right has sleeves), and holds in both hands a long white sash with ends hanging. In the centre is the tripod, supporting a $\lambda\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$, above which is an openwork design of circles in which are crosses \otimes , with a vandyked edge above; it stands on a double plinth on which is inscribed

ΑΓΗΜΕΛΟΣ
ΑΔΙΡΙΑΟΣ
ΤΟΣ ΦΙΑΥΣ

perhaps intended for

$\alpha\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$
 $\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$
 $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma.$

(19) OINOCHOE (Fig. 14).

Ht. 10.8 cm. From Eretria. Bought 1894.

Thin fabric with dull black varnish. Base repaired. Design in opaque colours over white with yellow markings, and in raised gilt.

A dog leaps to right through a hoop, which is held on the left by a girl and on the right by a boy; the latter is nude, the former wears a blue chiton with overfold, and each wears a fillet; the hair is in raised gilt, as is also the hoop. Above are three gilt dots.

(20) LEKYTHOS or ARYBALLOS (Plate VIII.).

Ht. 8 cm. From a tomb in Eretria. Bought 1894.

Design in opaque white and blue with gilding. Repaired. At the base of the neck is a tongue-pattern; on the shoulder, egg-and-tongue with raised gilt dots; below the design, egg-pattern; below the handles, palmette with spirals.

Two gryphons confronted; their bodies are white, and their wings blue with gilt dots; between them an ant-hill covered with gilt dots.

The explanation of this scene is to be found in several passages of ancient writers which deal with a tradition of gryphons guarding gold in the far north-east. Herodotus locates them beyond the Issedones in Central Asia (Turkestan):

³⁵ This vase was described at a meeting of the Hellenic Society by Mr. (now Sir) Cecil Smith in 1906, and is also mentioned by Mr. Farnell in his *Culte of Greek States*,

v. 260, and by Mr. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 686 and 709, note 2, but so far no illustration of it has been given.

Ἰσσηδόνων ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασπὸν ἄνδρα μονοφθάλμον, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας (iv. 13, cf. iv. 27): Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες τοὺς μονοφθάλμον ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας εἶναι). In another passage (iii. 116), speaking of the quantities of gold found in Northern Europe, he says: λέγεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν γρυπῶν ἀρπάζειν Ἀριμασπὸν ἄνδρα μονοφθάλμον.³⁶ The story is further amplified by Ktesias (quoted by Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* iv. 27, from the *Indica*, ch. 12): Βάκτριοι λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς (sc. γρύπας) φύλακας εἶναι τοῦ χρυσοῦ αὐτόθι καὶ ὀρύττειν τε αὐτόν φασιν αὐτοὺς . . . Ἰνδοὶ δὲ οὐ φασιν αὐτοὺς φρουροὺς εἶναι τοῦ προειρημένου, μηδὲ



FIG. 14.—OINOCHOE WITH OPAQUE FIGURES.

γὰρ δεῖσθαι χρυσοῦ γρύπας . . . ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄθροισιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι. He does not, however, mention the Arimaspi, but it is probably to this story that we owe the representations of combats between Arimaspi and gryphons so common on vases of this period. The story was also known to Aeschylus.³⁷

The whole legend is, of course, as Rawlinson points out, 'a mere Arabian Night's story,' comparable with that of the roc in the tale of Sindbad the Sailor. 'The only truth contained in the tale is the productiveness of the Siberian gold-region, and the jealous care of the natives to prevent the intrusion of strangers.' The gryphon is a familiar motive in the art of Southern Russia in the fourth

³⁶ Rawlinson, ii. 505, points out that Herodotus regards Europe as including the whole of Northern Asia. The district of which he is speaking is that east of the

Ural Mountains, i. e. South-western Siberia, to the north-west of the territory assigned to the Issedones.

³⁷ *Prom. Vinc.* 830 ff. iii. 23.

century, and in the vases of Kertch, which the vase under discussion resembles in style.³⁸

It will also be noted that the gold is here represented as lying on an ant-hill, which suggests a reference to another passage of Herodotus in which he describes how, in Northern India, the ants throw up sand-heaps as they burrow, and these sand-heaps are full of gold (iii. 102 : οὔτοι οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οἴκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον . . . ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίταις). The painter of this vase, if not intimately acquainted with the text of Herodotus, was at least familiar with the legends which through the historian had become a commonplace of Greek literature.³⁹

(21) GUTTUS (Plate VIII.).

Ht. 14 cm. Bought 1920.

This vase, which may be regarded as more curious than beautiful, belongs to the later stage of R.F. vase-painting, when the industry had been transferred to Southern Italy. The technique and style are, however, purely Attic, except for the ivy-wreath in B.F. method round the neck, a pattern which is often found on South Italian vases. The shape is very peculiar, and rare among painted vases. It is of the form usually known as a *guttus*, from the long, narrow spout which enabled liquid to be poured drop by drop, as in the many varieties of the *ἀσκός*; but the handle and the neck are those of an oinochoe. The wide, squat body is also characteristic of the *guttus*.

The subject of the paintings is a procession of Bacchanalian figures, who from their equipment are probably setting out to a banquet or other form of revelry. On one side we have a Maenad brandishing two torches, and an elderly Satyr in a sort of fancy dress, comprising a large mantle in which his whole body is wrapped, and an ornamented sash wound round his head and tied in a large bow at the back. He carries a *thyrsos* in his left arm. On the other side another bearded Satyr, but this time nude, carries a skin bag in his right hand and a torch in his left. He looks round at his companion, a young Satyr who holds a cottabos-stand in either hand and kicks up his left leg in a sort of careless *abandon*. In his left hand he also holds a small oinochoe and a phiale with a long handle like that of a strainer. Both the cottabos-stands have three feet like those of a candelabrum, but it will be noted that one has the *πλάστιγξ*, or plate on to which the wine was thrown, at the top, the other about one-third of the way down. Both types are to be found on vases of this period, on which the playing of the game of *κότταβος* is a favourite subject.

The figures are treated with a deliberate grotesqueness which is unusual, and I do not know of any other vase-painting quite in the same style.

H. B. WALTERS.

The following vases, acquired since 1894, are not included in this list, having already been adequately published elsewhere.

³⁸ See Roscher, *Lexikon*, i. 1768, for the gryphon in Greek mythology, and for illustrations in art, Minns, *Scythians and*

Greeks, passim, and Ducati, *Ceram. att. fig.* p. 92.

³⁹ See also Minns, *op. cit.* pp. 112, 440.

150 RED-FIGURED VASES ACQUIRED BY BRITISH MUSEUM

- (1) *Kylix* (1895). Flute-player. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 350, 351.
- (2) *Kylix* (1895). Imitation of Duris. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, Pl. 22.
- (3) *Pelike* (1895). Zeus and Nike. *Élite Céram.* i. 14, 30; Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hell.* Pl. 18, 2; Hoppin, *Handbook*, ii. 468.
- (4) *Amphora* (1895). Triptolemos. *Élite Céram.* iii. 57 A-B; Gerhard, *A. V.* 46 (Reinach, ii. 34).
- (5) *Kylix* (1896). Signed by Hermaios. *Élite Céram.* iii. 73; Hoppin, ii. 17.
- (6) *Stamnos* (1898). Signed by Polygnotos. Robert in *Mon. Antichi*, 1899, Pl. 3, p. 7, Fig. 1; Hoppin, ii. 378, 379.
- (7) *Krater* (1898). Signed by Nikias. Froehner, *Coll. Tyszkiewicz*, Pl. 35; Hoppin, ii. 218.
- (8) *Lekythos* (1899). Ἀλκμαίων καλός. *J.H.S.* xix. 203; Beazley, *Amer. Vases*, p. 92.
- (9) *Kalpis* (1899). Troilos and Polyxena. *Forman Sale Cat.* p. 67, No. 339; Beazley in *J.H.S.* xxxii. Pl. 2.
- (10) *Lebes* (1899). Amazons. Furtwaengler and Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenm.*, i. Pl. 58.
- (11) *Alabastron* (1900). Horses training. Murray in *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 252.
- (12) *Kotyle* (1902). Kottabos. *Archaeologia*, li. Pl. 14, p. 383.
- (13) *Kylix* (1907). Signed by Pamphaios. Hoppin, ii. 296, 297.
- (14) *Krater* (1917). Anodos of Dionysos. Tischbein, *Vases d'Hamilton*, i. 32; Reinach, ii. 287.
- (15) *Krater* (1917). Apollo on Swan. *Élite Céram.* ii. 42; Reinach, ii. 296.
- (16) *Kylix* (1917). Theseus and Minotaur. Tischbein, *Vases d'Hamilton*, i. 25; Reinach, ii. 285.
- (17) *Hydria* (1920). Kaineus and Centaurs. *Bull. Arch. Nap.* vi. Pl. 2; Reinach, i. 474.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Tales of Aegean Intrigue. By J. C. LAWSON. Pp. 271. London: Chatto & Windus, 1920. 12s. 6d.

The writer of these tales served during the War as Naval Intelligence Officer in Crete, and had consequently exceptional opportunities of applying his wide knowledge of the Greeks and their ways to the picturesque incidents which such service provokes. He seems to have taken an active part in the events which resulted in the National Defence Movement, and the establishment of a Venizelist administration in insular Greece. As he confines himself to what he himself saw or experienced, some knowledge of the main course of events is presupposed, if these 'Tales' are to be fitted into their place in it. He has clear and emphatic views on some defects in our organisation and war-policy, which are commended to those whom they concern. Of less ephemeral interest are the examples of propaganda-literature and mock-ballad in local dialect; and those who have seen other specimens will wish Mr. Lawson had printed more.

A Description of the Monuments of Cyprus. By GEORGE JEFFREY, F.S.A. Pp. 467, 37 text-illustrations, 5 plates. Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1918. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Jeffrey has been for many years Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Cyprus, and has exceptionally detailed acquaintance with architectural remains of all periods in the island. This handbook, therefore, is based on close personal observations throughout, and is a most valuable record of the present state of the monuments which it describes. The brief Introduction brings together all the general information as to the administration and topography of the island, which is necessary for the purposes of such an archaeological survey, with a select bibliography, list of maps of Cyprus, and outlines of a classification of the ancient buildings by period, and style, and purpose.

The body of the book is arranged topographically, and would serve therefore as a guide, as well as inventory, for any student who might follow in the author's steps; and as even the smaller settlements are distributed in accordance with natural features, they fall naturally into groups along the principal routes. At the end of the book are notes on the history and chronology of Cyprus, on mediaeval costume (in relation to the sculptured tombs of the period) and on the Venetian officials whose names are likely to be met in inscriptions. There is a full index; adequate plans, and a few well-selected photographs.

Mr. Jeffrey is much to be congratulated on the completion of this important and very handy volume. It reveals, as nothing else could, the wealth of ancient remains in this curious region, and the devoted enthusiasm which the author has devoted to their study and conservation.

J. L. M.

Under the Turks in Constantinople. By G. F. ABBOTT. Pp. 418. London: Macmillan & Co., 1920. 18s.

This book contains a record of the Embassy of Sir John Finch to Turkey, 1674 to 1681. It has a commendatory Foreword by Lord Bryce, and as a frontispiece a reproduction of the portrait of Finch by Carlo Dolce.

Mr. Abbott has taken much pains over this record, and appears to have digested the State Papers of the period with success. It is a careful and detailed account of the activities of one of our Ambassadors—a man of good brains and considerable energy—who was in the difficult position of being in almost equal shares the servant of the King and the Levant Company. The story of his tribulations in his contact with the corrupt and dilatory Turkish officials makes interesting reading.

There are not so many details of seventeenth-century Turkish life and manners as could have been hoped, but this deficiency may be supplied by a reading of Mr. G. E. Hubbard's *The Day of the Crescent*, published by the Cambridge University Press last year; the two books taken together enable the reader to reconstruct Turkish life in that century as far as an outsider could ever appreciate it.

As a point of exceptional interest attention may be drawn to the fact that our Ambassadors in Turkey appear to have exercised arbitrary authority over all British subjects; thus, if an Englishman conducted himself in a manner prejudicial to the peace or the interests of the 'Nation,' as the Community was called, the Ambassador would sometimes go so far as to expel the delinquent from the Turkish dominions.

Sir John Finch is of some importance in the history of our relations with Turkey at any rate up to the War, and in spite of the humiliating reception with which he met from Ahmed Kuprili on his arrival, he appears soon to have succeeded in gaining the Grand Vizier's goodwill, and it was he who obtained for us the English capitulations as they existed up to 1914. After Kuprili's death, under the administration of the terrible Kara Mustapha extortion became more rampant still, and Finch had to fight hard for the interest of his nation, using bribes for Turkish officials and the practice (of which Mr. Abbott does not say much) of 'battulation'; this was a kind of boycott under which the Ambassador prohibited all Englishmen from trading with a particular Turk, or even sometimes with a whole class of Turks.

There is room for another volume to show how the old grants made by Kuprili to Finch were later interpreted to allow far greater privileges than they were at first intended to confer. In the time of the later Stuarts, and even of the early Hanoverian Kings, no extra-territoriality was allowed to Englishmen, except in cases of lawsuits among themselves, and evidence appears that where a Turk was concerned the Englishman as a matter of course submitted to Turkish jurisdiction; owing, however, to the customary carelessness of the Turks, we were gradually allowed to wrest the capitulations into a sense vastly beyond their original meaning, and in the end we claimed for our subjects almost complete immunity from Turkish jurisdiction; usage, however, is so thoroughly recognised in Turkey as having fully the same force as law, that by virtue of this well-understood principle we were entitled to claim for Sir John Finch's capitulations the liberal interpretation which long custom conferred upon them.

The Idylls of Theocritus. With Introduction and Notes by R. J. CHOLMELEY. New edition. Pp. 449. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1919. 18s. 6d. net.

The first edition of this well-known book supplied a long-felt want when it appeared in 1901. Until then there was no good English commentary on Theocritus, the notes in Kynaston's school edition being of a very elementary character. Those students who were able to read German notes were fairly well provided for by Hiller's edition (Teubner, 1881), which is a model of good sense and sobriety. Unfortunately, it was never reprinted, and in course of time has become difficult to procure. It is now, also, out of date, since it does not take into account new facts and theories which have accumulated since 1881, including contributions of Hiller himself. To this day Germany does not possess a modern commentary, though a great deal of work has been done on the text and subject matter.

Cholmeley published his book some seven years after leaving Oxford. During this time he had been occupied in teaching, first at the City of London School, and afterwards in South Africa, where he fought in the Boer War. He was prevented by military service from seeing it through the Press, and it contained a number of misprints and some slips,

which would have been removed by the author under normal circumstances. Its merits were at once recognised. It was indeed a young man's work, not without blemish, but full of promise for the future. He was full of enthusiasm for his subject, he had a great capacity for taking pains, he was attracted by new theories, he advanced some novel explanations, sometimes very acute, his conjectures were frequent and clever, though sometimes over-daring. In his notes he sometimes seemed too subtle, especially when treating points of grammar, and he had a tendency to employ slang phrases which grated on many readers. It is no small praise to say of him that various suggestions which he has made will have to be carefully considered by all editors. He could be very conservative. Thus in *Id.* vi. 11-12 the MSS. give:—

τὰ δὲ νιν καλὰ κύματα φαίνει
ἄσυχὰ καχλάζοντα ἐπ' αἰγιαλῷ θεοῖσαν.

Editors had here read *καχλάζοντος* from the Juntine to avoid the hiatus. Wilamowitz quotes one MS. for this reading, also the Scholia, but an inspection of these will show that the statement is incorrect. While 'plashing' is naturally used of the waves, it is not natural to speak of the 'plashing beach.' Cholmeley retains the reading of the MSS., pointing out that hiatus after a trochaic caesura in the third foot is legitimate in Theocritus, and accepted by editors in other places. As an example of a neat emendation may be taken *Id.* xxiv. 125. Here the MSS. give:—

δούρατι δὲ προβολαίῳ ὑπ' ἄσπιδι νῶτον ἔχοντα
ἀνδρὸς ὀρέεσθαι ξιφίων τ' ἀνέχεσθαι ἀμυχμόν.

It seems odd that an advancing warrior should have his shield slung over his back. Cholmeley restores the sense by reading *ῶμον* for *νῶτον*. Here also the corruption is due to a wish to avoid a legitimate hiatus. As a specimen of an ingenious, though somewhat subtle interpretation, we may take *Id.* xxvi. 29.

εἷη δ' ἐνναέτης ἥ καὶ δεκάτω ἐπιβαῖνοι.

The words are simple enough, but in the context in which they occur the meaning is dark. Cholmeley shows by references to the Anthology that children were sometimes initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus, and proposes the interpretation, 'may he be pure of heart even as a young child.' This can hardly be right, but it is certainly clever.

Most subjects connected with the life of Theocritus and the contents of the poems ascribed to him are highly controversial, and have been discussed in countless monographs and scattered articles, the great majority of which have proceeded from German scholars. Cholmeley made a determined effort to master this mass of literature, and there is very little which escaped his notice. His Introduction, consisting of sixty pages, deals with the life of Theocritus, the subject matter of the poems and the MS. authority for the text in the light of the most recent information. The notes also contain much that must have been new to most of his readers.

The book passed through four reprints, in course of which most of the misprints were removed and some slips were rectified. At the outbreak of the Great War he was engaged on the preparation of the present edition. At that time he was lecturer in Greek at the University of Queensland in Brisbane. Although he was no longer young, and was a married man with a daughter, he threw up his post and came home to fight. The Preface to his new edition, which is dated June 1915, was written at sea. In it he speaks of the difficulties which he had experienced in procuring the necessary books when working in a distant colony, and the interruption of his studies, now that

Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum.

He received a commission in the Cheshire Regiment, and refusing work behind the lines took his place in the trenches. He gained the Military Cross for bravery and was wounded twice. The present writer made his acquaintance for the first time when he was lying in hospital at Oxford, suffering from a wound in the head received on Vimy Ridge. He had then passed through one operation and another was impending, but there were Greek

books beside his bed and he was full of Theocritus. His military ardour was not abated by the armistice, and, having acquired a knowledge of Russian, he volunteered for service in that country. He was drowned there on August 16, 1919, having been swept overboard while overhauling machine-guns required for action at daybreak.

It is to be regretted that the publishers did not allow him to issue a completely new edition. If this had been done, it is probable that certain immaturities of judgment and style would have been removed. Apparently they wished to make as few alterations as possible in the body of the book, which seems to have been stereotyped. Accordingly, the Introduction and notes have been left practically intact, and only a few changes have been made in the text. The new matter is to be found in the Addenda (pp. 32) and in an Appendix on the dialect (pp. 28). In the Addenda he frequently retracts views previously expressed, and adopts readings other than those printed in the text. His final views, therefore, are to be found in the Addenda, not in the body of the book. This does not seem to be a desirable arrangement. There are a number of new notes, the most elaborate of which deal with questions of folk-lore. This is a subject in which he had long been interested, as is shown by the frequent references in the first edition. It is probable that he was attracted, rather than repelled, by the hazardous character of some speculations which he discusses. The Appendix on the dialect is a fine piece of work, and exhibits strikingly his love of completeness and gift for minute study. No more admirable synopsis of the subject is to be found elsewhere.

It seems tragic that so clever a scholar, with all the instincts of a researcher, should have had so little leisure and, owing to his love of adventure, should have had to work under so many difficulties. The war has furnished other examples of students who have become enthusiastic soldiers, but no case is more striking than that of the editor of Theocritus.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

Euclid in Greek. Book I., with Introduction and Notes. By SIR THOMAS L. HEATH. Pp. 181. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. 10s. net.

It is refreshing to read Sir Thomas Heath's Preface to this (needless to say) admirable edition of the first book of the *Elements*. 'Elementary geometry is Euclid, however much the editors of textbooks may try to obscure the fact.' 'There is no subject which, if properly presented, is better calculated than the fundamentals of geometry to make the schoolboy (or the grown man) think.' 'When compulsory Greek is gone, the study of Greek will be no whit less necessary to a complete education.' All which sentiments we heartily endorse. Whether schoolmasters will be found to make use of the means here provided for enabling their more intelligent boys to grasp how the Greeks thought things out from the beginning we do not know: but we hope that the experiment will be made. Sir T. L. Heath provides exactly what is wanted to make the study interesting; his discussion of Euclid's definition of a straight line, for instance, is a model of clearness and is packed with information. Many people probably have a hazy notion that Euclid defined a straight line as 'the shortest distance between two points.' The note referred to furnishes the antidote.

Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, à GULIELMO DITTENBERGERO condita et aucta, nunc tertium edita; volumen tertium, voluminis quarti fasciculus prior. Pp. 402. Leipzig: Hirscl, 1920. M. 45.

The rapid progress towards completion of the new edition of Dittenberger is a subject for unfeigned rejoicing. If the third volume, so anxiously awaited, does not entirely fulfil the anticipations of those who meet with it, this will not be because of any decline in the editorial standard, which remains as high as ever, but solely by reason of the fact that it

has not been expanded as much as we could have wished by the inclusion of new material: we miss, in fact, some familiar friends, and do not feel that the loss is sufficiently compensated. For example, the statute of the *φρατρία* of the *Λαβυδάαι* at Delphi (No. 438 in ed. 2) has disappeared, together with the accounts of the *ἐπιστάται* *Ἐλευσινίῳ* (No. 587) and those of the Delian *ἱεροποιοί* (No. 588); all of these should have been retained if possible, and we should have welcomed the inclusion of some specimen of the third century Delian accounts, the importance of which for economic history is considerable. In the selection of new documents the chief stress seems to be laid on religious antiquities, of which we have no complaint to make. The *Leges Sacrae* of Cos (No. 1000), Miletus (No. 1002) and Priene (No. 1003) are welcome additions, and we may especially note No. 985, referring to an *οἶκος ἱερός* at Philadelphia, from Keil and V. Premerstein's third *Bericht*. It is needless to say that the texts of the older inscriptions have been brought up to date with the aid of Ziehen's *Leges Sacrae* and such-like works: thus the word *δολοσχερέα* now appears in the funeral law of Iulis (No. 1218 = No. 877, ed. 2). Misprints are exceedingly rare (*γυμνασπαρχίας* 1003.26, *μ[ή]ματος* 1221. 1): No. 1268 should be indicated as a new addition. The first volume of the Index is arranged on a new principle: place-names form headings, and individuals are subsumed thereunder. We cannot regard this as an improvement, as some loss of time is inevitable in use. Some cross-references should be added: *Ἥλις*, for example, is not to be found, and it requires presence of mind to turn to *Ἄλις* without delay.

Epicuro : Opere, Frammenti, Testimonianze sulla sua Vita, tradotti con introduzione e commento, da ETTORE BIGNONE. Pp. 271. Bari: Laterza e Figli, 1920. L. 15-50.

Since the publication of Usener's *Epicurea* in 1887, much incidental work has been done in elucidating the text of Epicurus' writings and expounding his intricate and subtle doctrines. In Germany Brieger wrote several tracts—marred by excessive emendation of the text—and Wotke in 1888 published the eighty new fragments discovered in a kind of philosophical Anthology in a Vatican MS. of the fourteenth century. In our own country there have been the studies of Wallace, Professor A. E. Taylor and Mr. R. D. Hicks (*Stoic and Epicurean*) together with incidental observations in Dr. Masson's *Lucretius: Poet and Epicurean*, all of which appear to be unknown to Dr. Bignone. But the chief work has been done in Italy, where classical scholars have of late devoted themselves largely to the study of the outlying Greek philosophies. The brilliant essays of Giussani in his *Studi Lucreziani* were followed up by Pascal and Tescari and by several articles in periodicals by Dr. Bignone himself. No writer has, however, had the courage hitherto to undertake a complete edition of the Epicurean remains. It may therefore be said at once that the present volume is a most valuable contribution to the study of Epicurus—it is the first complete translation in any language—and that the execution of the work is fully worthy of its importance.

Dr. Bignone gives us a translation with full annotations of the three Letters and the *Κύριαι Δόξαι* preserved by Diogenes Laertius, of the Will of Epicurus and his Life from the same source, of all the actual cited fragments—including the Vatican Florilegium, which constitutes an important addition to the collection of Usener—and of certain of the more important statements of his doctrines in other writers. To these he has added an Introduction concerned chiefly with the style of the Letters and 'Main Principles' and certain problems connected with them, together with a very valuable Appendix, in which some of the chief difficulties of the *Letter to Herodotus* are discussed at greater length. We are promised a second volume, which will presumably contain essays on Epicurus' doctrine.

The obvious want for a student using this volume is that of the Greek text. It was presumably excluded by the scope of the series in which the book is published, but with so difficult a writer as Epicurus it is a mental gymnastic of the first order to follow Dr. Bignone's translation in Usener's text, making for oneself the many incidental corrections

required by the commentary: it would have been invaluable for working purposes to have in front of one the text as Dr. Bignone has reconstituted it. The want is the more severely felt in that the new text would undoubtedly be greatly superior to that of Usener. Dr. Bignone is naturally of a conservative disposition, but by his commanding knowledge of the Epicurean system he has in many places demonstrated that the MS. text may safely be retained, and that Usener's 'corrections' were due to misunderstanding. Having worked at the text of Epicurus for a good many years, I may perhaps say that in very many places I had independently made the same restorations, and that in many more I should now agree with Dr. Bignone's suggestions. All editors, however, have their own nostrums, and Dr. Bignone seems to me to assume too frequently that words have dropped out through 'haplography.'

The translation is accurate but free, that is to say, it does not always follow literally the Greek order of words and clauses and frequently expands, but it brings out admirably the full force and meaning of the original. There are places in which Dr. Bignone seems to strain the meaning of the Greek unduly, and others—especially in the *Letter to Menoeceus*, where one feels that he is apt to lose the full force of the rather strange and picturesque words of Epicurus by a too commonplace rendering—but it is difficult to judge of this in a language not one's own.

The notes are models of conciseness and lucidity. One is always given full references to parallel passages which elucidate the doctrines, the most crabbed writing and subtle theories are briefly and clearly explained, and controversy, where it is necessary, is kept within the briefest limits. Here and there, as, for instance, in the sections in the *Letters to Herodotus* on *συμβεβηκότα* and *συμπτώματα* (68–73), repression seems almost too great and one would gladly have more.

For this reason one of the most valuable parts of the book is the Appendix, in which Dr. Bignone has dealt at greater length with some difficult points in the theory. A comparison, for instance, of his treatment of the Epicurean Cinetics with that in Giussani's brilliant essay shows a markedly greater command of the subject and sobriety of judgment: Giussani had his own theory to which he made Epicurus conform. Dr. Bignone has with great care and ingenuity worked out a consistent theory on the data given us by the MSS. I do not myself feel convinced yet that Epicurus held that the *εἰδωλα* of vision moved with 'atomic velocity' or that the portions of sections 46 and 47 of the *Letter to Herodotus*, which Giussani wished to transpose, can be retained in their place as relating to the movement of the *εἰδωλα*—but at least Dr. Bignone has made a good case for his conservatism.

It is indeed the outstanding sobriety of judgment and the complete mastery of the Epicurean system which give the book its value and place it very high in the classical work of the present century. It is to be hoped that it will become well known in England and that it will not be long before Dr. Bignone publishes his second volume of exposition.

C. BAILEY.

Le Phédon de Platon et le Socrate de Lamartine. By JOSEPH ORSIER.
Pp. 149. Paris: Boccard, 1919. 12 f.

M. Orsier is rather a lawyer and historian than a philosopher, and his accustomed field is modern rather than ancient times. He explains that the French Ministry of Education sent him in 1916–17 to teach ancient philosophy at Toulon, and that the present essay is the fruit of this mission. The volume consists of two more or less equal parts; of which the first was originally published separately. This is a detailed criticism of Lamartine's well-known poem, *Socrate*, by comparison with its source, the *Phaedo* of Plato. Appreciation, illustrated by frequent quotations, of Lamartine's eloquent alexandrines is intermingled with protests against the poet's occasional modernisations, falsifications, and flights of imagination. Much of this is interesting, though more from a literary than from a philosophical point of view, and more, perhaps, to a Frenchman than to an Englishman. The second section is called by M. Orsier 'un aperçu historique et critique sur la

philosophie ancienne jusqu'à la renaissance.' It is in fact an attempt to outline the history of philosophy from Thales to Descartes. Seventy pages are really not enough for this, however great the writer's skill and knowledge. M. Orsier's ability to master his material may be judged from the four pages devoted to the pre-Socratic philosophers. These are grouped as (1) Materialists (the Ionians and the Atomists), (2) Idealists (Pythagoreans, Eleatics, Empedocles, Anaxagoras), (3) Sophists. We see no justification for this kind of compendium.

A Critical History of Greek Philosophy. By W. T. STACE. Pp. 386. London: Macmillan & Co., 1920. 7s. 6d.

This book, which is based upon a course of public lectures, discusses with admirable lucidity the chief systems of philosophy from Thales to the Neo-Platonists. The author is frankly critical and gives short shrift to any doctrines which do not contain at least the germs of modern idealism. Some readers may therefore feel that his treatment of, for example, part of Plato, the Stoics, Epicureans and Neo-Platonists is a little too summary and heavy-handed. The sworn foe of 'symbolism' and 'sensuous thinking,' Mr. Stace has no patience with the 'mythical' side of Plato's thought. The ardent friend of the 'rational' and the 'objective,' he condemns the mysticism of Plotinus as the extreme of subjectivism, which, forsaking reason, tries to reach truth by means of a miracle. This perhaps is hardly fair. The mystical consciousness is a fact, and a very important fact for those who have it, and such persons may fairly retort that a philosophy which fails to take account of it is inadequate. Moreover some of us, alas! may feel doubt whether all the concepts of modern idealism are quite as 'objective' as their upholders maintain. But this is not the place to discuss fundamental problems of philosophy, and if we admit that Mr. Stace's standpoint is the only correct one and that subjectivism can be entirely eradicated from metaphysics, we must hasten to add that the author has performed his task extremely well.

His treatment of the earlier philosophers appears to us excellent. In discussing the Sophists and Socrates he concerns himself almost entirely with the problem of the reduction of subjectivity to objectivity. In this connexion might it not have been well to mention that Protagoras held some perceptions to be *better* than others and thereby made some approach to an objective standard? Mr. Stace's views as to the order of the Platonic dialogues cannot, we think, be accepted. The *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman* and *Parmenides* he assigns to Plato's middle period, regarding them as earlier than the *Symposium*, *Republic* and *Phaedo*, which he thinks are the works of Plato's maturity, when 'the style returns to the lucidity and purity of the first period.' 'The second period was concerned with the formulation and proof of the theory of Ideas, the third period undertakes its systematic application.' This is quite contrary to the usual view that the *Parmenides*, *Sophist*, etc., correct crudities in the metaphysical doctrines of the *Republic* and *Phaedo*. In speaking of the *Timaeus* he summarily dismisses the Creator as a myth and a *deus ex machina*, introduced because 'in the Ideas themselves there is no ground of explanation.' Plato, he says, has failed to deduce his Ideas from the Idea of Good, which ought to serve as an Absolute, but does not. This criticism is very much to the point. It is a criticism, however, which, we fear, can be levelled against any and every absolutist philosophy. So far from 'deducing' the world from an Absolute, modern idealists merely try to convince us that 'somehow' all contradictions are resolved in that transcendent mystery.

Mr. Stace has profound respect for Aristotle, whose system is 'the perfected and completed Greek idealism.' His account of Aristotle's advance upon Plato is clear and interesting, but to his just critique of the Aristotelian philosophy should he not have added a fuller statement of the difficulties and lacunae in the doctrine of *νοῦς*? Post-Aristotelian philosophy occupies less than forty pages of the book. Its cursory treatment is deliberate, because in Mr. Stace's opinion it lies outside the main stream of idealistic development. Although this may be true of the Epicureans and in a less degree of the

Stoics, it does not seem true of the Neo-Platonists. Mysticism may be distasteful to some idealists, though not to all,—Mr. Bradley himself has been called a mystic,—but there is much in Plotinus and Proclus which foreshadows, and indeed has contributed to, the idealism of to-day.

J. H. S.

Transition in the Attic Orators. By R. D. ELLIOTT. 8vo. Menasha, Wisconsin: The Collegiate Press, 1919.

This book displays great diligence and accuracy and a love of detail for its own sake. Scholars especially interested in the technical criticism of ancient rhetoric will find something of value in the discussion of the Major Parts of the Oration. The main body of the book consists of statistics arranged under an ingenious technological shorthand which would be more tolerable if the subject were of more importance or if the statistics issued in useful conclusions, as for instance, about the date of speeches. Transitions in Attic Orators are far more the instinctive tact of a clever speaker than the conscious application of highly complicated rules, and Mr. Elliott's method of analysis does less than justice to an artist like Lysias, 'il ne faut pas que le levier soit plus lourd que le fardeau.' There is a good deal to be learnt from this as from all careful and well-arranged work, but readers of it will do well to take a speech of Lysias after every chapter as a corrective.

Primitive Time-Reckoning. A Study in the Origins and first Development of the Art of counting Time among the Primitive and Early Culture Peoples. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Pp. 324. Lund & Oxford: The Oxford University Press, 1920. 21s.

The value of ethnology has long been recognised as a means of illuminating the problems of antiquity, and of indicating the true source and meaning of such primitive features as remain embedded in our own civilisation. It was with a view primarily to tracing the origin and pedigree of the ancient Greek calendrical system that Professor Nilsson undertook that intensive study of primitive methods of reckoning time, which is embodied in the present volume. He has ransacked ethnological literature and collected nearly all the available data relevant (as well as some that are not wholly relevant, *e. g.* star-lore) to his subject; these he quotes verbatim, and with full reference to his authorities. The work has, in fact, the character of an encyclopaedia. At first sight one might be excused for questioning the utility of multiplying examples illustrative of a single principle. Undoubtedly the author's argument would not suffer by excision and compression. On the other hand the book's very copiousness of detail makes it invaluable as a work of reference. Moreover, it is only by a comprehensive survey of this kind that fundamental principles are seen to emerge in clear perspective from a solid background of fact, and that the remarkable resemblance in mentality shown by the most diverse races in tackling similar problems becomes apparent.

The author disclaims exhaustiveness; nevertheless his survey is so comprehensive as to make certain omissions the more noticeable. He himself points out the incompleteness of his data from northern Asia, which is due to the relevant publications being in Russian. But the omission of any reference to the remarkable calendrical systems of pre-Columbian Mexico and Peru, though no doubt intentional, is none the less regrettable. The ancient Mexican calendar is peculiarly interesting on account of its dualism, and it presents the unique features of having 20-day months, and cycles of 104 years regulated by the synodical revolutions of Venus. The Peruvian calendar, too, is of interest on account of the analogy it presents with that of ancient Egypt in having 12 months of 30 days each and an appendix of 5 odd days. Perhaps the author considered these systems too highly developed for inclusion under the present title.

The actual contents of the volume may be briefly summarised. After an Introduction in which the general nature of the subject is explained, there are separate chapters dealing

with the following subjects: the day; the seasons; the year; the stars, including a digression on star-lore; the month; the months, regarded as a series; old Semitic months (Babylonia, the Israelites, and the pre-Mohammedan Arabs); calendar regulation, with special reference to intercalation and the determination of the beginning of the year; popular months of European peoples; solstices and equinoxes; artificial periods of time, especially in connexion with markets and religious feasts (including a discussion on the origin of the Sabbath); the calendar-makers as a professional class; finally there is a chapter of conclusions, to which is appended a brief discussion of the ancient Greek calendar, a subject which the author has treated more fully elsewhere.

There are certain fundamental points in which, in spite of endless varieties of detail, almost all primitive people seem to agree. Keen observation of the changing phenomena of nature and the absence of a developed mathematical sense leads them into descriptive, as opposed to numerical, terminology. Regularly recurring concrete phenomena are used to indicate season or time of day. Thus the Nandi of East Africa would render 'November 30th at 8.0 p.m.' by saying 'in the month of the strong wind, on the day of the moon's darkness, at the time when the porridge is cold.' A list of the time indications used by this tribe is in fact practically a description of their life. The method survives with us poetically in such phrases as 'cock-crow' or 'the fall of the leaf.' Moreover, primitive peoples conceive of time not in connected periods but 'aoristically' as a number of discontinuous points. Periods are reckoned on the *pars pro toto* principle, a day and night being frequently denoted by a 'sleep,' a month by a 'new moon,' a year by a 'winter.' Enumeration occurs only sporadically, the Maories of New Zealand being unique in having a numbered series of months.

Practically all primitive peoples agree, too, in adopting the moon as their indicator of longer periods of time, and lunar months are related to seasonal phenomena and occupations. Cycles of 12 or 13 months are adopted as a rough approximation to the year, primitive mathematics being inadequate to the appreciation of a period of 365 days, except in the case of certain North American tribes who kept tallies in the form of notched sticks. The displacement of the months in relation to the seasons becomes obvious after a few years, and is corrected by intercalating or omitting ('doubling' or 'forgetting') a month, as the case may be. Such intercalations are empirical, not systematic; the treatment of the calendar's disorders is therapeutic rather than prophylactic. An additional check on the months is provided by the stars, of which most 'uncivilised' peoples are careful observers, particularly the Polynesians (as navigators), and the South American Indians. The rising or setting of the Pleiades and Orion are most commonly used to indicate the proper time for sowing or planting. The solstices and equinoxes are in rarer cases observed, and the influence of environment is here apparent, the Eskimo near the Arctic circle being particularly favourably placed for observing the solstices. One would be inclined to doubt whether any people closely in touch with nature can have failed to notice the turn of the year by the changing position of sunrise and sunset, though records of the fact may be lacking.

The author considers the Greek calendar of historic times, with its cyclical intercalation, to have been derived from Babylon, and he makes out a fair case for its transmission through Ionia to Delphi, which naturally acted as a means of its diffusion throughout Greece. His argument is also partly based on the absence in Homer of any mention of the germs of intercalation from which the later system could have grown. He considers Homeric time-reckoning to have been essentially primitive. But it is at least doubtful whether he is justified in laying so much stress on the negative evidence of the poet. We should hardly expect to obtain a clear idea of the Julian or Gregorian calendar by an appeal to the evidence of our own poets. Such phrases, for instance, as μέβλωκε μάλιστα ἡμαρ cannot be seriously treated as evidence in this question. As regards the Babylonian calendar the author agrees with Kugler, as opposed to Weidner, that cyclical intercalation did not come into force before the Persian period, although knowledge of the astronomical facts in Babylon long antedated their practical application.

The evolution of a true calendrical system is primarily a question of mathematics, since it presupposes the power to assess the year in terms of days, a thing beyond the

mind of primitive man. It is difficult to recognise a logical and continuous development from what was essentially concrete and non-numerical to the purely abstract and numerical. It would appear more likely that the mathematical faculties were developed independently of time-reckoning (though this may have provided a contributory stimulus), and being subsequently applied to the proper regulation of time, as required in an organised polity, produced a revolution, in other words a system, in the calendrical world.

In a work of this nature we might perhaps have expected to find more than a passing reference to the water-clock, which in the form of a perforated bowl was in use from very early times in India and Ceylon, as well as in Britain in the early iron age.

The style of the book is not entirely free from the awkwardness to which translations are liable, while a fuller index including the names of tribes mentioned would add to its utility.

These are, however, minor defects, and whatever interpretation we may feel inclined to put upon the facts here collected, there can be no question that the author has performed a very thorough piece of research which should be of great value as well to the student of archaeology as of ethnology.

H. J. B.

Greek Tragedy. By GILBERT NORWOOD. Pp. 396. London: Methuen and Co., 1920.

This manual, adapted in language and content to the use of elementary students, forms a useful introduction to Greek Tragedy.

The book is conveniently divided into six chapters: (1) The Literary History of Greek Tragedy; (2) The Greek Theatre and the Production of Plays; (3) The Works of Aeschylus; (4) The Works of Sophocles; (5) The Works of Euripides; (6) Metre and Rhythm in Greek Tragedy.

The writer does not attempt to say anything new, nor does he state the orthodox views so concisely as he might. His chapter on Metre seems needlessly perplexing. But the combination of facts presented in his book is unusual, and for that reason it may be hoped that it will find purchasers.

A. W. M.

A Handbook of Greece. Vol. I. The Mainland of Old Greece and certain Neighbouring Islands. Pp. 782, 19 plates, 2 maps.

A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories. Pp. 524, 5 maps and plans. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the N.I.D., The Admiralty. London: H.M. Stationery Office.

These volumes belong to an extensive series of handbooks compiled during the early part of the War by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. They are now, with a few corrections and additions, made available for the general public.

The *Handbook of Greece* consists of brief, well-informed chapters on geographical and climatic conditions, ethnology, social conditions, trade, government and administration, and also a very extensive series of itineraries. The itineraries being written from a military standpoint contain no descriptions of antiquities, hotels, or other such attractions; they will nevertheless be found of considerable value by the tourist, especially if used in conjunction with a guide to Greece of the usual civilian type. The volume contains several good illustrations, including some of places that deserve to be better known. The bridge of Tatarna is a case in point. The large annual fair mentioned as being held at Magoula nearby has, we fear, lost much of its old importance.

The *Handbook of Macedonia* is similar in plan, but of considerably less value. The data from which it had to be compiled were most insufficient and unreliable. During the

War an immense amount of information was obtained on the geographical, climatic and hygienic conditions of Macedonia. Old maps were corrected, and a large strip of country behind the Allied lines from the Adriatic to the Aegean was carefully surveyed. A number of new roads were made, and old ones altered. The present volume is consequently of very little use. We hope its existence will not prevent a new handbook, materials for which are now available, from being issued in the near future.

M. S. T.

Hellenism in Ancient India. By GAURANGA NATH BANERJEE. Second Edition. Pp. 344. London and Calcutta : Butterworth & Co. 1920. 16s.

The fact that this book has reached a second edition in less than two years is the best testimony that could be given to its usefulness. Mr. Banerjee investigates very fully the possibilities of Hellenic influence in all branches of Hindu art, literature, philosophy and science. His book shows a remarkably wide range of reading, and few of the theories put forward by European scholars suggesting Hellenic influence in India seem to have escaped him. His judgments are eminently sensible, and he rightly holds that the possibilities of direct Greek influence on Hindu civilisation have been exaggerated, notably by Niese and Windisch and even occasionally by Vincent Smith. The author opens with a discussion of the debt, admitted on all sides, that Indian architecture and sculpture owe to Hellenistic art. He agrees with Sir John Marshall against Stryzowski and Vincent Smith that the influence is indirect and cannot be traced directly to any particular centre of Hellenistic culture. Painting has every claim to be considered a native Indian art. In the case of the coinage which Mr. Banerjee next discusses we have a native invention fundamentally altered in character by direct foreign influence, although the earliest coins struck by Greeks in India follow native types. It was the great Kushan and Saka empires whose coinages, naturally following Greek medallic types, gave Indian coinage its definitely Western character. Our author next discusses astronomy, and has no difficulty in agreeing with the view that Hindu astronomy as an exact science can be traced to the Alexandrian schools. The case of mathematics is different; while Greek influence is not impossible it is more difficult to trace. There are, for example, no technical terms of obviously Greek origin as in the case of astronomy; and in the case of the so-called Arabic numerals it is the West that has borrowed from India. Mr. Banerjee discusses at some length the views that have been held on the relations of the Greek and Indian schools of medicine, but no finality has yet been reached on this question. The chapter on the origin of the Indian alphabets, in which sufficient consideration is not given to Bühler's views, hardly deserves a place in a book on Hellenism in India, as no one suspects Greek influence here; nor does any one seriously hold nowadays that the great Indian epics show direct borrowings from Homer.

The theory of the Greek origin of the Indian drama, first championed by Weber and Windisch, is still not without supporters; to the latter we recommend Mr. Banerjee's able discussion of the characteristic differences between the Greek and Indian drama. He, however, is too ready to accept the nature-myth theory of the origin of the drama. The fourth part of the book discusses the independent evolution of religion, philosophy and fables in India and Greece, and contains a good deal that hardly comes within the subject of the book. The author does not seem to know of Professor Berriedale Keith's important article on Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Transmigration in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 569-606.

Mr. Banerjee has an excellent knowledge of his subject and shows considerable critical ability, but his book might be greatly improved in a future edition. It might with advantage be a good deal shorter; much that has no special connexion with the subject could be omitted. The author has a great fondness for quoting his sources in the original, and his book is full of long quotations in French, German and Dutch, which, while they may impress his compatriots with his learning, must be quite unintelligible to the majority of them. The book has an unnecessarily large number of misprints and the foreign passages

swarm with them—'gyothi seantor,' on p. 288, is a specimen. The last quarter of the book, on religion and philosophy, is much too ambitious and lacks lucidity. This is hardly the place to call attention to many minor inaccuracies on purely Indian points, such as the use of the antiquated terms 'Indo-Pali' and 'Scythian' languages and the extraordinary statement on p. 242 that Patanjali refers to dramatic representations of Krishna's love affairs. In their present form the bibliographies appended to each chapter are of little use except to show the author's pedantry. The lists should be cut down to books and articles that are really important, and full and accurate titles with details of publication should be given.

The Greek Orators. By J. F. DOBSON. Pp. 321. London: Methuen, 1919.
7s. 6d. net.

JEBB's *Attic Orators* is now long out of date, and since 1876 there has been no book published in English which covers the Orators as a whole. So Professor Dobson's work is welcome, and will prove very useful to students. The book does not aim at the exhaustive completeness of Blass, but at supplying a handy and interesting introduction to the Greek orators. This is the standard by which it is to be judged, and judged by this standard it can claim success. The author—though he clearly is master of the literature of the subject—rightly avoids polemical discussion of complicated points of chronology and law. Sometimes he is almost too careful to give both sides of the question. For instance, the unhappy theory of Benseler and Dobree that the Battle "at Cnidos" in Isaeus V is the battle in 394 B.C. might by now be passed over in silence.

Professor Dobson has succeeded in being brief without obvious signs of compression, and has omitted little that is important. On p. 20 one misses a reference to the interesting, though tiny, fragment of Antiphon's speech, *περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως*, published by Nicole in the *Geneva Papyri* (1907). So, too, we are told of Antiphon's speech on the tribute of Samothrace, but not of that for the Lindians. But there is little in the way of omission of which a critic can fairly complain, in view of the scale on which the book is written. We are fortunate in possessing much ancient criticism of the Attic Orators, and to this criticism the author has done ample justice. His selection and translation of illustrative passages are excellent. As regards the treatment of the several orators, there is room for criticism, or, at least, for a difference of opinion. Andocides, for instance, gets more attention than he deserves in comparison with Lysias, so greatly his superior in the versatility and subtlety of his art. On the other hand, to accuse Andocides of extreme scurrility may produce discouragement in some readers and disappointment in others. For the full appreciation of the Attic Orators the nicer feelings are rather out of place, and throughout the book Professor Dobson seems a trifle too prone to censure. The chapter on Isaeus is extremely good, and so is that on Aeschines, where the author's sober and discriminating criticism is seen at its best. A single, though a long, chapter on Demosthenes must always seem too short, but the chapter is skilful in compression and well balanced. Isocrates' contribution to the development of Greek rhetoric is ably stated, though one regrets that Professor Dobson denied himself a little more space to treat of the orator's influence on later prose, both Greek and Latin. In the last chapter, which deals with the decline of Oratory, the author seems to under-estimate the continued importance of rhetoric in the political affairs of Athens and other Greek cities. The philosophers of the second and third centuries owe much of their political authority to their eloquence, as did the mediæval prelates with whom they have so much in common. Something, however, has to be sacrificed to the need of keeping such a book as this within useful limits of space and cost, and in this hard task Professor Dobson has succeeded admirably.

The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus. Edited, with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Commentary, by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE. Pp. lxxvi + 48. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. 12s. 6d. net.

The author of this excellent volume apologises for his intrusion into a sphere which is not his own. With yet far greater reason must the present reviewer make a similar apology; but so far as he is qualified to judge Mr. Evelyn White's incursion is amply justified by results. The volume is indeed a very important contribution to a subject which offers so many points of doubt and controversy, that there is room for treatment from several sides. It shows a mastery of the literature concerned with and bearing on the Sayings upon which the author is to be congratulated; and with this are combined a sound judgment and great acuteness in conjecture.

Beginning with a bibliography of the subject, the author first reproduces the actual text of the two MSS. (P. Oxy., 654 and 1), without restoration of lost words or letters, and next gives the restored text adopted by himself, not distinguishing (a feature which is to be deprecated) the restorations from the MS. readings. This is followed by an "Introduction," which is really an elaborate essay on the nature of the Sayings, and finally the Sayings themselves are given one by one, with the various readings proposed by scholars, and lengthy notes. The volume concludes, it is satisfactory to note, with an index.

The main theme of the introduction is the question as to the nature of the Sayings. Do they constitute an independent tradition going back to Apostolic times, or are they post-Apostolic, put together on the basis of the Gospels or of some one Gospel? And if so, which Gospel? Mr. Evelyn White rejects alike the theory of an independent tradition and that of a comparatively late origin. He places them, with the original editors, in the sub-Apostolic age, i. e. in the first half of the second century; and he believes them to come from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. They (and so, of course, the Gospel from which they are taken) are, he thinks, based on the Synoptics, particularly Luke, but are worked up in a literary way, with the addition of original matter; and they show traces of Johannine thought, but as yet in an early stage of development.

It follows that the Sayings can claim no original authority; their interest lies, in the author's view, in their character of early Christian literature, not in that of historical evidence; but from the former point of view they are of great value as illustrating the growth of a literary tradition, and, if the theory be sound, as throwing light on the nature of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. As to the theory itself, it must be admitted that it is extremely well argued, with converging lines of evidence, constituting, in their *ensemble*, an undoubtedly strong case; but it is hardly to be regarded as established, and Mr. Evelyn White seems a little too positive in some of his conclusions. Thus, in point (1) on p. lvi, his statement "there can be no doubt whatever that the evangelist of the Hebrews' Gospel is here elaborating his main source, Matthew, with reminiscences of the Lucan parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus" is surely too strong; and in point (5) on p. lviii the thread of evidence is extremely slender.

Mr. Evelyn White's remarks on and restorations of the individual Sayings are always worthy of consideration, and not infrequently brilliant. Particularly does this last remark apply to his treatment of the Prologue. It would perhaps be going too far to say that his restoration of l. 2 solves finally the perplexing problem of the mention of Thomas in l. 3, but it is certainly beyond comparison the most satisfactory suggestion yet made, and his acceptance of Brunton's *ζωοποιός* in l. 1, taken in conjunction with his own version of l. 2, and the certain restoration of l. 4, gives the whole Prologue a connexion and inner unity which it has never yet received.

This is probably Mr. Evelyn White's most brilliant single contribution to the textual criticism of the Sayings, but many of his restorations and comments are of considerable importance. His *πᾶν*ra, indeed, in l. 23 (Saying III), is very weak, though it must be confessed that the passage is puzzling. His common sense and soundness of judgment are seen in his view of Saying VIII (Logion III), as against the fanciful interpretations of some commentators; and he adduces some excellent parallels for the words *μεθ' ὅντας* and *δευῶ(ν)*ra, which have caused much unnecessary perplexity.

WHEN WAS THEMISTOCLES LAST IN ATHENS?

THE twenty-fifth chapter of the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens* contains a circumstantial account of the overthrow of the Areopagus, which differs from the accepted version of the same affair in ascribing an important, though not the foremost, part in the attack to Themistocles. The newly discovered version does not, it is true, stand entirely by itself. But it is found elsewhere only in an argument to the *Areopagiticus* of Isocrates,¹ written probably by a sixth-century Christian.² As between the argument and the papyrus, it is the latter that alone can give any serious historical value to the former. But what is the historical value of the account in the *Constitution*? If it is true, then, as was recognised at once by Kenyon in his *editio princeps*, it revolutionises the history of the later part of Themistocles' career.³

But it was at once recognised also that the version of the *Constitution* was difficult to reconcile with the accounts of Themistocles to be found in Thucydides, Plutarch, and other writers.⁴ These all say that the trial that drove Themistocles to Persia took place while he was living ostracised from Athens at Argos. The ostracism of Themistocles took place before the condemnation and death of Pausanias, with whom the Athenian statesman was accused of having intrigued during his period of ostracism. As the downfall and death of Pausanias have generally and with good reason been dated about 468 B.C., it has been inferred that Themistocles cannot have been in Athens after about 469 B.C.⁵

This reckoning, again, has been thought to be confirmed by the accounts of the flight to Persia. Themistocles is said by Thucydides to have reached Persia when Artaxerxes was 'newly' on the throne: Artaxerxes succeeded his father Xerxes in the year 465 B.C. Even on the loosest interpretation of 'newly,'⁶ it is hard to see how even a Themistocles can have got through all the adventures that befell him between his ostracism and his arrival at the Persian court if the former event took place during or after the attack of Ephialtes on the Areopagus and the latter shortly after the accession of Artaxerxes. Furthermore, Themistocles is said by Thucydides to have fallen

¹ Ἐφιάλτης τις καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς χρεαστοῦντες τῇ πόλει χρήματα καὶ εἰδότες ὅτι, ἐὰν δικάσωσιν οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται, πάντως ἀποδώσουσι, καταλύσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπεισαν τὴν πόλιν . . . ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αἴτιος ἦν μὴ πάντα δικάζειν τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας.

² Rose, *Ath. Pol.* p. 423, accepted by Sandys, *Ath. Pol.* p. 107.

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³ Kenyon, *ad loc.*

⁴ Thuc. i. 135–8; Plut. *Them.* 22 f.; Diod. xi. 54–59 (Ephorus); Corn. Nep. *Them.* 8–10 (mainly Thucydides).

⁵ E.g. Holm *Hist. Gr.* ii. p. 94; E. Meyer, *Ges. d. Alt.* III. i. p. 519.

⁶ See below, p. 171, n. 27.

in on the way to Persia with the Athenian fleet blockading Naxos. The date of this blockade is not quite certain; but it preceded the battle of Eurymedon, which in turn preceded the siege of Thasos, which last event can be dated with some certainty as having begun in 465 B.C., or, at the latest, early in 464. If Themistocles was on the way to Persia at the time of the siege of Naxos, he cannot have been in Athens in 462 B.C.

The effect of all these considerations has been to discredit very seriously the narrative which states that he was in Athens at the later date. It has been commonly assumed that there is a flat contradiction between the writer of the *Constitution* and Thucydides, and that the earlier authority must be accepted. The narrative of Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* is stated by two English scholars to reach the acme of absurdity. To take it seriously, so we are told by a leading German scholar, is a 'Zeichen philologischer Unmündigkeit.'⁷

Of those who hold such views as have just been quoted, it is not surprising that some have proceeded to excise the offending passage, partly as being inherently improbable, partly because it is not reproduced in Plutarch's life of Themistocles.⁸

Most scholars do not go so far as this. They regard the narrative as genuine but unauthentic, and quote other cases where our author makes mistakes in his history.⁹ But if these other mistakes are compared with those that are alleged to occur in Chapter XXV., we shall find that they are of a quite different order; either slips in points of fact or chronology that have no important bearing on the narrative, or mistakes on difficult questions of ancient constitutional history (of which the most noticeable is the much disputed fourth chapter on the Draconian constitution), or lapses into partisanship, as when

⁷ Mitchell and Caspari in their edition of Grote, p. 283, n. 1; F. Cauer, *Deutsch. Literaturzeit.* 1894, p. 942. Cp. also (*inter alios*) Bérard, *Rev. Hist.* xlix. (1892) p. 296; Botsford, *Cornell Stud. Class. Phil.* 1893, p. 220, n. 2; Busolt, *Gr. G²*. III. i. p. 29; Costanzi, *Rivista di Fil.* 1892, pp. 353-5; Dufour, *Const. d'Ath.* p. 113; Giles, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1892, pp. 332-3; E. Meyer, *Ges. d. Alt.* III. i. p. 519; Niese in *Sybel's Hist. Zeits.* xxxiii. (1892), p. 43; Th. Reinach, *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1891, pp. 149-151; Ruehl *Rhein. Mus.* 1891, p. 431; De Sanctis, *Stud. Costitut. d'Atene*, pp. 4-6, and *Rivista di Fil.* 1892, pp. 108 f.; Sandys, *Const. of Ath²*. p. lxix.; Walker, *C.R.* vi. pp. 95-99; Wilamowitz, *Aristot. u. Athen.* i. pp. 140 f.

⁸ Th. Reinach, *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* June 1891, and *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1891, pp. 149-151, cp. *Répub. Athénienne*, p. 46; Bueskul, *Aristot. Ath. Pol.* Their arguments are answered by Politis, *Parnassos*, 1893, pp. 95-6, and Schoeffer, *Jahresber. Fortschr. cl. Alt.* lxxxiii. (1895), pp. 220-1. The sub-

stance of this paper will make it unnecessary to revert to them in detail.

⁹ See the list given by Th. Reinach, *Rep. Ath.* pp. xxvi-xxvii (Cimon 'youngish' in 462 B.C., c. 26; Spartan peace proposals put after Arginusae instead of Cyzicus, c. 34, cp. Philoc. *F.H.G.* i. fr. 117-8; all the generals put to death after Arginusae instead of all who were put on trial and appeared before the court, c. 34; confusions or contradictions in the accounts of the *σεισάχθεια*, c. 6, and *λογισται*, c. 54, cp. c. 48). For the *Ath. Pol.* drawing inferences, sometimes wrong, as to early constitution-usages, see Swoboda, *Arch. Epig. Mitt.* xvi. pp. 57 f. on *Ath. Pol.* 16. 10. It is, of course, easy to find in the *Constitution's* account of the fifth century much that is 'palpably legendary,' De Sanctis, *Studi Cost. Aten.* p. 11, if we regard as such any new information that disagrees with our preconceived conceptions of the period. For a good protest against this attitude, see Politis, *Aristot. Ath. Pol.* in *Parnassos*, 1893, p. 13.

Themistocles is described as merely a soldier ¹⁰ as contrasted with the statesman Aristides. Mistakes and slips of these kinds are inevitable in any historical writing, ancient or modern. The mistakes laid to the charge of the writer of Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* are of a different and much more damning order. It is one thing to sum up the Duke of Wellington as a distinguished statesman, or George Washington as an eminent soldier. It would be an entirely different thing if a modern historian should be found assigning, let us say, a prominent and circumstantial part to John Hampden in the trial of Charles I. This latter is the sort of mistake that is alleged to occur in Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution*, but nowhere else in the whole work.

The prevalent attitude that has just been described seems, therefore, on the whole, less tenable than that of the extremists who resort to excision or abuse. But are we bound to accept any of the views so far quoted? Is Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* really so impossible to reconcile with our other sources for the later history of Themistocles as has been generally assumed? More than one writer has accepted the *Constitution* on Themistocles and endeavoured to reconcile it with our other sources. The first attempt was made by Bauer,¹¹ who proposed a completely new set of dates for the events of the period, based on the information contained in Chapter XXV. The death of Pausanias is ascribed to 462-1 B.C., after which comes the ostracism of Themistocles, his final condemnation and flight, the siege of Naxos, the battle of Eurymedon, the revolt of Thasos at the time of the earthquake in Sparta, and the fall of Thasos, which last event is placed in 457 B.C. This chronology has not found any acceptance; as shown by E. M. Walker ¹² and others, it lands us in extreme difficulties, not only for the period of Themistocles, but also for the years that follow.

A different line of defence is suggested by von Schoeffler, who supposes that the attacks on the Areopagus began long before the grand assault of 462 B.C., and that Themistocles took part only in the earlier phases before the generally accepted date of his ostracism.¹³ But this defence is as difficult to maintain as it would be damaging if maintainable. The *Constitution* says distinctly that the attack did not begin till 'about seventeen years after the Persian Wars.' The circumstantial account of the dealings with Ephialtes has to be explained away as part of a generally accepted Themistocles legend. In dates, in details, and in emphasis it has to be admitted that our author was seriously wrong.

The same objection may be made to Wilamowitz when he suggests that the basis of the story was a report spread abroad in Athens in 462 B.C. by the enemies of Ephialtes, to the effect that he was merely the tool of the absent and exiled Themistocles.¹⁴

¹⁰ Cp. Plut. *Cim.* 5, where Cimon, the protégé of Aristides, is described as 'inconceivably the superior' of Themistocles as a statesman.

¹¹ *Forsch. Ath. Pol.* p. 171 f.

¹² *C.R.* vi. pp. 95-99. Against Bauer's chronology, see also Rühl, *Jahrb. Cl. Phil.* Suppl. xviii. (1892), p. 695.

¹³ *Jahresber. Fortschr. cl. Alt.* lxxxiii. (1895), p. 251, cp. Nordin, *Stud. i. d. Themistoklesfrage*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Wilamowitz, *Aristot. u. Ath.* i. 149. The whole question as to how far by the time of Aristotle or even Thucydides Themistocles had won his way into the fabulous is beyond the scope of this article.

Still more unsatisfying is the attempt at a reconciliation between the *Constitution* and Thucydides made by A. Brieger,¹⁵ who suggests that the Areopagus was predominant after the Persian Wars, not for seventeen years but for seven. Seventeen years is confirmed as the original reading by the reference to the archonship of Conon, and by the fact that Ephialtes' death is dated as not long after his great success, and six years before 457 B.C. Brieger here emends six to sixteen, and there are other consequential changes that his suggestion leads to if it is carefully followed up.

In examining the discrepancies, apparent or real, between our author and Thucydides, it is important to remember that if we accept the former it does not imply any criticism of Thucydides half so serious as that which we must pass on the author of the *Constitution*, if in so recent and important a matter as the history of Themistocles he could record fiction under the impression that it was fact. The best of historians sometimes wrongly omit. Only the worst would in such a case as we are considering invent, and only quite inferior writers would be misled by the inventions of others. A truthful and careful writer in a position like that of Thucydides writing on Themistocles may easily omit important facts and get wrong in a chronology that he is himself constructing from not very adequate data.¹⁶ Nobody has ever recognised this better than Thucydides himself.¹⁷ His chronology for Themistocles is difficult and dubious on any showing, and his account of him is a digression that was never intended for a full biography. It takes him back beyond the period for which he claims special authority, and, moreover, is confined strictly to events in which Themistocles played the leading part, which in the *Constitution* itself is disclaimed for him as regards the attack on the Areopagus.¹⁸ Omissions, therefore, and even misleading omissions cannot be ruled out of the question.¹⁹

It is certainly exaggerated by Wilamowitz in the work just cited. It is one thing to show that a historical character has become the victim of unhistorical anecdote; it is another to determine whether or to what degree the anecdotes in question are free to violate the historical setting.

¹⁵ *Unsere Zeit*, 1891, ii. pp. 28-9; cp. O. Seeck, *Klio*, iv. (1904), pp. 302-3.

¹⁶ Thucydides quotes (i. 138) relatives of Themistocles as stating that his bones were brought back to Athens and secretly buried; but it does not follow that the historian was able to get full information about the life of the dead statesman from this source. The only relative of Themistocles known to have remained in Athens, his son Kleophantos (Plato, *Meno*, 93), was notoriously interested in nothing but horses and athletics.

¹⁷ Note, too, that *Ath. Pol.* 18 tacitly corrects Thuc. vi. on several points in the Harmodius story, and that it has been claimed by Weil, *Journ. d. Sav.* 1891, p. 203,

that Thucydides himself in i. 20 appears to realise the mistakes of the Book VI. account, which is probably the earlier. Thucydides is also corrected by the *Ath. Pol.* (31-3) on points of detail about the four hundred: Weil, *ibid.* p. 204.

¹⁸ Ephialtes is much the more prominent all through the chapter. Where both are mentioned together, Ephialtes is put first. Themistocles has merely a share in the responsibility, *συναιτίου γενομένου Θεμιστοκλέους*. The same inference is to be drawn from c. 41, *ἑβδόμη δὲ ἡ μετὰ ταύτην ἦν Ἀριστείδης μὲν ὑπέδειξεν, Ἐφιδάτης δὲ ἐπετέλεσεν καταλύσας τὴν Ἀρεοπαγίτιν βουλὴν*. In these last words Mathieu, *Bibl. École Hautes Etudes*, 216 (1915), p. 64, wrongly finds traces of a tradition according to which Ephialtes was not aided by Themistocles.

¹⁹ Compare the remarkable omissions in Thucydides' synopsis of the history of Athens between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, i. 97 f. ²⁰ There is nothing about the political measures of Ephialtes

Is it possible to discover in Thucydides any comparatively unimportant omission or inaccuracy that would account for the discrepancies between his narrative and that of the *Constitution*? If I am not mistaken, one possibility has yet to be considered that saves the latter without bringing to the charge of the former anything but a most pardonable piece of ignorance with some very natural but unfortunate consequences. My suggestion is that Themistocles did take part in the attack on the Areopagus, but that he did so not before he had been ostracised, but during a brief return to Athens at the end of his ten years of ostracism.²⁰

This, of course, implies that Thucydides is wrong on two points: he makes Themistocles fly to Persia while ostracised, instead of bringing him back to Athens for the attack on the Areopagus, and he makes his escape from the Athenian fleet take place off Naxos instead of Thasos. But it is not difficult to imagine how he was led into these errors, if, as I believe, I am right in so regarding them.

As regards the attack on the Areopagus, there may well have been a conspiracy of silence on the part of the historian's informants. At Athens he moved in Periclean circles. Pericles continued the work of Ephialtes and Themistocles in destroying the privileges of the Areopagus; but in doing so he appears to have reversed the policy of his family in the period immediately preceding: it was the Alcmaeonid Leobotes²¹ who had prosecuted Themistocles and prevented him on our hypothesis from remaining in Athens to take part in the last phase of the attack. The incident is one that Periclean circles may not have cared to recall. Except for the four years between Pericles' death and the beginning of Thucydides' exile, years that were largely spent by the historian on active naval service, and for the uncertain period that followed his return from exile, when he had probably completed his account of Themistocles, the Periclean party was supreme throughout the period when Thucydides had access to Athens. State documents uncongenial to a strong government do not tend to be very much in evidence, and this would be particularly

or Pericles, nothing about the divisions of opinion on the question of sending help to the Spartans at Ithome, nothing about the ostracism of Cimon or the political activity of Thucydides the son of Melesias: events either closely connected with external affairs, or so important that they might have seemed to demand mention in the most cursory sketch of the period.' Forbes, *Thuc.* i. p. cxvii.

²⁰ The duration of ostracism is given as ten years by Plato, *Gorg.* 516 D., Plut. *Cim.* 17, *Nic.* 11, Corn. Nep. *passim*, pseudo-Andoc. iv. 5, schol. *Aristoph. Vesp.* 947; cp. Theopomp. *F.H.G.* i. p. 293. Cimon was recalled from ostracism οὐδέπω πέντε ἐτῶν παρεληλυθότων. If the sentence had been for five years we should expect not πέντε, but τῶν πέντε, Car-

copino, *Bib. Fac. Lett. Paris*, xxv. p. 117. Diod. xi. 55.2 gives it as five and Philochorus fr. 79b as originally ten, later five. If Diodorus is not confusing with the Syracusan petalismos, which he also describes, he might be explained by Philochorus, but note that the last victim of ostracism, Hyperbolus, was ostracised for six years, Theopomp. *F.H.G.* i. p. 294. Cimon seems certainly to have been sentenced for ten years. If, therefore, the length of the sentence was ever shortened it was presumably after the time of Themistocles.

²¹ Plut. *Them.* 23, *de Exil.* 15 (*Moral.* 605 E); Krateros *F.H.G.* ii. 619, fr. 5. For Alcmaeonid hostility to Themistocles, see also Plut. *Præc. Ger. Rep.* 10 (*Moral.* 805 C), *Aristid.* 25.

the case in connexion with an incident like that of the Alcmaeonid prosecution of Themistocles, which no important party or personage had any particular motive for recalling.

Equally misleading may have been the results if, as is highly probable, Thucydides made inquiries about Themistocles at Argos, which he, too, in all probability, like Themistocles, knew as an exile.²² He tells us that while there Themistocles made frequent excursions to other parts of the Peloponnese. Assume that Themistocles began his final flight from Athens by a last hurried visit to Argos, and the brief period of the final sojourn in Athens may well have been concealed in the Argive version among the various excursions made by Themistocles from his Argive headquarters during his period of ostracism.

If this one assumption be granted, the rest of the mistakes that we have to suppose in Thucydides become purely consequential. It was known that when sentence was passed on Themistocles he was an exile in Argos. It was also known that in the charges the name of Pausanias had figured very prominently. What more natural, especially for a historian of the rationalist school like Thucydides, with only a limited amount of information at his disposal, than to assume for the trial and flight a date very shortly after the fall of the Spartan traitor?

It is doubtful whether the mention of Naxos is to be regarded as an independent piece of evidence. The name of the island is immaterial to the point of the story; very possibly none at all appeared in the original version, in which case the name appearing in Thucydides is only the result of chronological conclusions reached on other grounds. There are hints that there was in antiquity another chronology that required the fleet to be not at Naxos but at Thasos, and can be reconciled with the story in the *Constitution*. According to Thucydides, the landing of Themistocles in Asia took place at Ephesus; but a version found in Plutarch²³ makes him reach the mainland up in the North at Cyme, a place of arrival that ill suits a passage past Naxos, but fits in well with a passage past Thasos. The incident with the Athenian fleet is not mentioned by Plutarch in giving this version. He quotes it only in connexion with the Thucydidean version, which he also gives, but with the remarkable variant in one MS. that Thasos appears as the original reading, subsequently corrected to Naxos. The MS. in question is said to give the best readings for some of the lives, including that of Themistocles. To judge from the way in which he treats Thucydides, Plutarch was probably abbreviating the version that introduces Cyme. It looks as though Thasos was the original reading,²⁴ emended in the other MSS. or their prototypes by learned scribes who knew their Thucydides, and that the original reading, Thasos, was due to the fleet incident having been located there by the version that landed Themistocles on the mainland at Cyme.

It will be convenient at this point to summarise the order of events implied by the suggestions just offered. Themistocles would have been ostracised

²² Cp. Thuc. v. 26.

²³ Plut. *Them.* 26.

²⁴ So Wilamowitz *Aristot. u. Ath.* i. p. 150, n. 47.

between 474 and 472 B.C.;²⁵ he proceeded to the Peloponnese, and while there fell under the suspicion of intriguing with Pausanias; from the Spartans' point of view Pausanias was the chief danger, and after crushing him they ceased to be alarmed about Themistocles, who was left an exile on the worst of terms with the pro-Spartan Government at Athens; then in 464 or 463 B.C. the ostracism expired, and Themistocles returned to Athens to find Ephialtes beginning his attack on the Areopagus, which was at this time in sympathy with Cimon and the Alcmaeonids, and like the Alcmaeonids supporting Cimon in his pro-Spartan policy; the Spartans saw their influence in Athens threatened, and furnished alleged evidence of Themistocles' support of the medism of Pausanias some years before; eventually he was prosecuted on this and perhaps other charges, with an Alcmaeonid conducting the case and Cimon in the background; before the trial began it was obvious which way it must go, and Themistocles withdrew from Athens;²⁶ perhaps he began by hurrying back to Argos, which had been his home for the greater part of the previous ten years, and where he had a good deal of influence; but very soon he was compelled to fly further, and ultimately reached Persia in 462²⁷ after a narrow escape on the way from the Athenian fleet, which was either just concluding the siege of Thasos, or cruising off the island after successfully ending the siege.

²⁵ This date accords quite as well as any other with the meagre evidence, which is fully set forth by Busolt, *Gr. G²*. III. i. p. 113.

²⁶ Diod. xi. 54 speaks of two trials, the first at Athens before the ostracism, ending in acquittal, the second at Sparta, after the ostracism, resulting in Themistocles' flight and condemnation. Diodorus' evidence is not decisive; he assigns the events of a number of years to the single year 471-470 B.C., and makes the unlikely statement that the trial that drove Themistocles to Asia took place at Sparta; but an early trial and acquittal can be easily reconciled with the order of events suggested above.

²⁷ Artaxerxes in 462 B.C. might still be newly on the throne' from the point of view of Thucydides writing after the close of his long reign of 40 years. The version that brings Themistocles to Persia before the death of Xerxes may be dismissed (so e.g. Bauer, *Forsch.* p. 69) as a poetic emendation of the facts. The flight to Persia is indeed dated 471 B.C. by Diod. xi. 54-6, and 472 B.C. by the Armenian version of Eusebius, but their evidence is weak: on Diod. see note preceding; Euseb. is probably based on Diod. The flight is probably misdated by either writer to the year required by his chronology for the ostracism (in which case we have here

a further possible explanation of the double dating with a ten years' difference already noticed in the chronology of Themistocles, by J. A. R. Munro, *C.R.* vi. (1892) pp. 333-4. On Cic. *de Amic.* 14, 42, which has been thought to confirm Diod. and Euseb., see below, p. 177. Wilamowitz, *Aristot. u. Athen.* I. pp. 143-4 and Busolt *Gr. G²*. III. i. pp. 113n, 128. accept 471 B.C., but their arguments are flimsy, based on the assumption that the three authorities who alone give a definite date to the flight are based on contemporary documents, notably the *σθηλαὶ χαλκαὶ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων καὶ τῶν προδοτῶν* and copies made by Krateros of Athenian decrees. But because Krateros is known to have published the charge brought against Themistocles, it hardly follows that Diodorus derived from him the date of Themistocles' flight. As regards the *σθηλαὶ τῶν προδοτῶν* it is rather remarkable that they are never once mentioned in connexion with Themistocles. If they are to be used at all as evidence, that is one point that must be taken into account. Can the explanation be that the trial and condemnation took place, as the dating proposed in this paper implies, during a comparatively brief setback in the progress of the party to which Themistocles belonged, and that consequently his name never got posted up?

We may now proceed to consider whether the course of events just suggested is chronologically possible. According to the generally accepted datings, it is nearly so, but not quite. Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* is held to imply²⁸ that Themistocles was in Athens in the archonship of Conon, which began about midsummer 462 B.C. The siege of Thasos is usually dated 465–463 B.C. Further, some months at least must be allowed for Themistocles to get to Asia from Athens, *via* Corfu and Pydna, with various adventures on the way.

But if we look more closely into the chronology of these years, we shall find that Themistocles may have left Athens early in 462, or even late in 463, and that the Athenian fleet may have been still off Thasos late in 462 B.C.

The great attack on the Areopagus culminated after Conon became archon; but it began before,²⁹ possibly in 463 B.C.³⁰ As regards the part played by Themistocles in the final triumph of Ephialtes, the *Constitution* says simply that he was partly the cause of it.³¹ These are hardly the words that our author would have used if he had pictured Themistocles as taking an active part. Contrast the sentences immediately following, which describe Themistocles' activities earlier in the struggle. We are indeed told that both reformers brought a series of charges against the Areopagites till they had deprived them of their power; but this latter statement, which, as far as it concerns Themistocles, seems hardly quite to harmonise with the statement just referred to from earlier in the same chapter,³² was probably qualified in the sentence immediately following. Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the narrative at this point; but the gist of the missing words may well have been that Themistocles was brought to trial and fled from Athens before the final triumph of his party.³³ After the lacuna the narrative informs us that Ephialtes was 'not long after' removed from the scene, being treacherously murdered by Aristodikos of Tanagra. Ephialtes met his death in 462–461 B.C., the year in which he overthrew the Areopagus.³⁴ The murder, therefore, cannot be placed very early in the year; but there is no need to place it very late. Revolutions can get a long way in a short time when once they have gathered the

²⁸ So e.g. E. M. Walker, *C.R.* vi. p. 96 and Kenyon *ad loc.*

²⁹ καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνείλεν πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν . . . , ἔπειτα . . . ἐπὶ Κόνωνος ἄρχοντος *Ath. Pol.* 25. 2.

³⁰ This year could easily be regarded, especially on an inclusive reckoning, as "about 17 years after the Persian wars," which is how the *Constitution* dates the beginning of Ephialtes' attacks, *Ath. Pol.* 25.1. See further, Hertlein, *Korrespondenz-Blatt f. d. Gelehrten-u. Realschulen Wuertemberg*, 1895, pp. 2–3.

³¹ ἔπραξε δὲ ταῦτα συναιτίου γενομένου Θεμιστοκλέους. The word συναιτίος is rendered by the translators (Th. Reinach, Haussoullier, Poste, Dymes, Zuretti, Ferrini, Poland, Kaibel and Kiessling, Erdmann) by such

words as associé, concours, co-operation, conjunction, cooperatore, compagno, Unterstützung, beteiligt, Mitwirkung. But the Greek for this would surely be some such word as συμπράττωντος or βοηθοῦντος.

³² See previous note.

³³ The sentence might perhaps be completed in some such way as this: καὶ ἀννήθη < μὲν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς δίκην καταδικασθεὶς μηδισμοῦ ἐρήμην, ἀννήθη > δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐφιδάλτης. Kaibel *Stil u. Text d. Pol.* Aθ. pp. 182–3 states that the words ἀννήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐφ. imply that the missing words told of the death of Themistocles: but may not ἀννήθη mean simply 'was removed?' cp. *Ath. Pol.* 25. 2 ἀνείλεν πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν ἀγῶνας ἐπιφέρων περὶ τῶν διφεκμένων.

³⁴ Kenyon, *ad. Ath. Pol.* 26. 2.

necessary impetus. The downfall, therefore, of Themistocles probably occurred at latest fairly early in the year 462–461. But there is no reason why it should not be put back as early as the middle of the year 463–462. The demand that Themistocles should be put on trial had been made at an early stage in the struggle, and may have been pushed home during a temporary success of the party opposed to the reformers. If the original intention of a prosecution before the Areopagus was now abandoned for an *εἰσαγγελία* before the people, the change of tactics need not³⁵ cause any surprise.

The fall of Thasos is generally dated 463 B.C. But the evidence leaves it possible that it took place rather later than is generally supposed. The revolt probably started in 465 B.C., since it broke out, according to Thucydides, 'about the same time' as the Athenian expedition to Drabeskos, which is assigned with some certainty to that year.³⁶ But it is by no means certain that it was all over by the end of 463.³⁷ This date for its conclusion is an inference from the statement of Thucydides that the siege ended in the third year. By the third year, however, he means the third year of the siege: it may have been the fourth of the revolt. We do not know what time of year the revolt began. When news of it reached Athens the Athenians had first to collect a fleet³⁸ and send it to the island, where they landed only after winning a naval victory. This is the point in his narrative at which Thucydides inserts the account of the expedition to the Strymon and the Drabeskos disaster. If the narrative is strictly chronological, this may mean that active operations against Thasos were for a time held up. Thucydides has still to tell of land battles³⁹ against the islanders won by the Athenians before they were able to begin the siege. The year 464 may have been well started before the three-year siege began. The blockading squadron, too, is not likely to have sailed away the moment Thasos surrendered.

With all these facts to bear in mind it can hardly be maintained that it is chronologically impossible for Themistocles to have supported Ephialtes in Athens even till the beginning of 462 B.C., and yet to have encountered the Athenian navy off Thasos in his flight to Persia.

May we not even go further and see in the course of the attack on the Areopagus a reflection of various phases of the Thasian revolt? The outbreak of the revolt coming at the same time as the disaster at Drabeskos must have done much to prepare the way for Ephialtes and his

³⁵ *Pace* Th. Reinach, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1891, p. 156. For the presumed change in the form of attack *cp.* *Ath. Pol.* 25. 3 and above n. 1 with *F.H.G.* II. p. 619.

³⁶ E. M. Walker, *C.R.* vi. p. 97.

³⁷ Diod. xi. 70, apparently dates the fall of Thasos in the archonship of Archidemides, 464–3 B.C., but (*pace* Cauer *Hist. Aristot.* p. 27) he may be like the moderns, merely making an inference from Thucydides.

³⁸ And perhaps also to recall Cimon from Sparta to take the command (*Plut. Cim.* 14). The chronology of this part

of Cimon's career is difficult, but it seems on the whole most probable that the urgency of the situation in Thasos was the reason why Cimon came back from his first Spartan relief expedition in so great a hurry that he had not even time for the usual civilities to the states through which he passed *en route*.

³⁹ The MSS. vary between *μάχη* and *μάχαις*. The Teubner and new Oxford texts both print *μάχη*. But *μάχαις* is the *difficilior lectio* and has the support of a good group of MSS. It is read by Forbes.

supporters. But if the news of military difficulties and disasters abroad had started the revolution at home, reports that the Thasian situation was now well in hand may have led to the first reprisals against the reformers. The situation at Thasos was retrieved by Cimon, the friend of Sparta and enemy of Themistocles, and the first attack would naturally be concentrated on Themistocles, not merely because he was particularly obnoxious to Cimon and his friends, but also as being more open to attack than the scrupulous and incorruptible Ephialtes, who is only disposed of when the revolt that gave him his great opening has been completely quelled.

In making the attack on the Areopagus take place during the siege of Thasos we are disregarding Plutarch, who apparently pictures Ephialtes as beginning his campaign after Cimon had come home from Thasos and sailed away again on fresh active service. But Plutarch is a biographer, not a chronicler. His arrangement of his material is based largely on its character. His chronology is often vague and not infrequently misleading,⁴⁰ and he cannot on a point like this be quoted as invalidating conclusions that have been shown on other evidence to be probable.

It is not only in his chronology that Plutarch diverges from the *Constitution*. He does so also on an important point of fact. He makes the chief supporter of Ephialtes the youthful Pericles, or, rather, he reverses the position and makes Pericles from a rather obscure background direct the activities of the more prominent Ephialtes. But here again Plutarch's evidence is highly dubious. In one of the passages where he makes this statement he himself throws doubt on it: 'the rest of his policy he (Pericles) carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, so they say, would only become real evidence for assigning to Pericles a part in the attack, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Areopagus.'⁴¹ This passage if the words 'so they say' were omitted, and the word 'who' emended to 'through whom he.' It will be observed that Pericles does not appear in person on the scene. Another passage associating Pericles with Ephialtes is vaguer: 'for forty years he (Pericles) stood first among such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides.'⁴² This passage, though supported by Cicero,⁴³ unquestionably antedates the rise of Pericles to a leading position in the State. He was not the foremost man in Athens in 469 B.C. Of the men who are said to have played second to him, Ephialtes, who died in 462, at least five years earlier than any of the rest, is the only one who supports this improbable ascendancy of forty years.

It is true that in the *Præcepta Gerendae Reipublicae* we find the words, 'as Pericles through Ephialtes degraded the Areopagus.'⁴⁴ But these words,

⁴⁰ For examples of unsatisfactory chronology in Plutarch see his accounts of democratic developments at Athens, *Cim.* 15, the two expeditions of Cimon to Sparta, *Cim.* 16 f., and the various occasions on which he returned from active service to Athens, *Cim.* 14, 15, 17: cp. also *Them.* 5-6, where the choregia of Themistocles in

476 B.C. is mentioned just before the account of 480 B.C. and Salamis.

⁴¹ *Plut. Per.* 7.

⁴² *Plut. Per.* 16.

⁴³ *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 34, 138.

⁴⁴ *Plut. Praec. Ger. Rep.* 15 (*Moral.* 812 C).

which merely make an incidental comparison, must be read in the light of the passages previously quoted. Though they do not explicitly mention the forty years of political predominance, they come very near to implying them. The leader of the opposition in 463 B.C. can hardly have entered politics much after 468. Plutarch himself makes so long a political leadership unlikely, since he states that as a young man Pericles 'had nought to do with politics, but devoted himself rather to a military career, where he was brave and enterprising.'⁴⁵

This, of course, does not mean that Pericles must have kept entirely out of politics till after Ephialtes had been killed. When Cimon returned from the reduction of Thasos he was brought to trial by his enemies, and Pericles, so Plutarch tells us,⁴⁶ took part in the prosecution. This is probably the first event in Pericles' political career that can be fairly closely dated. The return of Cimon from Thasos probably just preceded the death of Ephialtes. In any case, there can only have been a short interval between the two events.

Plutarch himself, if read in the light of the *Constitution*, suggests that Pericles first entered politics as a supporter of Ephialtes just before the overthrow of the Areopagus. He tells us that 'when Aristides was dead and Themistocles in banishment and Cimon was kept by his campaigns for the most part abroad, then at last Pericles decided to devote himself to the people.' Previously 'he had nought to do with politics.'⁴⁷ The date of Aristides' death is uncertain,⁴⁸ but one account given by Plutarch makes him die in Athens of old age, while another attributes his death indirectly to the exile (φυγή) of Themistocles.⁴⁹ If we reckon by events and disregard years, we can agree entirely with Plutarch's dating in this passage of Pericles' entrance into politics. It is only his absolute dating to about 469 or earlier that has to be challenged. But though on this latter point the *Constitution* compels us to question the biographer, it also offers an explanation as to how it was that Plutarch went astray. If, as Plutarch implies, Pericles entered politics as the successor of Themistocles, and if, further, Plutarch had seriously antedated the last appearance of Themistocles in Athenian politics, then the rise of Pericles would have to be antedated to correspond. No events were available for these extra years. A simple way out of the difficulty was devised by transforming Ephialtes from a forerunner and guide of Pericles into an early subordinate and tool.⁵⁰

Plutarch may have been led into his mistake, or, at least, confirmed in it, by the *Politics* of Aristotle, where it is stated that the Areopagus was shorn

⁴⁵ Plut. *Per.* 7.

⁴⁶ Plut. *Cim.* 14.

⁴⁷ Plut. *Per.* 7.

⁴⁸ Pace Busolt *Gr. G²*. III. i. p. 113 n. The difficulties raised by Corn. Nep. *Arist.* fin., which dates the death of Aristides 'fere post annum quantum quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus' need not be here discussed.

⁴⁹ Plut. *Arist.* 26.

⁵⁰ That Ephialtes had been the master of Pericles would have been forgotten the more easily since the position of εισηγητής or διδάσκαλος τῶν πολιτικῶν to Pericles was commonly ascribed to Damonides or Damon, see *Ath. Pol.* 27. 4, Plut. *Per.* 9. 4. The latter quotes Plato Comicus on Damon: σὺ γάρ, ὡς φασιν, ὁ Χείρων ἐξέθρεψας Περικλέα.

of its power by Ephialtes and Pericles.⁵¹ But a careful reading of what is said there confirms the view that Pericles entered the struggle late and played a subordinate part. The words of Aristotle are καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρεοπαγῶ βουλὴν Ἐφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καὶ Περικλῆς. The word order with the singular predicate shows that Ephialtes was foremost in the writer's mind and Pericles little more than an afterthought sufficiently explained by the sentence that follows.⁵² A writer who puts the matter thus in this passage might well, on another occasion, omit the part played by Pericles altogether.

It cannot be maintained that in Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* Themistocles is written by mistake for Pericles or any other name. The double-faced stratagem attributed in the text to Themistocles is a typical illustration of his duplicity: ⁵³ nothing could be more unlike the Olympian Pericles. But there is no need to be surprised that Plutarch makes no mention of the incident in his life. Not only does it conflict with his chronology for Themistocles, but in itself it is neither improving nor amusing, and may very well have been omitted on its own demerits by a moralising biographer.⁵⁴

When the wife and children of Themistocles joined him on his way to Persia, they came from Athens.⁵⁵ If, therefore, Themistocles passed direct from ostracism to banishment, we must suppose that his family had been content to be separated from him all the time that he was living in honourable retirement at Argos, but now suddenly joined him while fleeing for his life. This may have been the case. The Greeks were certainly prone to visit the sins of the father on the rest of the family. But if, as this paper has endeavoured to show, there are grounds for the view that Themistocles returned to Athens from ostracism before his flight to Persia, then we may quote in support of it the fact that it was from Athens and not from Argos that his family set out to join him on his last journey, and we may do so the more since Plutarch gives a pleasing picture of his family life.⁵⁶

There are thus a number of considerations all supporting the belief that Themistocles went back to Athens after his ostracism. The weak point in the evidence so far adduced is the fact that no ancient authority has been quoted to the effect that Themistocles did indeed return. But when these pages had already been written, my colleague, Mr. E. R. Dodds, drew my attention to a passage of Cicero where the return is referred to in so many words. 'Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga redituque retinetur?' ⁵⁷ Many editors have rejected the MS. reading, but only on purely historical grounds which this paper has at least demonstrated to be not beyond question. The context of the words strongly favours the MS. reading. They occur in a letter written by Cicero in 56 B.C. shortly after his return from banishment. It is

⁵¹ Aristot. *Pol.* ii. 1274 A.

⁵² τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια μισθοφόροι κατέστησε Περικλῆς.

⁵³ Sandys, *Ath. Pol.* p. 109a.

⁵⁴ *Face Ruehl Rhein. Mus.* 1891, p. 433.

As to why Plutarch may have omitted, see

further (in spite of his mistaken chronology), Bauer, *Forsch.* p. 82, and Nordin, *Stud. i.d. Themistoklesfrage*, pp. 62-3.

⁵⁵ Plut. *Them.* 24.

⁵⁶ Plut. *Them.* 18, cp. 24.

⁵⁷ Cic. *ad Fam.* v. 12. 5.

addressed to the historian Luceius, and urges him to write a special monograph on Cicero's career, 'a principio coniurationis usque ad reditum nostrum.' Editors have suggested changing the name Themistocles, or emending *reditu* to *interitu*.⁵⁸ But either change spoils the sense. Nothing could be so Ciceronian as to compare his own recent feeble vacillations with the masterly versatility of Themistocles, nothing less appropriate than a reference to the death in exile of the great Athenian *novus homo*. Several passages are indeed quoted by the editors in which the flight and death of Themistocles are unquestionably coupled by Cicero,⁵⁹ but in all these passages the association is eminently appropriate. They belong to a later phase of the orator's career, when his country was plunged in civil war, and the ultimate fate of Themistocles was far more likely to be often before his mind.

The most serious objection to accepting the MS. reading in the letter to Luceius is to be found in another statement of Cicero, which is generally thought to confirm 471 B.C. as the date of the flight to Persia. It occurs in the *de Amicitia* and runs thus: '(Themistocles) cum imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam liberauisset propterque inuidiam in exilium expulsus esset, . . . fecit idem quod xx. annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus.'⁶⁰

The attack on Rome by Coriolanus was assigned to 491 B.C., so that, according to the somewhat vague language of the *de Amicitia*, Themistocles fled to Persia not later than 471 B.C., and, if we are to assume that Cicero does not contradict himself, either this passage or the letter must be emended. There is, however, no reason to assume that it is the letter that must on this assumption be corrupt. Nothing could be simpler than to emend xx. to xxx. in the *de Amicitia*, and then the treatise is in complete agreement with the unemended letter.

But is there any need to look for such agreement on such a point between a letter written in 56 B.C., and a treatise on Friendship, written twelve years later? There is reason to think that shortly before writing the *de Amicitia* Cicero was somewhat exercised over the credibility of the Themistocles narrative; ⁶¹ very possibly he may have modified his views on the subject as a result. But if he did so, it by no means follows that his later opinions were always the sounder.

Or again, considering how experts differed both as to the credibility and the chronology of the Themistocles narrative, we have only to assume that Cicero used different authorities when writing the letter of 56 B.C. and the treatise of 44 B.C., and it becomes perfectly possible that the latter contradicted the former without the writer having been aware of the contradiction. It is not even as though we had two statements of fact in conflict. It is merely a case of a statement of fact conflicting with the implications of an alleged date.

⁵⁸ See Tyrrell and Jeans *ad loc.*

⁵⁹ Tyrrell quotes *Brut.* 43, *ad Au.* ix. 10. 3, *de Amic.* 42. The death of Themistocles is mentioned in the *pro Scauro*

(54 B.C.), but in a context that deals with the subject of suicide.

⁶⁰ Cic. *de Amic.* 42.

⁶¹ See Cic. *Brut.* 43 (46 B.C.).

On no showing, therefore, does the *de Amicitia* offer any good reason for rejecting the MS. reading in the letter to Luceius, supported as that is both by the context and by independent historical evidence, when it tells us that, like Cicero himself, Themistocles had been not only banished but also restored from banishment.⁶²

P. N. URE.

⁶² Mention should perhaps be made of Boot's neat emendation 'reditusque spe tenetur (cp. Purser *Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*,

ad loc.); but though ingenious this emendation is as untenable as the rest. The context requires a reference to an actual return.

HERMES CHTHONIOS AS EPONYM OF THE SKOPADAE

FROM the tenth Pythian ode of Pindar we learn that both the Aleuadae,¹ who had their seat of power at Larissa, and the Skopadae, lords of Crannon, once called Ephyra, were descendants of Heracles. These families are chiefly known to us through the poets, and in the case of the Skopadae, from the passage in the *Protagoras* of Plato in which a poem of Simonides is discussed. The statement of Theocritus,² that the great families of Thessaly would be buried in obscurity but for the songs written in their honour, is amply justified :

πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀντιόχοιο δόμοις καὶ ἄνακτος Ἀλεῦα
ἀρμαλὴν ἔμμηνον ἐμετρήσαντο πενεσταί·
πολλοὶ δὲ Σκοπάδαισιν ἐλαυνόμενοι ποτὶ σηκοὺς
μόσχοι σὺν κεραῇσιν ἐμυκήσαντο βοέεσσι
μυρία ἅμ' πεδίον Κραννώνιον ἐνδιάσκειν
ποιμένες ἔκκριτα μῆλα φιλοξείνοισι Κρεώνδαις.
ἄλλ' οὐ σφιν τῶν ἡδὺς, ἐπεὶ γλυκὺν ἐξεκένωσαν
θυμὸν ἐς εὐρείαν σχεδιάν στυγνοῖο γέροντος,
ἄμναστοι δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῆνα λιπόντες
δειλοῖς ἐν νεκύεσσι μακροὺς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο
εἰ μὴ δεινὸς αἰοιδὸς ὁ Κήϊος αἶολα φωνέων
βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστοῦς
ὀπλοτέρους.

The Aleuadae are more conspicuous and more often mentioned than the Skopadae, who were the younger branch of the Aleuad family, as the Kreondae are the younger branch of the Skopadae at Krannon. Both families appear to have immigrated from Thesprotia. The eponym of the Aleuadae is one of the Thessalian heroes whose story brings them into connexion with the serpent, of whom the most famous is Asklepios. Of him Rohde writes : ' In Wahrheit ist ursprünglich auch er ein in der Erde hausender thessalischer Ortsdaimon gewesen, der aus der Tiefe, wie viele solche Erdgeister, Heilung von Krankheiten, Kenntniss der Zukunft (beides in alter Zeit eng verbunden) heraufsandte.' ³

The name Aleuas, as I have previously pointed out,⁴ means Averter of Ill, and is closely connected with the name of the goddess of Mantinea and Tegea, whose title Alea has been interpreted by M. Fougères ⁵ as the goddess affording the ' protection qui éloigne le mal.' Aleuas was evidently once the name or title of a divine hero of the order of the Thessalian Heracles. In the northern Greek countries, in Aetolia, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly, names

¹ Boeckh on Pindar, *Pyth.*, 10, pp. 531-534.

² *Id.*, 16, 34 ff.

³ *Psyche*, 1, 141.

⁴ *C.Q.*, xiii., 3-4, 170-171.

⁵ *B.C.H.*, xvi., 573.

from the verbs meaning to ward off ill are exceedingly common among the princes and other distinguished men. Amyntor, Amyntas, Alexander, Alkon, Alketas, Aleuas will serve for examples of such.

It would seem probable that the name Skopas, which maintains itself in the Skopad genealogy, had some especial meaning such as that which kept the name Alexander so prominent in the north of Greece. The value of that name is seen in the health deity Alexanor, as well as in the epithet applied to Heracles, Hermes, Apollo, and other divinities, ἀλεξίκακος. The name Skopas evidently comes from the root σκεπ-, which has in it the meanings of shelter, watch, and look, and may be compared with Latin tueor, which signifies both to guard and to gaze. The meaning of shelter is seen in connexion with the chthonic deities at Hermione, in a definition in Suidas, in which, under the phrase ἀνθ' Ἑρμίωνος is the following :

Ἑρμιόνη γὰρ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλις Κόρης καὶ Διήμητρος ἄστυλος, ὥστε σκέπην παρέχειν τοῖς ἰκετεύουσιν.

This is the most useful example of the root for my purpose, which is to give the meaning of Shelterer, Protector to the name Skopas, and to attach it to a chthonic deity of Thessaly, for whose cult at Crannon and Larissa, and at many other places in Thessaly, there is inscriptional evidence.⁶

The chthonic deity is Hermes, from whom a Thessalian and Aetolian month was named. This month, Hermaios may, as Stein⁷ suggests, testify to a very ancient cult of Hermes as 'Totengott' in Thessaly and Aetolia. There is evidence⁸ that Hermes was worshipped at Pherae, that seat of divinity that traffics with the dead. The chthonic deities are notably the gods of increase of field and flock, and in the sixteenth book⁹ of the *Iliad* Hermes lies with Polymele, the One of Many Flocks, and there is born to him a son Eudoros, an epithet that recalls titles of the Earth, the All-Giver. Hermes himself has the title of ἐπιμήλιος, and the word πολύμηλος¹⁰ occurs in the *Iliad* in connexion with Phorbas (the Feeder of Cattle), the Trojan most beloved by Hermes, who gave him wealth.

There is no need to dwell on these well-known facts, which I use in leading up to the interpretation of Hermes' epithet εὔσκοπος, as the Shelterer or Protector, an interpretation which would link the word with Skopas, the eponym of the lords of Crannon, whose ten thousand goodly sheep were watched by countless shepherds on the plains of Crannon. I would interpret both words in the sense of the lines addressed to another shepherd god :

thou god of shepherds all,
which of our gentle lambkins takest keepe
and when our flock into mischaunce mought fall
dost save from mischief the unwary sheepe,
Als of their maisters hast no less regard
than of their flocks, which thou dost watch and ward.

⁶ P.W., 8, 738, gives the references.

⁷ P.W., 8, 763.

⁸ Calleim, *Frag.*, 117.

⁹ *Il.*, 16, 180 ff.

¹⁰ *Il.*, 14, 490.

'Watch and ward' expresses the etymological meaning of the root seen in both words. The words *εὔσκεπής*¹¹ and *εὐσκέπαστος*,¹² passives to *εὔσκοπος*, both mean sheltered, the passive forms evidently retaining the more ancient meaning. The active form *εὔσκοπος* passed over into the meaning 'with good aim,' and is applied once in the *Odyssey* to Artemis in that significance. It is later used of the other gods of the bow, Apollo and Heracles. It is not suited to Hermes in that sense, and is found with reference to him twice in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*, both in connexion with the much-disputed epithet *ἀργεῖφόντης*.

The lines in the seventh book¹³ of the *Odyssey*, in which the epithets appear, suggest the meaning of Shelterer, the 'custos maximus' of Horace, for *εὔσκοπος*.

σπένδοντες δεπᾶεσσιν εὐσκόπῳ ἀργεῖφόντῃ
ὦ πύματῳ σπένδεσκον, ὅτε μνησαίαιτο κοῖτου.

Before lying down in sleep, which is so akin to death, they commend themselves to the protection of the God of Souls. Here is the true meaning of *εὔσκοπος* with reference to Hermes. By contamination with the meaning seen in *σκοπός*, mark, the epithet assumed the significance which made it appropriate to archer-gods. The other epithet, *ἀργεῖφόντης*, whatever its meaning, has in it the root which appears in the name of the dread Death Goddess, Persephoneia, and if the etymology of 'Περσε-' is that which is declared in Roscher 2,1288, to be the only satisfactory one, i.e. 'stürmendes Licht,' the meaning of *ἀργεῖφόντης* would closely approach that of Persephoneia in both parts of its composition.

In the genealogy of the Skopadae, so far as known, the name Skopas appears as the name of three of the family. The name Diaktorides appears among the suitors of Agorista in the sixth book of Herodotus—*ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κρανώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἀλκων*. The name of the Skopad suitor is derived from an epithet of the god Hermes, which appears always in the *Iliad* in the phrase *διάκτορος ἀργεῖφόντης*. Of the ten instances of the word in the *Odyssey* it accompanies *ἀργεῖφόντης* in eight. It appears alone in the *Odyssey*, once in the genitive, and once in the vocative. The epithet is appropriate to Hermes *ψυχοπομπός*, who guides souls to and from the realm of Persephone.

Connecting the name Skopas with the epithet *εὔσκοπος*, and noting the name Diaktorides, which points directly to a cult of Hermes, I argue that just as the Aleuadae traced their family to a hero, perhaps a hypostasis of Heracles, whose name was Aleuas, Averter of Evil, so the Skopadae, lords of many flocks, had for their eponym a hypostasis of Hermes Chthonios under the name of Skopas, the Protector.

A third name, for which Gruppe's theorising would furnish me an argument, I must regretfully forgo. He does not discuss the Skopadae, but finds that the hero Kreon is a hypostasis of the Thessalian Hermes. We learn from Plato's

¹¹ Theophrastus, *H.P.*, 4, 11.

¹² *Od.*, 7, 136-138.

¹³ Thuc., V., 71.

Protagoras that the father of Skopas of Simonides' ode was Kreon. Gruppe¹⁴ writes of Hermes κρέων, worshipped in Thessaly, but the train of reasoning by which Hermes is shown to have had this title is to my mind unsound. The only passage quoted in which the title is actually given to Hermes is a fragment from Anacreon, and I have been able to find no other. It is, of course, possible that Hermes may have borne this title, which is a usual one for divinities and heroes, and in that case he would serve excellently as the eponym of the younger branch of the Skopads, the Kreondae.

Like the names Alexanor, Alketas, Alkon, Alexander, Amynander, etc., the name Skopas appears in the western part of northern Greece. It is found in inscriptions¹⁵ referring to Aetolians, and the well-known strategos of the Aetolians¹⁶ (whose name occurs in the second of the two inscriptions cited) was named Skopas. It is significant for the prevalence of these names of religious origin in the north-western parts of Greece, as well as in Macedonia and Thessaly, that among the witnesses on the bronze tablet discovered at Dodona¹⁷ are the names of two Molossians, Alexanor and Skopaïos. (It must be said that the first two letters of the latter name are supplied.)

Hermes does not appear on the coins of Thessaly, which chiefly testify to the worship of the great Thessalian god, Poseidon, but the cult of Hermes was widespread in this land of flocks and herds, and it is characteristic of Thessalian cult that he should be worshipped as χθόνιος. From this god, who watched over their wealth and gave them increase, I think the Skopadae got their name.

GRACE H. MACURDY.

¹⁴ *Handbuch*, 5, 2, 1323.

¹⁵ Ditt., *Sylloge*, 845, 11; 923, 3.

¹⁶ *Aetolia, Geography, Topography, and Antiquities*, Woodhouse, p. 235.

¹⁷ Ditt., *Sylloge*, 839, 5.

PTOLEMAIOS EPIGONOS

J'ESPÉRAIS bien n'en plus parler; j'en ai parlé, jadis, assez longuement.¹ Mais un important article, publié en 1915 dans l'*Hermes* par E. von Stern et dont je n'ai eu connaissance qu'en ces temps derniers,² m'oblige à en dire encore quelques mots.³

Il s'agit, une fois de plus, de ce Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου, appelé aussi Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπίγονος,⁴ dont fait mention un décret voté, en 240 avant notre ère, par les citoyens de Telmessos en Lycie; ⁵ qui, par la faveur de Ptolémée III Évergète, était devenu peu avant cette date prince souverain de Telmessos; et qui reçut des Telmessiens, en récompense de ses bienfaits, les plus rares honneurs.

J'avais cru reconnaître ⁶ dans ce personnage Ptolémée, fils du roi Lysimaque, né du mariage de celui-ci avec Arsinoé (II), fille de Ptolémée I Soter et sœur de Ptolémée II Philadelphie. E. von Stern ne doute pas que ce ne soit là une erreur.⁷ Il s'applique à démontrer que le fils de Lysimaque et d'Arsinoé fut adopté par Philadelphie, à l'instigation de sa sœur devenue sa femme, et par lui associé à l'empire; qu'il ne diffère pas de ce (Ptolémée), 'fils' (υἱός) de Philadelphie, dont parle le roi dans sa lettre aux Milésiens; ⁸ qu'il est identique aussi au 'co-régent' de Philadelphie, connu par les papyrus égyptiens des années 267/6-259; identique enfin au gouverneur d'Éphèse qui se révolta contre Philadelphie et périt assassiné en 259.⁹ Et il ne m'en coûte nullement

¹ B.C.H. 1904, 408 sqq.

² E. von Stern, *Hermes*, L. 1915, 427 sqq.; voir notamment 436-444.—Le présent mémoire a été rédigé en novembre 1920.

³ La bibliographie du sujet, que W. W. Tarn qualifiait déjà de 'tremendous' en 1910 (*J.H.S.* xxx. 1910, 222), s'est sensiblement accrue depuis que j'en ai dressé le tableau dans B.C.H. *ibid.* 409, 1. Les indications d'E. von Stern ne sont point complètes. Aux écrits qu'il a cités (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, iv. 311-313; A. Rehm, *Delphinion*, 303 et note 4; Wilamowitz, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1914, 88), ajouter: Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* ii. *add.*, p. 549 (*ad* n. 224, not. 4); C. Lehmann, *Klio*, 1905, 385, 389, 1; D. Cohen, *De magistrat. Aegyptiis*, etc. diss. Leyden (1912), 13-14; M. Rostowzew, *Stud. zur Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, 278; W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.* xxx. 1910, 215, 39, et 221-222; *Antig. Gonatas*, 445-447;

E. Pozzi, *Mem. Accad. di Torino*, lxiii. 1911/1912, 345, 3; G. De Sanctis, *Atti Accad. di Torino*, 1911/1912, 816. M. G. F. Hill veut bien me rappeler que le Brit. Mus. possède une monnaie (*Num. Chron.* 1912, 145, n. 24) qui peut être attribuée à Ptolémée de Telmessos.

⁴ La restitution ἐπίγονος, que j'ai proposée pour les ll. 22-23 du décret de Telmessos (B.C.H. 1904, 410-412), est acceptée sans hésitation par E. von Stern (*Hermes*, *ibid.* 438). Bouché-Leclercq a été seul jusqu'ici à en contester l'exactitude (*Hist. des Lagides*, iv. 312). Il n'a pas dit ce qu'il y voudrait substituer.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* 55.

⁶ B.C.H. 1904, 408 sqq.

⁷ *Hermes*, *ibid.*

⁸ A. Rehm, *Delphinion in Milet*, 300, n. 139, l. 9.

⁹ *Trog. prol.* 26; *Athen.* xiii. 593a.

d'accorder que cette démonstration est conduite avec beaucoup d'art et qu'elle aboutit, par une suite de déductions ingénieusement enchaînées, à des conclusions qui paraissent, en soi, fort plausibles.¹⁰

Ces conclusions admises, il va sans dire que Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque et d'Arsinoé, n'a plus rien à faire avec le Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου de Telmessos. E. von Stern voit, en effet, dans ce dernier, comme on l'avait proposé depuis longtemps, un neveu de Ptolémée Évergètes, fils de son frère Lysimaque.

Or, c'est ici qu'à mon avis commencent les difficultés.

I.

Ptolémée Évergètes eut un frère cadet appelé Lysimaque.¹¹ Ce Lysimaque eut-il un fils appelé Ptolémée? Nous l'ignorons parfaitement. Ptolémée, neveu d'Évergètes, n'existe que par hypothèse.¹² Au reste, j'accorde que l'hypothèse, au moins à première vue, n'a rien que d'acceptable. Acceptons-la donc, sauf à voir ce qui en résulte.

Si 'Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque,' honoré par le décret des Telmessiens, est le neveu d'Évergètes, il avait à peine vingt ans¹³ lorsqu'il reçut de son oncle, peu avant l'année 240, la principauté de Telmessos. Il n'y a, dès lors, aucun motif de ne point l'identifier, d'une part, avec Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου, donateur à Délos en 188,¹⁴ de l'autre, avec *Ptolemaeus Telmessius*, mentionné par T. Live¹⁵ (d'après Polybe) à propos du traité d'Apamée, sous la date de 189. Effectivement, l'identité des trois Ptolémées est admise par E. von Stern,¹⁶ comme elle l'avait été avant lui par Ad. Wilhelm¹⁷ et par plusieurs autres. En raison de l'indication donnée par T. Live, Ptolémée fils de Lysimaque, neveu d'Évergètes, aurait donc régné sur Telmessos durant plus de cinquante ans.—C'est précisément là ce qui me fait douter que le prince de Telmessos fût, comme on l'assure, le neveu d'Évergètes.

Nous sommes bien peu renseignés sur ce Lysimaque qu'on lui donne pour père.¹⁸ Au vrai, nous ne savons de lui qu'une chose, c'est qu'il fut mis à

¹⁰ Il faut observer pourtant qu'au lendemain de la publication de la lettre de Philadelphie aux Milésiens (*Delphinion*, n. 139), G. De Sanctis a donné des ll. 8-9 de ce document une interprétation tout à fait contraire à celle que propose E. von Stern (*Atti Accad. di Torino*, 1913/1914, 1238; ce mémoire paraît avoir été ignoré de E. von Stern). [Depuis que ces pages ont été écrites, j'ai pu, grâce à l'obligeance de W. Vollgraff, prendre connaissance d'une étude de A. W. de Groot (*Rhein. Mus.* 1917/1918, 446-463: 'Ptolemaios der Sohn'), où la thèse de E. von Stern est vigoureusement battue en brèche.]

¹¹ Pol. xv. 25, 2; Schol. Theocr. xvii. 128 (p. 324, C. Wendel).

¹² L'hypothèse a été, pour la première fois, exprimée par Ad. Wilhelm, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1898, 210.

¹³ Le mariage de Philadelphie et d'Arsinoé

I se place entre 285 et 280 (J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 2, 130); Ptolémée (Évergètes) est né en 280 ou peu auparavant; la naissance de Lysimaque, son frère, est antérieure à 274 (cf. Beloch, *ibid.* 132).

¹⁴ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 588, ll. 94-95; 188 est la date établie par F. Dürbach. Cf. Ad. Wilhelm, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1898, 211.

¹⁵ Liv. (Pol.) 37, 56, 4-5. J'ai été le premier, je crois, à appeler l'attention sur ce texte: *Rev. de Philol.* 1894, 119 sqq.

¹⁶ Voir, notamment, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 442.

¹⁷ Ad. Wilhelm, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Je ne sais si l'inscription hiéroglyphique et démotique de Thèbes [et non de Koptos, Sottas], où est nommé 'Lysimachos, stratège, frère des rois' (Krall, *Sitz.-ber. Wien. Akad.* 1884, 366-368; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, i. 162, 2; 283, 3; iii. 129, 2), se rapporte, comme je l'ai cru sur la foi de Krall, au frère d'Évergètes (*Rev. Ét. anc.*

mort par le fameux Sosibios, le tout-puissant ministre d'Évergètes, puis de Philopator.¹⁹ Voici ce que nous apprend là-dessus Polybe : (xv. 25. 2) *καὶ πρῶτῳ μὲν ἀρτῦσαι (Sosibium) φόνον Λυσιμάχῳ, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λυσιμάχου καὶ Πτολεμαίου (II), δευτέρῳ δὲ Μάγῃ τῷ Πτολεμαίου (II) καὶ Βερενίκῃ τῆς Μάγῃ, τρίτῃ δὲ Βερενίκῃ τῇ Πτολεμαίου μητρὶ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος, τετάρτῳ Κλεομένει τῷ Σπαρτιῳτῇ, πέμπτῃ θυγατρὶ Βερενίκῃ Ἀρσινόῃ.*—Quand mourut Lysimaque? On suppose d'ordinaire que Sosibios le fit périr en même temps que Magas et Bérénice, c'est-à-dire presque aussitôt après l'avènement de Philopator. Pourtant, ceci ne ressort point nécessairement du texte de Polybe : ce texte indique seulement que le meurtre de Lysimaque précéda ceux de Magas et de Bérénice. Il se pourrait qu'il les eût précédés de longtemps; il se pourrait dès lors que Lysimaque eût été mis à mort dès le règne d'Évergètes. C'est une hypothèse que j'ai autrefois énoncée;²⁰ je la regarde, encore aujourd'hui, comme plausible. Mais, pour simplifier les choses, nous pouvons négliger ce point et nous en tenir à l'opinion courante. Pour l'objet qui nous occupe, il importe, après tout, assez peu de connaître l'époque exacte de la mort de Lysimaque.

Ce qui est capital, en revanche, c'est que le meurtre de Lysimaque, comme celui du prince Magas, frère de Philopator, comme celui de Bérénice, veuve d'Évergètes, fut un crime politique. Lysimaque portait ombrage à Sosibios. Le soupçonneux vizir jugeait inquiétant le frère d'Évergètes; il en redoutait l'opposition ou l'ambition : c'est pourquoi il lui parut opportun de s'en débarrasser. Or, selon l'adage connu, 'qui tue le père doit aussi tuer les fils' :

*νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας υἱὸς καταλείπει.*²¹

Les mêmes motifs qui déterminèrent Sosibios à supprimer Lysimaque le devaient décider aussi à se défaire de Ptolémée. Je ne vais pas, cependant, jusqu'à exiger qu'il le fit tuer; je n'ai pas l'âme si cruelle. Mais je soutiens qu'il devait, à tout le moins, le mettre 'hors d'état de nuire,' c'est-à-dire le séquestrer et le resserrer étroitement, comme on sait, par exemple, qu'il fit pour Kléomènes.²² Car il est trop clair que, ne fût-ce qu'en raison de son âge,

1912, 374 et note 7). Spiegelberg (*Demot. inschr.* 54) est d'avis, comme Wiedemann (*Philol.* 1888, 90) et Strack (*Dynast.* 95, 5), qu'il en faut abaisser considérablement la date, en raison surtout de l'expression 'frère des rois,' qui impliquerait l'existence d'une 'Mit- oder Sammherrschaft.' Cependant M. Sottas a eu l'obligeance de me faire savoir que rien dans l'inscription ne 'milite en faveur d'un abaissement de la date' d'abord adoptée.

¹⁹ Que Sosibios ait été au pouvoir dès le règne d'Évergètes, c'est ce qu'a, le premier, vu J. Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* iii. 1, 713), et ce qu'a confirmé le décret voté par les Déliens en son honneur (*IG.* xi. 4, 649); cf. Holleaux, *Rev. Ét. anc.* 1912, 370 sqq.

²⁰ C'est à tort, toutefois, que j'avais

voulu tirer argument de l'absence du nom de Lysimaque sur l'exèdre consacrée, à Thermos, par les Aitoliens à Ptolémée Évergètes et à ses proches (G. Sotiriadis, *Εφημ. ἀρχ.* 1905, 90-94). Ce monument est incomplet; au témoignage de G. Sotiriadis, il y manque deux pierres (*ibid.* 90 et 92); le nom de Lysimaque pouvait être gravé sur l'une d'elles.

²¹ Vers de Stasinos, cité par Polybe, xxiii. 10, 10.

²² Sosibios en aurait usé de même à l'égard de Bérénice, si l'on en croit Zénobios (iii. 94; dans Leutsch, *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 81), dont Niese (ii. 361) accepte le témoignage. La reine aurait été internée dans son palais, et s'y serait empoisonnée.

Ptolémée était plus à craindre que Lysimaque. Et il ne pouvait échapper à personne que la mort même de Lysimaque aurait pour effet nécessaire de le rendre particulièrement redoutable : à moins de l'imaginer dénaturé, comment ce fils n'eût-il point eu à cœur de venger son père ? D'autre part, Lysimaque et Magas une fois disparus, Ptolémée, en sa qualité de cousin de Philopator, se trouvait être l'unique héritier de l'empire. Le tentation ne lui viendrait-elle pas, avant que Philopator fût marié,²³ avant qu'il eût un fils, de se mettre en possession d'un si bel héritage ? Si Sosibios n'a point fait des réflexions si simples ; si, en 221/220, après la mort de Lysimaque et de Magas, il a souffert que le neveu d'Évergètes demeurât tranquille à Telmessos, j'avoue ne rien comprendre à sa conduite. Polybe vante son ἀγχίνουα :²⁴ cet homme 'subtil' m'a plutôt l'air d'un sot.

Qu'on n'aille point dire, en effet, que, résidant en Lycie, loin de l'Égypte, Ptolémée était par là même devenu inoffensif. C'est justement loin de l'Égypte qu'il lui était loisible de préparer de longue main et de machiner à l'aise quelque coup dangereux contre le roi régnant. La rébellion du 'fils' de Philadelphie avait naguère fait voir ce que pouvait tenter en Asie un prince entreprenant. Et l'on se rappelle les inquiétudes si raisonnables que Polybe prête à Sosibios, en 220, lorsqu'il s'agit de renvoyer Kléomènes en Grèce : (v. 35, 9) ἡγωνίων (οἱ περὶ Σωσίβιον) μή ποτε — — βαρὺς καὶ φοβερός αὐτὸς ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνταγωνιστὴς σφίσι γένηται, (10) — — — θεωρῶν — — — πολλὰ τὰ παρακρεμμένα μέρη καὶ μακρὰν ἀπεσπασμένα τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντα πρὸς πραγμάτων λόγον· (11) καὶ γὰρ ναῦς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σάμον ἦσαν τόποις οὐκ ὀλίγαι καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἐφεσον. Si peu digne que fût le principicule de Telmessos d'être comparé à l'héroïque roi de Sparte, son séjour en Lycie était propre à faire naître des appréhensions de même sorte. . . . Lui aussi pouvait jeter du côté d'Éphèse et de Samos des regards indiscrets.

Si Ptolémée de Telmessos est le fils de Lysimaque, frère d'Évergètes et victime de Sosibios, il est donc inconcevable qu'après avoir fait périr son père et Magas, Sosibios lui ait laissé la liberté. J'ajoute maintenant qu'il est moins concevable encore qu'il lui ait laissé la vie après la mort de Philopator.

Car, à partir de ce moment, c'est à Ptolémée de Telmessos, comme au seul agnat survivant de la famille royale, qu'appartiennent légalement les fonctions d'ἐπίτροπος et de régent, aussi longtemps que durera la minorité d'Épiphanes.²⁵ On sait que, pour s'assurer le pouvoir pendant cette minorité, Agathoklès et Sosibios jugèrent bon de supprimer la reine-mère Arsinoé et de fabriquer un testament,²⁶ attribué à Philopator, par lequel le roi défunt leur confiait la

²³ Le mariage de Philopator avec sa sœur Arsinoé (III) fut, comme on sait, tardif (cf. Pol. xv. 25, 9) ; il est certainement postérieur à l'année 217 ; cf. Niese, ii. 405-406 ; Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolem.* 194, 14.

²⁴ Pol. xv. 25, 1 ; 34, 4.

²⁵ Sur les règles en vigueur dans les monarchies macédoniennes, concernant la régence et la tutelle du roi, au cas où celui-ci est mineur, voir J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 1, 384 ; E. Breccia, *Il diritto*

dinastico, etc. (*Studi di Stor. ant.* iv.), 57 sqq. ; 74.—On observera que le rapport de parenté est exactement le même entre Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque (à supposer que Lysimaque soit le frère d'Évergètes), et Ptolémée Épiphanes, qu'entre Antigone Doson et Philippe V.

²⁶ Pol. xv. 25, 5 : διαθήκην τινὰ παραγγέλωσαν (Sosibios et Agathocles) πεπλασμένην, ἐν ᾗ γεγραμμένον ἦν ὅτι καταλείπει τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιτρόπους ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγαθοκλῆα καὶ Σωσίβιον.

tutelle de son fils. Mais, cependant, à quoi bon ce crime et cette fraude, si Ptolémée, neveu d'Évergètes et par conséquent cousin de Philopator, continue d'exister? C'est avec lui qu'ont d'abord à compter Agathoklès et Sosibios. L'assassinat d'Arsinoé ne s'explique que si la reine est le principal obstacle entre eux et la régence.²⁷ Le testament supposé de Philopator n'a pareillement de raison d'être que si toute la parenté masculine d'Épiphanes est éteinte; il est absurde dans le cas contraire. Pourquoi, le fils de Lysimaque étant toujours en vie, Agathoklès et Sosibios auraient-ils eu recours à cette inutile supercherie? Comment se seraient-ils flattés que les Alexandrins, d'ailleurs si mal disposés pour Agathoklès,²⁸ s'y pourraient laisser prendre? Il est trop évident que la pièce est apocryphe, puisqu'elle confère la qualité de tuteurs du roi à deux particuliers, au détriment du dernier prince du sang, c'est-à-dire en violation du droit monarchique: cette naïve imposture est la meilleure preuve qu'Agathoklès et Sosibios ne sont, pour parler comme Polybe, que des *ψευδεπίτροποι*.²⁹ Et, d'autre part, une fois Agathoklès renversé, comment la régence passe-t-elle après lui, d'abord à Tlépolémos, puis à Aristomènes? ³⁰ Comment ces deux personnages, qui, très différents d'Agathoklès et de Sosibios, sont de loyaux serviteurs de la couronne, usurpent-ils cette dignité sur le prince parent d'Épiphanes? Et, enfin, comment celui-ci, au lendemain de la mort de Philopator et pendant les années suivantes, se laisse-t-il si benoîtement déposer, souffre-t-il d'une âme si égale qu'on le tienne à l'écart, et ne tente-t-il rien pour faire valoir ses droits? ³¹ Comment, dans cette période agitée de l'histoire d'Égypte, n'est-il jamais parlé de lui?

Résumons ces observations. Si, comme le veut E. von Stern, Ptolémée fils de Lysimaque, seigneur de Telmessos, est le neveu d'Évergètes, il faut qu'il rentre dans l'ombre dès 220, il faut surtout qu'il meure en 203 ³² au plus tard: autrement, on se heurte à d'intolérables paradoxes historiques, ou mieux, à de radicales impossibilités. Mais E. von Stern admet—et son système l'oblige d'admettre—que le fils de Lysimaque régnait encore sur Telmessos en 189/8.

²⁷ À défaut d'agnat dans la ligne masculine, et si le roi défunt n'a pas institué par testament de conseil de régence, la tutelle du roi mineur et la régence sont ordinairement dévolues à la reine-mère; cf. E. Breccia, *ibid.* 74.—La lecture de Polybe (xv. 25, 8; 25, 12; 26a) ne permet pas de douter qu'Arsinoé ait été assassinée après la mort de Philopator; la vérité, sur ce point, a été vue par Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. des Lagides*, i. 338-339), qui toutefois, s'est étrangement mépris sur le sens des mots (Pol. xv. 26a, 1): *σῶσαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν*, lesquels signifieraient selon lui 'sauver la reine.'

²⁸ Cf. Pol. xv. 25, 10; 25, 23-25.

²⁹ Pol. xv. 25, 1.

³⁰ Pol. xvi. 21-22 (régence de Tlépolémos); xv. 31, 7; xviii. 53-54 (régence d'Aristomènes).

³¹ Il faut prêter attention à ce passage

de Pol. xv. 25, 25: *τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχειν πρόσωπον ἀξιοχρεῶν τὸ προστησόμενον, καὶ δι' οὗ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα καὶ τὴν Ἀγαθόκλειαν ἀπερείσονται (οἱ πολλοί), τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχον, ἐτι μὲν ἐλπῖδα καταδοκῶντες τὴν κατὰ τὸν Τληπόλεμον καὶ ταύτῃ προσανέχοντες*. Comment expliquer ce langage, s'il existe en ce moment un prince, proche parent du roi, qui peut et doit exercer le pouvoir en son nom? Comment les Alexandrins ne mettent-ils point en lui leurs espoirs, et comment n'est-il point à la tête de l'opposition qui se forme contre Agathoklès?

³² C'est à l'automne de 203, comme je l'ai indiqué maintes fois, que mourut Philopator, ou, tout au moins, que sa mort fut révélée au public. [Il m'a été très agréable de constater tout récemment que Ad. Wilhelm a donné à cette opinion l'appui de sa grande autorité: *Anzeig. der. Wien. Akad.* 1920, xvii.-xxvii. 55 sqq.]

Nous devons, en ce cas, renoncer à rien entendre à l'histoire intérieure de l'Égypte dans le temps qui suit la mort de Philopator. Cette histoire devient intelligible si, à la fin du III^e siècle, le prince de Telmessos est le cousin d'Épiphanes, ou, simplement, s'il est un Lagide.³³ C'est la preuve par l'absurde que le système est faux. Je ne sais, et personne ne sait, si Lysimaque, frère d'Evergètes, eut un fils appelé Ptolémée; mais, à coup sûr, ce fils n'était point le personnage célébré par le décret des Telmessiens. Et, dès lors, quel sera le père de celui-ci, sinon Lysimaque roi de Thrace? Pour échapper à cette conclusion, qui paraît nécessaire, inventera-t-on un troisième Lysimaque— inconnu de l'histoire?

Je crois donc, après examen, devoir m'en tenir à ma première opinion. 'Liegt sonst eine Nötigung vor,' écrit E. von Stern,³⁴ 'das Dekret der Telmessier auf den Sohn des Diadochen Lysimachos zu beziehen?' Il répond à cette question par un 'striktos nein'? Je pense avoir montré qu'il faut répondre par l'affirmative.

II.

Je dois discuter maintenant certaines critiques qu'a soulevées mon interprétation du mot *ἐπίγονος* joint au nom de Ptolémée.

Ce mot, ai-je dit, est une épithète, un surnom. Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, est appelé Ptolémée l' 'Épigone.' Il est dès lors le fils de Lysimaque, roi de Thrace : en effet, les 'Épigones' sont les fils des 'Diadoques.'³⁵

On a jugé que cette interprétation d'*ἐπίγονος* était un anachronisme, et que j'attribuais naïvement à ce mot un sens qu'il n'a pris que de nos jours. 'Nulla ci obbliga,' écrivait le regretté E. Pozzi,³⁶ 'a dare in questo caso alla parola *ἐπίγονος* il senso determinato e, direi, tecnico, con cui essa è adoperata ora nella storia ellenistica.' Et Bouché-Leclercq craint pareillement que je ne sois victime d'une 'illusion.' 'Nous sommes habitués,' dit-il,³⁷ 'à appeler "épigones" les fils des "diadoques" : mais il faudrait démontrer que cette expression, employée une fois par Diodore (i. 3),³⁸ . . . était en usage au temps où vivait

³³ C'est pourquoi, à supposer que la chronologie le permette, on ne gagnerait rien, dans le système de von Stern, à faire de *Ptolemaeus Telmessius* (identique au *Πτολεμαῖος Τημεσσιάρχης* de Délos) l'arrière petit-fils, et non le fils, du frère d'Evergètes. Il n'est pas possible que la dynastie de Telmessos soit un rameau de la famille royale d'Égypte.

³⁴ *Hermes*, *ibid.* 440.

³⁵ Je n'ai pas besoin de dire que je renonce maintenant à tirer argument de l'épigramme de Cnide, *Anc. Greek inscr.* 797. L'interprétation de H. Usener (*Rhein. Mus.* 1874, 25 *sqq.* = *Kl. Schriften*, iii, n. xvii, 382 *sqq.*), qui, je l'avoue, m'avait longtemps séduit, doit être définitivement abandonnée. Il est certain aujourd'hui qu' 'Αρτίγονος, le *κοῦρος* 'Επιγόνου, était un

simple particulier. C'est ce qu'avait vu, dès 1896, comme je m'en suis aperçu trop tard, W. R. Paton, *Rev. Ét. gr.* 1896, 422, 1. Cf. A. Rehm, *Delphinion*, 299, n. 138, E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 439, et aussi W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.* 1910, 214-215, Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. der griech. Bukoliker*, 200.—Il est surprenant que l'hypothèse d'Usener ait été encore acceptée en 1912, par W. Bettingen, *König. Antigonos Doson von Makedonien* (diss. Iéna, 1912), 23 et note 6.

³⁶ E. Pozzi, *Mem. Accad. di Torino*, 1911/1912, 345, 3 *s.f.*

³⁷ Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, iv. 312.

³⁸ Il y a là une forte erreur. Bouché-Leclercq oublie Dionys. Hal. *Arch.* i. 6, Suid. *s.v.* Νύμφης et Strab. xv. 736; d'autre part, il ne voit pas que, dans i. 3, 3, Diodore

notre "épigone." C'est un de ces termes de synthèse historique qui ne s'emploient qu'après coup, pour grouper les faits dans la perspective. . . .

La démonstration réclamée par Bouché-Leclercq est aisée à fournir, et je l'avais déjà fournie. Le vénérable érudit n'a pas songé à se demander d'où nous vient l'habitude d'appeler 'épigones' les fils des 'diadoques'; il n'a pas pris garde qu'elle remonte aux Grecs du III^e siècle, dont nous ne faisons que suivre l'exemple.

Comme je l'avais rappelé et comme en convient E. von Stern—au lieu que Bouché-Leclercq l'oublie—le mot *ἐπίγονοι* a été employé, dans la première moitié de ce siècle, par Nymphis d'Hérakleia et Hiéronynos de Kardia, pour désigner les fils et rejetons des Diadoques. Le premier composa un ouvrage *περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπιγόνων*, le second, une histoire intitulée *ἱστορίαι τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπιγόνων*.³⁹ Il n'est pas très vraisemblable que ces deux écrivains aient introduit chacun, dans le titre de son livre, un terme que les lecteurs eussent eu peine à entendre. Si, travaillant à l'écart l'un de l'autre, ils se sont rencontrés pour faire du mot *ἐπίγονοι* le même usage très particulier, c'est, je pense, qu'autour d'eux cet usage était établi; c'est qu'on avait, de leur temps, accoutumé d'appeler 'Épigones' les descendants des Diadoques. Or, le temps où ils écrivaient était précisément celui où vivait Ptolémée de Telmessos. Je veux bien, comme l'assure Bouché-Leclercq, qu' 'épigones' soit 'un de ces termes de synthèse historique qui ne s'emploient que pour grouper les faits dans la perspective.' Je constate seulement que ce 'terme de synthèse historique'—où je verrais beaucoup plus volontiers, je l'avoue, une appellation d'origine érudite (cf. ci-après)—eut la vogue de bonne heure.

Si l'on en fit emploi, ce ne fut point peut-être par un pressant besoin de 'grouper les faits dans la perspective'; ce fut plutôt, je crois, par esprit d'imitation. J'avais rappelé à ce propos⁴⁰ le nom d'*ἐπίγονοι*, donné par Alexandre à la seconde génération de ses soldats et aux jeunes recrues barbares de son armée.⁴¹ E. von Stern estime le rapprochement oiseux. Selon lui, la dénomination d' 'Épigones' appliquée aux descendants des Diadoques est la chose du monde la plus naturelle; il n'y a rien là que de conforme au sens primitif et habituel du mot *ἐπίγονος*: 'Die Bezeichnung entspricht dem Wortsinn von *ἐπίγονος* und ist ganz naturgemäss.'⁴² Bouché-Leclercq était du même avis: 'Il n'y a pas lieu d'invoquer comme précédent les *ἐπίγονοι* d'Alexandre.'⁴³ Je persiste à croire, au contraire, que le 'précédent' est

renvoie aux anciens auteurs qui els τοὺς διαδόχους ἢ τοὺς ἐπιγόνους κατέστρεψαν τὰς συντάξεις.

³⁹ Pour les références, voir *B.C.H.* 1904, 412, 4; W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.* 1910, 215, 38; E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 440. Je ne crois pas devoir partager les doutes de F. Jacoby (*P.-W.* viii. 1547) sur le titre de l'ouvrage de Hiéronynos.

⁴⁰ *B.C.H.* 1904, 412.

⁴¹ Sur la question, voir, en dernier lieu, J. Lesquier, *Instit. milit. de l'Égypte sous*

les Lagides, 53, 55, 62; cf. G. Schubart, *Quaest. de reb. milit. quales fuerint in regno Lagidarum*, 32-33.

⁴² E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 439.

⁴³ Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, iv. 312.—Bouché-Leclercq et E. von Stern, celui-ci reproduisant une phrase de Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. des Lagides*, *ibid.*), me reprochent d'avoir parlé hors de propos (cf. *B.C.H.* 1904, 412, 3) des Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς de l'armée lagide. J'ai seulement fait allusion, en général, non aux Πέρσαι τῆς

des plus instructifs. Mais, pour le faire entendre, il me faut insister quelque peu sur l'histoire, mal connue, semble-t-il, du mot *ἐπίγονος*.

Il est bien vrai qu'en raison de l'étymologie, ce mot signifie *post natus*, et peut, par conséquent, avoir le sens soit de 'descendant' (*posterus*; cf. *ἐπιγινόμενος*, *οἱ ἐπιγινόμενοι*), soit de 'puiné.' Il en est exactement de *ἐπίγονος*, comme de *πρόγονος*; ce sont termes correspondants et qui s'opposent. L'un désigne simplement le *minor*, comme l'autre le *maior natus*, que la comparaison porte sur des personnes appartenant à des générations successives ou à la même génération.⁴⁴ Dans le premier cas, les *πρόγονοι* sont les représentants des générations antérieures à celle que l'on considère, donc ses 'ascendants,' ses 'ancêtres'; inversement, les *ἐπίγονοι* en sont la 'postérité.' Dans le second cas, c'est-à-dire à l'intérieur d'une même génération, le qualificatif de *πρόγονος* marque la primogéniture: c'est ainsi que le fils aîné peut être dit (*ὁ υἱὸς*) *ὁ πρόγονος*; ⁴⁵ pareillement, *ἐπίγονος* pourra se dire du fils puiné. —Mais, ceci reconnu, on peut douter que, pris au sens soit de 'puiné,' soit de 'descendant,' ou, plus généralement, de *post natus*, le mot *ἐπίγονος* soit jamais entré dans l'usage ordinaire. Ce qui est sûr, en tout cas, c'est que, s'il a d'abord eu cette large acception, il est devenu très vite une sorte de nom propre collectif, employé seulement au pluriel, dont la signification, singulièrement restreinte, a été fixée une fois pour toutes.

Dans la grécité classique, les *ἐπίγονοι* sont expressément, et l'on peut dire exclusivement, les fils des Sept-Chefs célébrés par l'Épopée thébaine. Le terme ne se rencontre qu'au sens étroit qu'il avait reçu des Cycliques. Il appartient, jusqu'aux temps alexandrins, au vocabulaire épique. 'Descendant' s'est dit, en grec, ou bien *ἐκγονος*, ou bien *ἀπόγονος*, ou bien *ἐπιγινόμενος*, mais non point *ἐπίγονος*; les Grecs ne connaissent pas d' 'épigones' en dehors des 'Épigones' légendaires.⁴⁶

ἐπιγονῆς, mais aux hommes dits *τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*; et tout ce que j'ai voulu indiquer, c'est que la même idée, qui a suggéré l'appellation *ἐπίγονοι*, se retrouve aussi, semble-t-il, dans l'expression *τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*. C'est un point qui paraît aujourd'hui hors de doute; cf. J. Lesquier, *ibid.* 55 sqq. [La signification, si contestée, du terme *τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* vient tout dernièrement d'être fixée par U. Wilcken (*Arch. f. Pap.forsch.* vi. 368). Il est désormais acquis qu'il désigne les fils de soldats (*στρατιῶται*), nés en Égypte, jusqu'au moment où ils entrent dans l'armée et deviennent eux-mêmes soldats. Voilà qui rappelle nécessairement les *veteranis patribus tirones filii (succedentes)* institués par Alexandre, les *Epigoni*, dont parle Justin (12, 4, 5 sqq.).]

⁴⁴ Cf. les remarques de E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 440.

⁴⁵ Voir, par exemple, un décret de Kalymna: *Dial.-inschr.* 3555, ll. 7-9.

⁴⁶ M. Paul Mazon, que je ne saurais assez remercier de son obligeance, a bien

voulu, à ma prière, relever tous les passages des auteurs classiques où le mot *ἐπίγονοι* ne désigne point les fils des Sept. Ces passages se réduisent à cinq. Et, dans deux seulement (1 et 5), *ἐπίγονοι* a le sens plus ou moins net de 'descendants'; dans un seulement (4), un sens approchant de celui de 'puiné.'

1°. Aesch. *Sept.* 903: μένει | κτέατα δ' ἐπιγόνους, | δι' ὧν αἰνουμεῖς, | δι' ὧν νεῖκος ἔβα | καὶ θανάτου τέλος. Le poète ne parle point ici des 'Épigones.' 'Étéocle et Polynice ne laissent point de postérité (cf. 828). Il ne s'agit donc pas de leurs descendants, mais des générations suivantes en général. Eschyle, toutefois, se sert ici du terme par lequel la tradition désignait les fils des Sept-Chefs, les Épigones. Il ne peut se dégager entièrement des souvenirs de l'épopée... (P. Mazon, *Eschyle*, i., éd. 'Guill. Budé,' 1920, p. 141, n. 2, de la traduction).

2°. Plat. *Leg.* v. 740c:—ἐὰν δέ τις ἐλλεί-
πασιν χάριτες, ἢ πλείους ἐπίγονοι γίγνωνται
θῆλεις ἢ τινες ἄρρενες ἐκδῶτων κ.τ.λ.—3°. xi.

Appliqué, soit aux recrues d'Alexandre, soit aux princes issus des Diadoques, le qualificatif d'ἐπίγονοι n'a donc point été tiré de la langue commune—pour la bonne raison qu'il était étranger à cette langue. Il n'est pas dérivé simplement du 'Wortsinn' comme l'a pensé E. von Stern : car le 'Wortsinn' était oublié. Dans les deux cas, il est d'origine littéraire; dans les deux cas, il n'y faut voir qu'une réminiscence des vieilles épopées. Et l'on observera, qu'en effet, dans les deux cas, conformément à l'usage des poètes, le mot garde son caractère de nom propre collectif, réservé, bien que transmissible par hérédité, à une catégorie limitée de personnes.

C'est Alexandre qui, le premier, s'inspirant directement des souvenirs épiques, rajeunit ainsi l'antique expression par une application nouvelle; il en fit un vocable militaire : ses vétérans, comme jadis les Sept, eurent leurs 'Épigones.' Après lui et sur l'exemple qu'il avait donné, 'Épigones' devint, en Égypte, le nom de jeunes soldats, fils eux-mêmes de soldats.⁴⁷ Rien que de naturel, semble-t-il, si, vers le même temps, on se servit du même terme pour désigner la postérité des généraux macédoniens, compagnons d'armes du conquérant. Dès qu'on se réfère à l'emploi analogue et tout récent fait par Alexandre du mot ἐπίγονοι, cette dernière appellation s'explique aisément. Si, au contraire, on écarte et néglige ce 'précédent,' on crée une difficulté inutile : car il s'agit alors de savoir comment l'idée put naître de donner aux fils et descendants des Diadoques, en le détournant de l'usage consacré par la tradition, le nom archaïque, poétique et, comme tel, passablement imprévu d' 'Épigones.' Et, par surcroît, il devient nécessaire d'admettre

929C: ἀποκηρυχθέντα δὲ ἂν τις δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ θετὸν υἱὸν ποιήσασθαι, τοὺς τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τούτων.—Dans ces deux passages, le mot ἐπίγονοι ne signifie ni 'descendants' ni 'puînés'; il est pris dans une acception toute particulière : 'sunt filii post heredes legitimos nati et sufficientem liberorum numerum excedentes, qui hanc ipsam ob causam in coloniam mittuntur' (T. Mitchell, *Ind. graec. Platon.* i. 276); 'post natus, praec(ipue), qui post heredes legitimos natus est' (Fr. Ast, *Lex. Platon.* i. 771). Platon entend ici par ἐπίγονοι les enfants nés 'par surcroît,' en sus des héritiers légaux. C'est un sens que l'étymologie autorise, mais qui est d'ailleurs sans exemple.

4°. Texte attribué par von Stern (*Hermes*, *ibid.* 440) à Platon sur la foi du *Thesaurus* (avec la référence fautive *Leg.* v. 740C), mais qui, en réalité, n'est point de Platon; il se trouve dans Pollux, iii. 25, sans indication d'origine : εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ διαφορῶν τινὲς μητέρων εἴεν, ἐπίγονος ἂν ὁ δεύτερος τῷ προτέρῳ ὀνομαζοίτο. Il est visible que l'auteur inconnu, à qui est empruntée cette phrase, propose d'attribuer au terme ἐπίγονος une signification quelque peu différente de celle

qui se tire naturellement de l'étymologie. Ce terme servirait à désigner, moins le fils puîné, que le fils du second lit par opposition à celui du premier.

5°. Xenoph. *Oecon.* vii. 34 :—καὶ τοῦ γιγνομένου τόκου ἐπιμελεῖται (arum regina) ὥς ἐκτρέφεται· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκτραφῇ καὶ ἀξιοεργοὶ οἱ νεοττοὶ γένωνται, ἀποικίζει αὐτοὺς σὺν τῶν ἐπιγόνων τινὶ ἡγεμόνι. La leçon ἐπιγόνων a été contestée; cf. Sturz, *Lex. Xenoph.* ii. 272, s.v. : 'all. ἐπομένων.' Si on la maintient, il n'est pas douteux que le mot signifie : 'la génération nouvelle.' [Dans le *Rhein. Mus.* 1917/1918, 617, O. Klotz écrit, à propos du passage d'Eschyle cité plus haut : 'Also ist das Wort ἐπίγονος, dessen Bedeutung ja nicht auf diese Helden beschränkt ist, sondern das der lebendigen Sprache angehört, allgemein zu fassen.' C'est la thèse même de E. von Stern, mais les faits ne la confirment pas : ἐπίγονος n'appartient pas à la 'lebendige Sprache.']

⁴⁷ Cf. Pol. v. 65, 10.—Sur la question, J. Lesquier, 53 : 'Quelques rares papyrus . . . emploient le mot ἐπίγονοι pour désigner une catégorie de soldats. Il n'y a pas de raison de tenir ces ἐπίγονοι pour différents de ceux que font connaître les historiens d'Alexandre, etc.'

qu'on fit, à la suite d'Alexandre, sans pourtant l'imiter, justement ce qu'il avait fait; qu'on eut, comme lui, mais indépendamment de lui, le caprice, assez étrange, d'aller chercher dans le vocabulaire de l'épopée, pour la transporter à des contemporains, une dénomination qui, jusque là, semblait appartenir en propre à des personnages héroïques. Une telle rencontre serait trop singulière. Quoi qu'ait pensé von Stern, entre les *ἐπίγονοι* (fils de soldats), ressuscités par Alexandre, et ceux (fils et descendants des Diadoques), dont les écrivains, comme Nymphis et Hiéronymos, ont conté l'histoire, il existe une relation directe. C'est aux premiers que les seconds doivent leur nom. La répétition est ici signe d'imitation.

À présent, je reconnais volontiers que j'avais donné du mot *ἐπίγονοι*, tel qu'on l'employa au III^e siècle, une interprétation 'trop étroite';⁴⁸ que ce nom a désigné, comme le montrent précisément les titres des ouvrages de Nymphis et de Hiéronymos, non seulement les fils, mais encore les petits-fils des Diadoques; que, par suite, donné à *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου*, il n'implique pas nécessairement que ce personnage fût le fils d'un Diadoque, et ne saurait donc fournir la preuve que Lysimaque, son père, fût le roi de Thrace. Sur ce point les critiques de E. von Stern sont fondées. Du fait que *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου* est dit l' 'Épigone', j'avais conclu à tort que son père ne pouvait être que le grand Lysimaque.—Mais, à son tour, von Stern devrait m'accorder que si *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου* est le fils du Diadoque Lysimaque, la qualification d'*ἐπίγονος* lui convient parfaitement: ⁴⁹ car, si l'on en a fait usage pour désigner les petits-fils ou même tous les rejetons des Diadoques aussi bien que leurs fils, c'est cependant à ceux-ci qu'elle s'est d'abord appliquée et c'est sans doute pour eux qu'on la remit en honneur.

Au contraire, les choses iront beaucoup moins bien si Ptolémée a pour père Lysimaque, frère d'Évergètes. En ce cas, j'ai peine à comprendre qu'on ait tenu à inscrire à la suite de son nom, dans le décret de Telmessos, l'épithète honorifique d'*ἐπίγονος*. Car si Ptolémée n'est un 'Épigone' qu'à la troisième génération, si son père et son aïeul l'ont été avant lui, l'épithète n'a plus rien de caractéristique et perd singulièrement de son intérêt. À la vérité, selon E. von Stern,⁵⁰ *ἐπίγονος* équivaldrait ici à 'der Jüngere, der Nachgeborene, der Neffe des Euergetes': on aurait appelé de la sorte le fils de Lysimaque pour le distinguer de son oncle, le roi Ptolémée III. Mais, nous l'avons dit, *ἐπίγονος* n'a point en grec le sens usuel de 'Nachgeborene' (*post natus*). Et, d'autre part, la précaution qu'imagine E. von Stern aurait été bien superflue. À qui fût-il venu à l'esprit de confondre les deux Ptolémées? Le décret des Telmessiens est rédigé de façon si claire qu'il exclut toute équivoque. Au surplus, pour faire entendre cette chose si simple que Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque,

⁴⁸ Cf. E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 440.

⁴⁹ J'avoue ne pas bien entendre l'objection formulée par E. von Stern en ces termes (*ibid.* 441): 'befremdend müsste das Epitheton sein, wenn damit der viel ältere Ptolemaios, des Diadochen Lysimachos Sohn, der dergleichen Generation wie Ptolemaios Philadelphos angehörte, dem König Euergetes gegenübergestellt

und von ihm unterschieden sein sollte.' À mon avis, les rédacteurs du décret ne se sont nullement proposés de distinguer *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου* de Ptolémée Évergètes; cette opinion est particulière à mon contradicteur (cf. ci-après). Par suite, je ne vois pas du tout pourquoi l'épithète donnée au fils de Lysimaque serait 'befremdend.'

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 441.

était 'le neveu de son oncle,' pourquoi se fût-on servi de ce terme inattendu d'*ἐπίγονος*? N'eût-il point été préférable d'écrire *Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἀδελφιδούν*? J'ajoute qu'*ἐπίγονος*, au sens (d'ailleurs inusité) où le prend E. von Stern, serait sans doute propre à désigner le descendant par rapport à l'ascendant, le fils par rapport au père, le frère puîné par rapport à l'aîné; en revanche, il s'en faut qu'il soit heureusement choisi s'il s'agit d'un neveu qu'on oppose à son oncle: car, en pareil cas, l'ordre de primogéniture n'a rien d'évident, un oncle pouvant être moins âgé que son neveu. Ce serait la première fois, je pense, qu'on en aurait fait ce douteux emploi. Et puis enfin, si *ἐπίγονος* avait la signification qui lui est ici prêtée, n'est-ce pas plutôt *τὸν ἐπίγονον* qu'il eût convenu d'écrire?

Pour moi, il me semble évident qu'il existe une correspondance exacte entre ces deux appellations, *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου*, *Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίγονος*, données simultanément à la même personne. Elles doivent s'expliquer l'une par l'autre. La seconde s'explique en effet, et très simplement, si, dans la première, Lysimaque est le Diadoque roi de Thrace. Dans le cas contraire, je ne vois guère comment l'interpréter.

III

J'examinerai, pour terminer, une difficulté,⁵¹ grave seulement en apparence, qui m'est opposée par E. von Stern.⁵²

Dans le décret des Telmessiens (1. 7-8), Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, est appelé *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου*. S'il avait pour père le roi Lysimaque, il devrait être dit *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου*: l'omission du mot *βασιλεύς* serait ici d'autant plus choquante que les Telmessiens, en rendant leur décret, ont pour objet de faire honneur au fils de Lysimaque, leur seigneur et bienfaiteur.

La réponse paraît aisée. Si les Telmessiens se proposent d'honorer Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, il est sûr, d'autre part, qu'ils n'ont garde de déplaire au roi d'Égypte, Ptolémée Évergètes, duquel, en dernier ressort, ils se trouvent toujours dépendre, et qui, s'il n'est plus leur suzerain direct, demeure pourtant leur souverain. Cependant, ils n'ont pas donné son titre royal à Philadelphie, père d'Évergètes. À la l. 9 du décret (cf. ll. 2-3), nous lisons: *παραλαβὼν (Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου) τὴν πόλιν παρὰ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου*. Et, sans doute, je n'ignore pas qu'une telle formule est autorisée par l'usage officiel; qu'il s'en rencontre de multiples exemples; et qu'on peut à la rigueur soutenir que le titre de *βασιλεύς* est implicitement attribué au père dès qu'il l'est expressément au fils.⁵³ Mais il n'en demeure pas moins que la nomenclature protocolaire, employée parfois par Évergètes

⁵¹ Elle ne m'était pas demeurée inaperçue (cf. *B.C.H.* 1904, 413, 3). Pour la résoudre, j'avais cru pouvoir m'autoriser de l'Inventaire délien de Kallistratos, où le fils de Lysimaque aurait été dit simplement, comme dans le décret de Telmessos,

Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου. On verra ci-après, à l'Appendice, que c'était là une erreur et que, dans l'inventaire, Lysimaque porte toujours le titre royal.

⁵² *Hermes*, *ibid.* 441.

⁵³ Cf. E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 443.

lui-même, est βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου,⁵⁴ et que, pour faire court, les Telmessiens se sont dispensés de la reproduire : il leur a paru suffisant de donner son nom, sans titre, au second Ptolémée, qui n'était mort que depuis sept ans. Quoi d'étonnant qu'avec Lysimaque, mort depuis quarante ans, ils aient usé de la même liberté ? C'est le contraire qui serait singulier.

Mais, au surplus, il se peut que je n'aie pas su rendre raison de l'omission du titre royal devant le nom de Lysimaque ; il se peut que j'aie mal expliqué, dans le décret de Telmessos, la signification du terme ἐπίγονος ; quand j'aurais erré sur ces deux points, mes premières conclusions (ci-dessus, p. 188) n'en sauraient être aucunement affectées. Il resterait toujours vrai—et c'est par là que je veux finir—que, lors de l'avènement d'Épiphanes, la dynastie lagide n'avait plus, hormis lui, de représentant masculin ; que le prince qui régnait en ce temps-là sur Telmessos (que ce fût Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου premier du nom, c'est-à-dire l'Épigone, ou un Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου second du nom, son petit-fils⁵⁵) n'appartenait donc pas à la famille royale ; qu'ainsi Ptolémée l'Épigone n'était pas le neveu d'Évergètes. Et, là-dessus, je reviens à ma question : De quel Lysimaque l'Épigone a-t-il pu être fils, sinon de Lysimaque, roi de Thrace ?

M. HOLLEAUX.

APPENDICE

E. von Stern a cru possible de discerner, dans l'Inventaire délien de Kallistratos, une mention du prétendu neveu d'Évergètes, Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, prince de Telmessos, à côté de celles de Ptolémée, fils du roi Lysimaque.^a Le premier se serait appelé Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου ; le second serait désigné par les mots : Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου, ou βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου.

Afin de savoir une bonne fois ce que les textes de Délos sont susceptibles de nous apprendre et sur ce point particulier et sur l'ensemble de la question traitée dans ce mémoire, j'ai prié mon ami F. Dürnbach, l'admirable éditeur des fasc. 2 et 3 du t. xi. des *Inscr. Graecae*, de vouloir bien me faire connaître, en y joignant ses observations, tous les documents provenant de Délos, où figure un Ptolémée, fils d'un Lysimaque. Je transcris ici, en le remerciant vivement de sa complaisance, la 'consultation' qu'il a eu la bonté de m'adresser.

⁵⁴ Voir l'inscription d'Adulis (Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* 54), ll. 1-2 : βασιλεὺς μέγας Πτολεμαῖος, υἱὸς βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν— ; la dédicace du temple d'Isis à Philai (*ibid.* 61) : βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Πτολ(ε)μαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν— ; *Sylloge*³, 462.

Cf., pour Ptolémée II, *ibid.* 26, 27 ; *Sylloge*³, 433 ; pour Ptolémée IV, *ibid.* 76, 77, etc.— E. von Stern lui-même cite (*Hermes*, *ibid.* 441) sept inscriptions où le titre de βασιλεὺς est donné au roi défunt père du roi régnant.

⁵⁵ Cf. *B.C.H.* 1904, 415-416.

^a *Hermes*, *ibid.*, 443-444.

I.

(1) Fragment d'inventaire un peu antérieur à celui de *Démarès* [*I.G.* xi. 3. 427], l. 15 : [φιάλαι ἐμ πλινθείσις || . . . μίαν Πτο]λεμαίου τοῦ Λ[υσιμάχου ἀνάθεμα . . .].

(2) Autre fragment [*I.G.* xi. 3. 428], l. 7 : la mention de la phiale, certaine à cette ligne, est entièrement restituée.

(3) Inventaire de *Télésarchidès II*. [*I.G.* xi. 3. 439; date rectifiée : 181], a, l. 85 : texte identique à celui de l'inventaire de *Démarès*.

(4) Inventaire de *Démarès* [*I.G.* xi. 3. 442; date rectifiée : 179], B. ll. 94-95 : φιάλαι ἐμ πλινθείσις ||, ὑπὲρ τὸ θύρετρον, ἃς ἔφασαν ἀνατεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Χαίρεας καὶ Τελεστόκριτος [date rectifiée : 188], μίαν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυ⁹⁵σιμάχου ἀνάθεμα,^b ἄλλη Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἐπιγόνου.

(5) Inventaire de *Xénotimos* [*I.G.* xi. 3. 443; date rectifiée : 178], B. b, ll. 20-21 : texte identique à celui de *Démarès*, sauf omission de la formule ἃς ἔφασαν κ.τ.λ.

La phiale consacrée par Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου se retrouve dans les Inventaires attiques ; mais elle y est séparée de celle d'Antipatros, et elle a changé de place. Voici deux mentions qui se complètent l'une l'autre.

(6) Inventaire Γ 307 (= P. Roussel, *Délos col. athén.*, 399, n. xxiii.), A. col. i. ll. 28-29 : [ἄλλη (φιάλη) λεία ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνά]θεμα Δηλιάδων, ἐπιδόντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου· αὕτη διὰ τὸ πεσεῖν (?)²⁹ [. . . καὶ ἦν ? ἐν τῷ ναῶι κ]αὶ ἔχει ἐπογεγραμμένην τὴν αἰτίαν.

(7) Inventaire d'*Hagnothéos* [précédemment appelé *Archon* ; date probable : 140/39], A. ll. 27-28 : ἄλλην (φιάλην) λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθεμα [Δηλιάδων, ἐπιδόντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυ²⁸σιμάχου· αὕτη διὰ τὸ πεσεῖν ? . . . κ]αὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ ναῶι καὶ ἔχει ἐπογεγραμμένην τὴν αἰτίαν.

II.

(8) Inventaire de *Kallistratos* [date approximative : 157/6], A. col. i. ll. 8-14 : ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ ἐκκλησιαστηρίῳ· εἰ⁹[κόνα χαλκῆν] βασιλείσης Ἀρσινόης, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου· ἄγαλμα λί¹⁰[θινον ἐμ πλιν]θείῳ, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου·¹¹[πύνακα ἐπὶ β]άσεως τεθρωμένον, ἀνάθεμα Ἀφθονήτου καὶ Ἀριστέου·¹²[ἄλλον ἐπὶ] βάσεως ἀθύρωτον, ἔχοντα γραφὴν, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαί¹³[ου τοῦ βασ]ιλέως Λυσιμάχου· ἄλλον ἐλάττωνα ἀθύρωτον, ἔχοντα¹⁴[γραφὴν], βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου.

Viennent ensuite un certain nombre d'offrandes consacrées par divers particuliers, une ἀσπίς et des séries de θυρεοί.—Ll. 24-30 : ἄλλον (θυρεὸν) ἱππικὸν ἐπὶ χρυσον, ἔχοντα [ἰη ρασινα] ἔγ²⁵κανυμα, ἀνάθεμα βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου· ἄλλον²⁶πεζικὸν ἐπὶ χρυσον, ἔχοντα κεραυνὸν ἐπὶ χρυσον, ἀνάθε²⁷μα Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου· ἀσπίδα ἐμ πλαισίῳ ἀνε²⁸πίγραφον, ἔχουσαν ἔγκαυμα· χιτῶνα λευκόν, ἀνάθεμα Κλεο²⁹δάμα· ἄλλον ἐμ πλαισίῳ μεσούλευκον, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου³⁰τοῦ Λυσιμάχου· ἄλλον κ.τ.λ.

Cette partie de l'inventaire de *Kallistratos* est d'autant plus précieuse que je ne lui connais pas de double dans la série des documents athéniens, à l'exception toutefois d'un texte très mutilé, dont il ne reste que quelques lettres au bord gauche :

(9) Inventaire Γ 505 (= P. Roussel, *Délos col. athén.*, 397, n. xvii.), B. col. ii. ll. 24-29 : ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸ ἐκκλησι²⁴· εἰκόνα χ[αλκῆν βασιλείσης

^b Le mot ἀνάθεμα avait été omis par Th. Homolle.

Ἄρσινος, ἀνάθεμα]]²⁵Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου· πίνακα ἐπὶ βάσεως τεθυρω]
²⁶μένον, ἀνάθεμα Ἀ[φθονήτου καὶ Ἀριστέον· ἄλλον ἐπὶ βάσεως]]²⁷ἀθύρωτον, ἔχοντα[α
 γραφὴν, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμ]]²⁸μαίου τοῦ [βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου· ἄλλον (ἐλάττονα) ἀθύρωτον,
 ἔχοντα]]²⁹γραφὴν, βα[σιλέως Λυσιμάχου κ.τ.λ.

La l. 27 de cet inventaire est un peu plus courte que les autres. On ne voit pas ce qui peut manquer au texte : y avait-il un mot *in rasura*? Au contraire, la l. 28 est un peu trop longue : c'est pourquoi je mets entre () le mot ἐλάττονα qui manquait peut-être; mais il se peut que ce soit βασιλέως qui ait été omis. A part cela, les restitutions paraissent certaines; le fragment apporte deux précisions intéressantes : d'abord, le mot εἰκόνα, à la l. 24; et surtout, à la l. 25, la mention Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως, au lieu de Πτολεμαίου, qui se trouve à la l. correspondante (l. 9.) de l'Inventaire (8) de *Kallistratos*. Il résulte de cette variante que le texte de *Kallistratos* ne donne, comme c'est l'usage de tous les inventaires, que des notations abrégées. Nous ne serons donc pas surpris de lire, aux ll. 29-30 de *Kallistratos* (8), Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου sans adjonction du titre royal. L'absence de βασιλέως, soit devant Πτολεμαίου (cf. l. 25 de *Kallistratos*), soit devant Λυσιμάχου, ne peut être alléguée comme une preuve qu'il s'agisse ici de deux Ptolémées différents. Ce serait un hasard par trop singulier que deux personnages quasi-homonymes—Ptolémée, fils du roi Lysimaque, et le Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου de l'Inventaire de *Démarrès* (ci-dessus, 4)—fussent nommés simultanément dans ces quelques lignes. Comme le premier y est mentionné cinq fois (ll. 9, 10, 12, 25, 27), il y a toute apparence que c'est encore de lui qu'il est question la sixième. Je me demande même si, à la l. 14, il ne figurait pas une septième fois. On est quelque peu étonné de rencontrer tout-à-coup une offrande du roi Lysimaque en personne : le scribe n'aurait-il pas omis, avant ce nom, les mots (ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ)?

III.

(10) Inventaire de *Phaidrias* [date approximative : 153/2], *A.* col. i. a, ll. 49-53 (cf. *B.C.H.* 1905, 537) : βωμίσκον ὑάλινον⁵⁰[περικεχυρωμένον, βάσιν ἔχοντα] ἐξ ἐλέφαντος [καὶ θύας,^c ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ]⁵¹ . . . ἄλλον ἐλεφάντινον, . . . |
⁵² . . . [ἀνάθεμα . . . Καλχηδονίου· στ(λ)εγγίδιον, ἀνάθεμα Αἰγλάνορος]⁵³[Κυρηναίου κ.τ.λ.

(11) Inventaire d'*Hagnothéos* [date probable : 140/39], *A.* ll. 92-93 : βωμίσκον ὑάλινον περικεχυρωμένον, βάσιν ἔχοντα ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ θύας, (ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ . . .)· καλιάδιον ἐλεφάντινον, [. . . ἀνάθεμα . . . Καλχηδο]⁵³νίου· στλεγγίδιον, ἀνάθεμα Αἰγλάνορος Κυρηναίου κ.τ.λ.

Les deux passages paraissent se correspondre. Mais alors il faut supposer que les mots ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ . . . ont été omis dans l'Inventaire d'*Hagnothéos*. Avec le καλιάδιον ἐλεφάντινον, qui répond à l'ἄλλον ἐλεφάντινον de l'Inventaire de *Phaidrias* (10), on a la description d'une nouvelle offrande, celle de *N. Kalchedonien*. De toute façon, *Hagnothéos* ne peut apporter aucune lumière sur l'identité du Πτολεμαῖος nommé dans *Phaidrias*. Quel est ce personnage? J'ai restitué, non sans témérité, τοῦ [βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου] dans *B.C.H.* 1904, 409, 5, et simplement τοῦ [Λυσιμάχου] dans *B.C.H.* 1905, 537; mais le supplément Λυσιμάχου est-il assuré? La seule raison qui m'engageait à voir ici le fils d'un Lysimaque, c'est que je ne connais pas, dans les inventaires déliens, de Ptolémée (sans titre royal) qui soit fils d'un autre que Lysimaque. Mais cette raison est fragile. La seule

^c [Θύα (comme θυία), 'bois de thuia.' M.H.]

remarque que l'on puisse faire avec quelque fondement est celle-ci : nous sommes ici dans l'inventaire du temple d'Apollon ; or, cet inventaire, nous l'avons *in extenso* dans *Démarès*, et l'offrande en question n'y figure pas. Elle est donc postérieure à 179,—à moins, ce qui est encore possible, qu'elle n'ait été transférée d'un autre édifice dans le temple d'Apollon.⁷

Je n'ajouterai que peu de mots aux excellentes observations de F. Dürnbach.

Il n'y a point à s'arrêter à la dédicace faite, en 188, par Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου, et mentionnée d'abord dans l'Inventaire de *Démarès* et les textes contemporains (ci-dessus, 1-5). Ce personnage ne pouvant évidemment être le fils du roi Lysimaque —il est son arrière-petit-fils selon moi,⁸ le neveu de Ptolémée Évergète, selon E. von Stern—l'absence du titre royal avant Λυσιμάχου est parfaitement normale.

Nous devons pareillement faire abstraction de la dédicace rappelée dans l'Inventaire de *Phaidrias* (ci-dessus, 10). Il est impossible d'en suppléer la partie manquante et de savoir quel en est l'auteur.

Le texte qu'il convient d'examiner avec soin est l'Inventaire de Kallistratos (ci-dessus, 8), rapproché de l'Inventaire anonyme 505 (ci-dessus, 9). Comme l'a justement noté F. Dürnbach, on y trouve, une fois de plus, la preuve que, dans les inventaires sacrés de Délos, les dédicaces jointes aux offrandes ont été, le plus souvent, résumées sommairement, à la hâte, sans un suffisant souci d'exactitude. Le principe trop hardiment posé par E. von Stern (*Hermes*, *ibid.*, 443)—“ich gehe dabei von der Voraussetzung aus, dass in einem officiellen Verzeichnis, das von einer Hand hergestellt ist, die Titulaturen nicht willkürlich und nach Gutdünken gesetzt oder weggelassen sein können”—ne sera admis d'aucun de ceux qui ont la pratique de ces documents. Celui de *Kallistratos* y apporte un démenti formel.

La dédicace de la première offrande enregistrée (8, ll. 8-9 : εἰκόνα χαλκῆν βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης) est ainsi libellée : ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίου (l. 9). L'abréviation est évidente, puisque l'Inventaire anonyme (9) donne (ll. 24-25) : ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου.⁹ Pour les dédicaces de la seconde et de la troisième offrandes (8, ll. 9-10 : ἄγαλμα λίθινον κ.τ.λ. ll. 12-13 : ἄλλον (πίνακα) κ.τ.λ.), nous avons : ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου. Libellé identique de la troisième dédicace dans l'Inventaire anonyme (9, ll. 27-28).—Pour la quatrième offrande (8, ll. 13-14 : ἄλλον (πίνακα) ἐλάττονα κ.τ.λ.), on lit, comme sans doute aussi dans l'Inventaire anonyme (9, ll. 28-29) : βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου. D'accord avec F. Dürnbach, je ne doute guère qu'il n'y ait là une omission, d'autant que la chute de ἀνάθημα est inexplicable, et qu'on ne doive suppléer (ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ) κ.τ.λ.—Les θυρεοί, l'un ἱππικός, l'autre πεζικός, qui forment la cinquième et la sixième offrandes, ont été certainement consacrés en même temps. Cependant, on lit, d'une part (8, l. 25) : ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου,¹⁰ et, de l'autre (ll. 26-27) :

⁸ Il le doit être nécessairement, dès qu'on fait de Ptolémée 'l'Épigone' le fils du roi Lysimaque (cf. *B.C.H.* 1904, 415-416). C'est de quoi E. von Stern se montre mal satisfait (*Hermes*, *ibid.* 442), sans que j'en comprenne la raison. Ce qu'il appelle à tort 'une nouvelle hypothèse' n'est que la conséquence indiscutable d'une supposition qui, plausible ou non, peut seule prêter à controverse. On s'étonne de trouver aussi ombrageux un critique dont

toute l'argumentation implique l'existence, indémontrée, indémontrable et nullement nécessaire, d'un neveu d'Evergète, fils du prince Lysimaque.

⁹ Pas plus que F. Dürnbach, je ne pense qu'on puisse mettre en doute la restitution du nom Λυσιμάχου.

¹⁰ Selon E. von Stern, il s'agirait ici de Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, à l'époque où il était prétendant au trône de Macédoine (*Hermes*, *ibid.* 443).

ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου comme pour la première (cf. 9, ll. 24-25), la seconde et la troisième offrandes. La seconde leçon est vraisemblablement la bonne.—Dans ces conditions, il ne paraît pas douteux que la dédicace de la septième offrande (8, ll. 29-30: ἄλλον (χιτῶνα)—μεσόλευκον) n'ait été arbitrairement simplifiée, et que ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου ne soit une abréviation, au lieu de ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου.

Je tiens donc pour certain que toutes les offrandes énumérées aux ll. 9-10, 12-14, 24-27, 29-30 de l'Inventaire de *Kallistratos*^s proviennent d'un même donateur, lequel s'intitulait Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου. Il s'agit, chaque fois, de Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque et d'Arsinoé II; et, chaque fois, le titre de βασιλεύς a été joint au nom de Lysimaque.—Dès lors les conséquences divergentes que E. von Stern, d'un côté, et moi, de l'autre, nous avons pensé tirer de la présence, aux ll. 29-30, des mots Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου ne sont point légitimes. C'est à tort que von Stern a cru que ces mots désignaient, non le fils du roi Lysimaque, mais Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου donateur à Délos en 188. À mon tour, je me suis mépris^h quand j'ai voulu voir dans ces mêmes mots, qui ne sont qu'une abréviation, une répétition de la formule Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου que donne le décret de Telmessos: le titre royal, omis dans ce décret, ne faisait jamais défaut dans les dédicaces de Délos. Autrement dit, Ptolémée, dans ces dédicaces composées par lui-même, a toujours pris soin de rappeler que son père était le 'roi' Lysimaque. Mais il est clair que les Telmessiens n'étaient point tenus de faire comme lui.

^s Les sept offrandes peuvent être à peu près contemporaines. La première, l'εἰκὼν χαλκῇ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης, est nécessairement antérieure à 270, et pourrait remonter à

l'époque où Arsinoé n'était point encore reine d'Égypte.

^h B.C.H. 1904, 413, 3.

THE CRYPTO-CHRISTIANS OF TREBIZOND

WHILE the number of crypto-Christians among the heterodox tribes of Asia Minor has probably been considerably exaggerated,¹ it cannot be denied that crypto-Christians exist or that cases of forced conversion affecting large sections of the population can be cited.² But under the Ottoman Turks at least there is very little historical evidence for conversion on a large scale in Asia Minor.

Exceptionally in the district of Trebizond we have both a credible legend of conversion and an existent population, outwardly Mahommedan, which seems in some cases to retain something from the more ancient faith and in others to practise it in secret. Of the first category may be cited certain villages in the district of Rizeh, which, though Mahommedan by profession, preserve some memories of the rite of baptism and speak, not Turkish, but Armenian.³

Crypto-Christians proper, belonging to the Greek rite and Greek by speech, also existed till recent years in the neighbourhood of Trebizond: they were known generally as 'Stavriotae,' from a village Stavra in the ecclesiastical district of Gumush-khane. They are said at one time to have numbered 20,000 in the *vilayets* of Sivas, Angora, and Trebizond: now all have returned to the open profession of their faith.⁴ The local authorities refer these populations to a persecution which arose at the end of the seventeenth century and resulted in the conversion of 8000 families and the flight of many others to the Crimea and elsewhere. Of the converted Greeks some were till lately to be found in the mining district of Kromna and were only outwardly Musulman; but most reverted to open Christianity about 1860.⁵ Others are settled in the regions of Rizeh and Ophis; ⁶ all retain their language and some, in spite of their changed religion, jealously preserve their Christian sacred books.

¹ Cf. my 'Heterodox Tribes of Asia Minor' in the forthcoming *Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.*

² Individual conversions are in a different category and have probably at all times taken place to a greater or less extent. Cf. Burekhardt, *Travels in Syria* (London, 1822), p. 197, who cites the case of a Meccan *sherif* family, which, being entrusted with the rule of the mountain, became crypto-Christians in order to have more hold over the Christians of Lebanon. Sir R. Burton (in Lady Burton's *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 146) records wholesale local conversions in Syria on account of government or private oppression.

³ Cuinet, *Turq. d'Asie*, i. 121. These people seem to be identical with the Armenians of the Batoun district, who were converted 'two hundred years ago' (Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 1834, p. 457).

⁴ R. Janin in *Echos d'Orient*, xiv. (1912), 495-505. Cuinet (*Turq. d'Asie*, i. 12) says there are 12,000 to 15,000 Kromlis, living in nine villages not far from Trebizond.

⁵ S. Ioannides, *Ἱστορία Τραπεζούντος*, pp. 134-5.

⁶ For the Ophites cf. M. Deffner, *Πέντε ἑβδομάδες παρὰ τοῖς ἀρρησιθρήσκοις ἐν Ὁφεί*, in *Ἑστία*, 1877, No. 87, pp. 547-50.

All the traditions of the persecution at Trebizond seem to go back to one source.⁷ The date (c. 1656) is fixed rather arbitrarily after the building-date of a certain famous house which is supposed to mark a 'high-water mark' of Christian⁸ prosperity, and more particularly by the transformation of two churches (S. Sophia and S. Philip) into mosques a few years later. But the real dates of these transformations is given by Evliya⁹ as 1573 and 1577 respectively, while the date of the house is irrelevant. It thus seems probable that we have to reckon with two outbursts of anti-Christian fanaticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth¹⁰ centuries respectively. We may surmise, but cannot prove, that these were due to political circumstances, the earlier perhaps to the battle of Lepanto¹¹ and the later to the Russian aggressions.¹²

⁷ Apparently S. Ioannides, 'Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος, p. 132 ff., which is followed by Triandaphyllides, Ποντικά, p. 56, and preface to the same author's Οἱ Φυγάδες. E. I. Kyriakides, 'Ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς Σουμελά (Athens, 1898), p. 91 ff., adds a reference to Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Hist. Trapez.*, i. 150-165, for a contemporary poem. David's history of Trebizond may be the source of all. For the Christian practices of the Stavriotae of Lazistan (the Ophite crypto-Christians?), see Pears, *Turkey*, p. 266 f.; Ramsay, *Impressions*, p. 241.

⁸ The Trapezuntine crypto-Christians are also mentioned casually by Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 340; Smith and Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 453; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse* (1840-1), i. 38, who call the sect *Kroumi* (from Kromna, one of their villages) or *Messo-Messo* ('half-and-half'). The best and most recent account of them is given by Janin in *Échos d'Orient*, xiv. (1912), 495-505. He draws for their early history on the Greek authors mentioned above, and for recent events on local sources, describing the gradual return of the crypto-Christians to open profession of their faith. They are now said to be undergoing a forced re-conversion to Islam (Πατρίς, April 16, 1915).

⁹ Tr. von Hammer, ii. 45-6. Evliya wrote about the middle of the seventeenth century.

¹⁰ Two Cappadocian villages near Nevsehr are said by Oberhammer to have been converted to Islam 'a hundred and eighty years ago' (*Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, p. 143). There was an unsuccessful Turkish campaign in 1677 against the Russians. It is to be noted that Trebizond is particularly accessible to Russian agents.

¹¹ See my 'Mosques of the Arabs'

(*B.S.A.* xxii. 162). Cf. also Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, ii. 976.

¹² About the same time Thomas Smith at Constantinople mentions that 'a certain Prophecy, of no small Authority, runs in the minds of all the People, and has gained great credit and belief among them, that their Empire shall be ruined by a Northern Nation, which has white and yellowish Hair. The Interpretation is as various as their Fancy. Some fix this character on the *Moscovites*; and the poor *Greeks* flatter themselves that they are to be their Deliverers. . . . Others look upon the *Sweeds* as the persons describ'd in the Prophecy' (Ray's *Voyages*, ii. 80 f.). This is the 'Yellow Race' of the Prophecy of Constantine (Carnoy et Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, 48 f. etc.) current already in the sixteenth century (cf. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 102). The text was said to have been found in the tomb of Constantine and to have been interpreted by the patriarch Gennadius, according to the regular machinery of apocryphal 'discoveries' (see my 'Graves of the Arabs' in *B.S.A.* xxi., p. 190). As the Russians are Orthodox and the Swedes Lutheran, the prophecy more probably refers to the former and may have been concocted about the time we first hear of it, as Ivan the Terrible was then showing that the Russians would one day be dangerous. It probably revived regularly when Russia threatened: for instance, Volney (*Voyage en Syrie*, Paris, 1825, i. 42) found the prophecy common among the Turks about 1784 during the Turko-Russian war to which the Treaty of Kainardjik put an end. Similarly, Hobhouse heard it during his wanderings in Turkey. The eighteenth-century K. Dapontes speaks of τῆς 'Ελισάβετ τῶν Ξανθῶν μεγάλης Βασιλείσσης (Κήπος Χαρίτων, p. 195), presumably with

The Greek authors give some curious details of the secret Christianity of their compatriots in the Trebizond district. They kept the Orthodox fasts strictly. Their children were baptised, and habitually bore a Christian and a Turkish name for secret and public use respectively: such Turkish names as 'Mehmet' and 'Ali' were, however, avoided. As to marriage, they never gave their daughters to Turks, but the men were not averse to taking wives from among their Turkish neighbours. In this case the parties were married secretly according to the Christian rite in one of the monasteries before the consummation of the marriage. If pressure were necessary, the bridegroom threatened to leave his bride. When a crypto-Christian died, the burial service was read for him in a Christian church while he was being interred. Mollahs were sent to the crypto-Christian villages in Ramazan, but were got out of the way when services were held.¹³

the prophecy in mind. In his time Burckhardt found that the Syrians made no mystery of it: the 'Yellow King' was merely another way of saying 'Emperor of Russia' (*Travels in Arabia*, London, 1822, p. 40). According to Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, ii. 669, drawing on Du Cange, *Glossar.*, s.v. *flavus*), the prophecy appears first in Roger de Hoveden, who says that a prophecy written up over the Golden Gate of Constantinople stated that a Yellow King, who was a *Latin*, should enter by it. As the Flavian Theodosius built the Golden Gate, there may have been a long Latin inscription, full of abbreviations and containing the word *Flavius* over the gate. This misread may have originated the idea. It is interesting that the prophecy should have been applied first to a conqueror rather than a deliverer. Something of the same confusion as to the Yellow Race appears in the tenth-century 'Οράσεις of Daniel (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii. 665 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii. 188), alleged to have been found by Leo the Wise in the tomb of Daniel, the Daniel in question having been a monk, later confounded with the Biblical prophet. The 'Οράσεις may thus be merely another name for Leo's oracles. Such discoveries of magic books in graves are rather interesting: they add prestige to the books in question: the 'discovery' sounds genuine owing to the practice of burying books with the dead; cf. L. Cahun, *Excursions sur les Bords de l'Euphrate*, p. 263, who found a copy of the Koran in a sheikh's tomb he had opened. I myself heard the same tale at Manisa. In such cases the Koran is possibly intended to help the dead in

the examination he undergoes from the two angels after death, for which see especially d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, i. 239, and Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 265. The practice among Moslems may derive ultimately from Jewish custom. Jewish rabbis are frequently buried with a pentateuch (a perfect copy is never used): hence discoveries of holy books in Jewish prophets' graves are numerous (cf. Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 36, and Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii. 1309; Émile Deschamps, *Au Pays d'Aphrodite—Chypre*, p. 230, and Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 201, both mention a gospel found in the tomb of Barnabas in Cyprus). In the Jewish instances, the book, not the holy man, is the essential: as they prohibit images and are eager for knowledge to which the sacred book is the key, this book becomes almost an object of adoration with them. At Tedif near Aleppo a certain synagogue was greatly venerated by Jews on account of an ancient manuscript kept there (Pococke, *Voyages*, Neuchâtel, 1772, iii. 495). A pentateuch written by Esdras was preserved in a synagogue of Old Cairo: it was so holy that people could not look on it and live (Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 527, 542-3; cf. Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, Lausanne, 1869, p. 39). A glance at the half stone, half flesh image of the Virgin in the Syrian convent of Sidnaya had the same fatal effect (J. L. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, p. 130; cf. Ludolf, *De Itin. Terrae Sanctae*, p. 99 ff., Maundrell, *Voyage*, Utrecht, 1705, pp. 220-1, and Baronius, s.a. 870).

¹³ Triandaphyllides, *Πορτικά* (Athens, 1866), pp. 55-92.

I mention here for the curiosity of the subject a community of crypto-Jews alleged to exist in the neighbourhood of Pergamon, at a village named Trachalla. This village was visited by MacFarlane in 1828-9 : ¹⁴ according to his account, the inhabitants betray their Jewish origin by their physical type, and though in externals Mahomedans by religion, keep Saturday as a holiday. We can only suppose them to be an offshoot of the Turco-Jewish (*Dunmeh*) community of Smyrna, ¹⁵ probably attracted to the Pergamon district by its prosperity under the rule of the Karaosmanoglou family during the eighteenth century.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Constantinople*, ii. 335 ff.

¹⁵ The heresy of Sabatai Sevi, the seventeenth-century Messiah whose followers turned with him to Islam, had much hold in Smyrna, though its chief connexions are now with Salonica. A follower of his, Daniel Israel, was expelled by the cadi from Smyrna in 1703, but seems to have been still living there in 1717 (G. Cuper, *Lettres*, Amsterdam, 1742, pp. 396, 398).

¹⁶ Crypto-Christians are recorded elsewhere also. Walpole mentions a group of five such Albanian villages in the Morea (*Travels*, p. 292). Professor R. M. Dawkins heard in Crete that during the Greek revolution of 1821 many Cretan crypto-Christians declared themselves openly for Christianity and were massacred accordingly. A long article by R. Michell in the *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1908, describes the Lino-Vamvaki (*lit.* 'linen-cotton') of Cyprus. Hahn cites the Karamuratadhes of the middle Voyussa in Albania as recent and partial converts to Islam (*Albanes. Stud.* p. 36). The alleged date (1760) of their conversion squares well with the accounts of the Valachadhes in S.W. Macedonia, for

whom see Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 29, and Bérard, *La Macédoine*, p. 110f. Their turning seems to have been part of a considerable movement in the Balkans during the eighteenth century, when the Russian danger caused the Turks to put pressure on their *rayah* populations to convert. It may be noted that the Valachadhes preserve their churches as they were, especially at Vrostena, Brontiza, and Vinani, and frequent them at certain seasons—or so my informants assert. A community of some 400 souls exists at the present day in the heart of Constantinople itself, in the Top Kapou Serai quarter, which lies between the east end of S. Sophia and the Serai walls: outwardly they are Moslem and attend the mosque, but in secret they have eikons: they are very poor and live by making beads. Crypto-Christians are mentioned in Bosnia by Boué (*Turquie d'Europe*, iii. 407), and in S. Albania (*ibid.*, iii. 407-8). On the phenomenon in general in Islam see G. Jacob, 'Die Bektaschijje,' p. 29 (in *Abh. k. Bayr. Ak.* xxiv., 1909).

F. W. HASLUCK.

ARCHAIC TERRA-COTTA AGALMATA IN ITALY AND SICILY.

[PLATE IX.]

VOTIVE statues of the gods placed in the temples, forecourts or *temene* were common in Greece at an early period, and material evidence has proved that in Sicily and even in Italy there were numerous examples of the same custom. In Greece, a land rich in marbles, the sculptor's art rapidly developed and flowered into masterpieces which became the models for the western world. In Sicily, and even more markedly in Italy, regions which in the archaic period produced little marble or good, workable stone, the material chiefly used was clay; hence, owing to their perishable nature, comparatively few of the creations of these early masters have come down to us. Yet the Sicilian School had a great reputation and led the van for daring initiative and mastery of technical difficulties.

Although most of the marvels credited to Daidalos must be imaginary, yet the very fact that his works were put almost upon a par with those of Hephaistos shows how great was his reputation in antiquity. He was the founder of the Sicilian School, but his successors were also men of note. To Perillos was attributed the bronze bull in which the tyrant Phalaris roasted his victims. Pausanias (III. xvii. 6) mentions Klearchos of Rhegion 'who (according to some) was a pupil of Dipoinos and Skyllis, but according to others of Daidalos himself,' but in another passage (VI. iv. 4) he states that he was the pupil of Eucheir, the artist who followed Damaratos, the father of Tarquin, to Etruria.

An examination of the earliest plastic works found in Sicily¹ show that those in stone kept close to the traditions of that school which seems to have had its origin in Crete,² whereas those in terra-cotta developed a line of their own and embodied more directly the ideals of native artists.

The first great problem to overcome was the difficulty of baking evenly a figure of any large size and then withdrawing it intact from the oven. Investigations among uncivilised tribes to-day have shown the remarkable results which can be obtained in the most elementary ovens; among the Ila-speaking tribes in Rhodesia the women bake pots of considerable dimensions, perfectly spherical in form, in fires made of logs and bark piled up cone-fashion.³

The earliest Sicilian statues are rudely modelled, of badly purified clay,

¹ Biagio Pace, *Mem. R. Accad. Lincei*, ccxiv. (1917), pp. 504-37, especially p. 532.

² E. Loewy, 'Typenwanderung,' in *Oesterr. Jahresh.* xii. (1909), pp. 243-304: xiv. (1911), pp. 1-34.

³ E. W. Smith and A. Murray Dale, *The Ila-speaking People of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), i. p. 194, Fig. in text.

malformed owing to shrinkage in unexpected places, and with a surface too rough to hold the colour applied to it, which has consequently almost entirely flaked off. These defects were soon remedied, and eventually figures were produced which have nothing to fear from a comparison with contemporary Greek marble statues.

In Sicily and Magna Graecia the earliest statues were usually female, possibly partly because the enveloping drapery concealed the faulty anatomy, but chiefly because the dominant cults were those of goddesses, Aphrodite at Eryx, Persephone at Henna, Hera at Lokroi. In Latium and Etruria, on the contrary, Apollo was portrayed at Veii, Zeus at Satricum and on the Capitol.



FIG. 1.—SEATED GODDESS, GRANMICHELE.

For our present purpose we must define *ἀγάλματα* as votive or cult statues of gods or heroes erected outside the temples, within the *temene*, and exclude all statues or statuettes found in tombs or sepulchral in meaning, and all ex-voto or figurines, thus eliminating the splendid series of busts from Gela, the ex-voto from Agrigentum, Rosarno Medma and many other sites.

Cicero (*In Verrem*, II. iv., xlix., 110) relates how Verres wished to carry off the terra-cotta statues of Ceres and Triptolemos, '*pulcherrima ac perampla*,' which stood before the temple of Ceres at Henna. But their cumbersome size was their salvation, and Verres had to content himself with removing the Niké whom Ceres bore on her right hand.

The earliest example of these figures which has come down to us is the seated goddess found at Granmichele, possibly the ancient Echetla⁴ (Fig. 1).

From the feet of the throne to the crown of her head the figure measures cm. 75 : it is made of clay mixed with volcanic particles to give resistancy to the walls, and a layer of very pure clay was spread over the surface to hold the colour with which the whole statue was decorated. It was worked freehand and the surface was polished with a tool, but the imperfect baking, insufficient inside and excessive on the surface, has produced many cracks. She sits, clad in a long *chiton* with short sleeves, with her open right hand resting vertically upon her knee and her left closed to hold some cylindrical object. Her large, flat face with bulging eyes, straight mouth and small, highly placed ears,

⁴ P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant. d. Lincei*, vii. (1897), cols. 217-21, Plate III.; xvii. (1906), col. 573 : *N.S.*, 1903, p. 434; Deonna, *Statues*

de Terre cuite dans l'antiquité, pp. 45-48; Winter, *Typen d. fig. Terrak.* p. xcviii.

is framed by the long locks which hang down upon her back. The base of the throne projects to provide a support for her feet; the sides of the throne were painted with geometrical patterns, and although there are arm-rests, there is no back, which is also the case with the enthroned goddess of Priniá. The works which most nearly resemble this goddess (although somewhat later and far better finished) are the seated man found in a tomb at Caere and now in the Museo dei Conservatori,⁵ with his two female companions in the British Museum.⁶ The Sicilian statue, however, reveals where the artist of the Caere figures derived his inspiration. Other fragments found at the same time show that similar statues were also grouped around: part of a head adorned with a diadem; the left shoulder and long curls of a female figure; a closed right hand; a male right leg, bent at the knee, and pieces of a throne. Like the goddess, they cannot be dated later than the middle of the sixth century.

Less rude is the goddess from Lokroi, ht. cm. 53.5, now in the Museum at Reggio, Calabria,⁷ seated stiffly on a high-backed throne, her hands upon her knees. On her head is a low *polos*, and, although she has no attributes, Persephone alone can be intended, for the type is always repeated with only one exception. The extraordinary similarity of the types has caused Pick⁸ to suggest that, since in Tarentum no goddess played any particular rôle in the cult, the Lokrian traders or colonists there set up a statue of their own goddess, a copy of the one in her temple at Lokroi. The Tarentine makers of statuettes who imitated this statue introduced sundry small changes, such as the three locks over the shoulders, but in the main they adhered closely to the Lokrian prototypes.

Far more advanced, artistically speaking, is the fine seated goddess from the Predio Ventura, Granmichele,⁹ which belongs to the end of the sixth century. (Fig. 2). The part most damaged was the face, which was cracked in antiquity



FIG. 2.—SEATED GODDESS FROM PREDIO VENTURA, GRANMICHELE.

⁵ C. Albizzati, *Atti Pont. Accad. Rom. d'Arch.* Serie II. xiv. (1920), pp. 6-14, pp. 207 ff., Fig. 4; Winter, *op. cit.* pp. 121. Plates I., II. Fig. 6.

⁶ *Cat. Terrac.* D. 219, 220.

⁷ B. Pick, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* xxxii. (1917), pp. 212.

⁸ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. (1906), col. 573; xviii. (1907), cols. 136-45, Plates IV., V. and Fig. 3; Pace, *op. cit.* p. 521.

and is now remodelled in plaster. Her height is cm. 98, and she wears a *chiton* with close, vertical folds and loose elbow-sleeves, a wide *himation* and thick-soled sandals. Her left forearm is broken, but on the right which is pressed against her breast are eight coils of a serpent bracelet; an earring is preserved in her right ear and on her head is a *stephané* adorned with bosses and a little *sakkos* which covers her crown. Her hair is waved on either side of the forehead and hangs over her shoulders in narrow strands divided horizontally into innumerable overlapping sections. She sits solemnly upon her lion-footed throne, the seat of which is covered with a cushion with tasselled corners, her feet resting upon a stool. The statue is hollow and consists of a rough core worked freehand, the various parts being soldered together before firing; details were carefully worked out with a tool over a second layer of clay and finally the whole was covered with a slip and then painted. The delicacy and charm of the work are such that the only comparison one can make is with the seated marble figure in the Berlin Museum,¹⁰ also from Southern Italy, which embodies the ideal to which the creator of the goddess of Granmichele, working in a humbler material, strove to attain.

The earliest of the standing figures is one broken at the hips from Megara Hyblaea, formerly in the Melilli Collection, but now in the Syracuse Museum.¹¹ It measures about cm. 40, and was found in one of the city sanctuaries. It belongs to the early sixth century and is scarcely evolved from a *xoanon*, the body being merely blocked out in harsh planes, the arms hanging straight against the sides. Attention has been focussed upon the face with its large heavy features and immense triangular eyes without lids, and the elaborate coiffure, consisting of flat disc-like curls round the forehead; over the back of the head the hair is divided geometrically, bound at the nape of the neck and hangs over the shoulders in thick locks cut up into overlapping sections; a band encircles her head and is kept in place by a flat disc on the very crown of the head. She wears a closely fitting garment, girt at the waist, with triangular pieces over the shoulders which form short sleeves. The whole figure recalls the early Sicilian works in stone of Cretan type, and shows none of the Ionic or Attic influence evinced by later examples. Fragments belonging to two, possibly to three, statues were also found at Megara Hyblaea: the folds of a *chiton*, a mass of hair divided into sections, a life-sized hand with very long cylindrical fingers which once held a flower or metal object.¹² In the recent excavations Professor Orsi discovered a fragment of the back hair of some figure, treated in narrow vertical waves, and also part of a beard or fringe of drapery, both of red clay.

The hands of the statue from Megara Hyblaea are missing, but what their position must have been is shown by a fragment from Bitelmi, Gela,¹³ where the arm is pressed to the side and the closed fist is pierced to permit the insertion

¹⁰ *Ant. Denkm.* iv. 3, Plates XLII.-L., *Arch. Anz.* xxxii. (1917), cols. 118-51.

¹¹ P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. (1906), col. 573; Kekulé, *Terrak. v. Sic.*, p. 7, Fig. 1; Winter, *op. cit.* i. p. 103, Fig. 10; Deonna,

op. cit. pp. 48 f.; Benndorff, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* i. (1898), p. 6.

¹² Orsi, *op. cit.* col. 573; *B.C.H.* xix. (1895), pp. 308-11, Figs. 1-3; Deonna, *op. cit.* pp. 51 f.

¹³ Orsi, *op. cit.* col. 691, Figs. 517, 518.

of a tubular object, a flower or ear of grain. With it was found another roughly modelled hand, also closed. Yet another hand with the fingers stretched straight out and too thin for the hand—which is life-sized—comes from Akragas and is a work of the fifth century: the clay is cream-coloured.¹⁴

Very different is the large fictile torso, probably from Mamerina and now in the Museo Biscari, Catania.¹⁵ Although broken off just below the waist, we can easily restore the figure by reference to the Korai of the Acropolis. She stood solemnly erect, both arms hanging by her sides, clad in a *chiton*, a belt elaborately marked out in squares and a *chlainé* or scarf over her shoulders. Below the high *stephané* her hair is elegantly waved and hangs in long strands over her breast. Her face is sharply oval, with obliquely set eyes and a slight smile hovering round her bow-shaped mouth.

The influence of quite a different school of art is manifested by the maiden from Inessa, now in the Museo dei Benedettini, Catania.¹⁶ She stands, ht. m. 1.19, with her draperies falling in long severe folds; her battered condition has destroyed much of her charm and unfortunate restorations have further contributed, but most detrimental of all is the fact that the hair, which was parted, smoothed back in heavy masses and gathered into a knot behind, was worked separately and then put on in detached parts; this has now fallen away, giving the head a most unpleasant appearance. She wears a Doric *peplos* with *apoptygma* reaching to the waist, and her bare feet rest upon the original square base. Her right arm is broken off at the elbow, but the left, although broken off, is preserved as far as the wrist and shows that the forearm was bent at right angles to hold some object. The head resembles the statues of the Olympian pediments and certain coins of about 460 B.C. The figure belongs to a series of maidens wearing the *peplos* discussed by Arndt and Mariani;¹⁷ but it is of especial importance since it is the only one of the group whose arm has been preserved, thereby demonstrating that the bent arm was used to break the long, straight lines of the drapery and to give vivacity to what might otherwise have been too rigidly architectonic.

The lower part of a figure which goes back to the first half of the fifth century is almost analogous with the Inessa maiden. It was found in the Mar. Ira Lauretta, Camarina, where the deposit of terra-cottas suggests a sanctuary.¹⁸ The fragment measures cm. 72, and shows the Doric *peplos* with a rather longer *apoptygma*.

There are a whole series of feet placed in such a position that they must have formed part of statues very near to or slightly more evolved than the

¹⁴ Syracuse Mus., Room XVI. Girg. No. 16929.

¹⁵ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.*, xvii. (1906), col. 573, note 4; Kekulé, *op. cit.* p. 58 Plate I.; Winter, *op. cit.* p. 106, Fig. 6; Deonna, *op. cit.* pp. 49 f.; Benndorff, *op. cit.* p. 6; Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* vii. (1835), p. 42; Pottier, *Statuettes de Terre cuite* (Paris, 1890), p. 200, Fig. 64.

¹⁶ Rizzo, *Atti Acc. Napoli*, xxiii. (1905), pp. 163–89, Plate XXIII; and Figs. 1–5;

Orsi, *op. cit.* col. 573; Furtwaengler, *Sitzungsberichte . . . Bayer. Akad.* ii. (1899), p. 589; 50^{te} *Berliner Winckelmannspr.* (1890), p. 130, n. 22; Kekulé, *op. cit.* p. 37; Deonna, *op. cit.* pp. 54–61, Fig. 1.

¹⁷ *Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg*, pp. 49 ff.; *Bull. Com.* xxv. (1897), pp. 169–95, Plates XII–XIV.; xxix. (1901), pp. 71–81, Plate VI.; Benndorff, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* xv. (1900), p. 243.

¹⁸ N.S. 1909, p. 380, Fig. 35.

Inessa figure. One such pair was found in the Deposito dei Cavallucci, Rosarno Medma;¹⁹ they stand upon a rectangular base, the left a little in advance, and the lower part of the *peplos* covers the ankles. The feet are well worked, but somewhat bony in structure. Other minor fragments of the figure to which the feet belonged—bits of the back and drapery—were found with them. This bony structure is discernible also in the life-sized right foot from Bitelmi, Gela, in hard greyish clay, mixed with volcanic particles.²⁰ It measures cm. 21.5 in length, but the heel is missing; the rest of the foot, with its long slim toes, carefully marked nails and highly arched instep, is beautifully modelled. A



FIG. 3.—GORGON FROM TEMPLE OF ATHENA, SYRACUSE.

fold of drapery falls over the ankle, and a thick-soled sandal was bound in place by thongs which passed between the toes. At the same time numerous fragments of drapery were found, but they seem of rougher workmanship than the foot, and the quality and tone of the clay denote several different statues.²¹ At the necropolis of S. Anastasia, Randazzo, on the slopes of Mount Etna,²² another base came to light. Upon it rested two feet which measure cm. 15 in length and must have belonged to a statue more than two-thirds life-size. This fragment is now in the Collection Vagliasindi. The toes only

¹⁹ *N.S.* 1917, p. 59, Fig. 34.

²⁰ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. (1906), cols. 690-1, Fig. 514; xxv. (1918), col. 628.

²¹ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. (1906), col. 691, Figs. 515, 516.

²² *Röm. Mitt.* xv. (1900), p. 243.

of a well-modelled life-sized foot of red clay were discovered in the excavations at Akragas and are now in the Syracuse Museum.

Rather larger than life are the admirably modelled feet discovered at Ardea,²³ all that remains of a large statue of the close of the fifth century. It evidently portrayed a god, because the feet are coloured red, and the statue must have been a very fine one, for the feet testify accurate observation of nature, the nails and veins being minutely indicated with a tool. The whole surface was delicately polished and the sandal straps must have been painted; only the border of the garment remains. The fragment was presented by the Duca Sforza-Cesarini to the Museo di Villa Giulia.

We must now discuss a series of figures which, although fragmentary, are among the finest examples of the school of early Sicilian masters. They are sixth-century works which formed groups depicting mythological scenes. Foremost among these remains are those found at Syracuse in the great bank of *breccia* from the early temple and not far from the north-east corner of the actual temple of the Deinomenidai. The best preserved is the arresting figure of a Gorgon advancing to left in the archaic running manner with one knee touching the ground (Fig. 3).²⁴ Her legs are in profile, but her trunk and face are fully frontal, so that she stares at the beholder with great round eyes. Her features are so conventionalised that they are treated almost like a decorative pattern; her forehead is framed by six spiral curls and four large 'pearl-locks' hang over either shoulder. Her gaping mouth, with its double row of strong square teeth, is rendered monstrous by the addition of two pairs of tusks and by the pendant tongue which covers her whole chin. She wears a red *chitoniskos* enriched by elaborately patterned borders and *endromides* furnished with recurved wings instead of tongues. The great wings which spring from her waist rise up on either side of her face and make a vari-coloured background to her figure. Under her right arm she clasps the little winged Pegasos which sprang from her blood, and her left arm is bent sharply down at the elbow with stiffly extended fingers in the attitude of the archaic runner. The dark background of the relief must have formed an effective contrast to the gaily coloured Gorgon, and the whole figure produces a wonderful impression of force and impetus. A small piece which is apparently the hip of a similar Gorgon, covered with a *chitoniskos*, decorated with elaborate chequer pattern in red and black, was found at the archaic temple, Gela, and there is also part of a shin with the top of the *endromides*. These groups appear to be of too small dimensions to have served an architectonic purpose, and if they were placed even at a short height from the ground much of the delicate minutiae of the treatment would be lost. Most likely they were placed on a level with the spectator, and, if they were not ἀγάλματα complete in themselves, they formed part of some larger work which, as a whole, is lost to us.

In the excavations at S. Mauro various small bits evidently belonging

²³ N.S. 1900, p. 63, Fig. 4; Helbig, *Führer*, 3rd ed., ii. p. 348, No. 1785s.

²⁴ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xxv. (1919), cols. 614-22, Plate XVI.; N.S. 1915, pp. 177 f.,

Fig. 1; E. Gabrici, *Atti R. Accad. Palermo*, Serie III., xi. p. 10, Plate II., 5; B. Pace, *Memorie R. Accad. Lincei*, cccxiv. (1917), p. 526, n. 5.

to a group were discovered.²⁵ They consist of a double curved wing, cm. 29×23.5 , without plastic relief; the end feathers are painted alternately red and black on a cream ground. The piece is hollow, but the walls are very thick. One cannot say if a fragment of the left side of a very archaic face was in the round or in high relief, for all the back of the head is missing, but the muzzle of a horse was certainly in the round, as also the head of a small serpent. Further lesser fragments are a piece, cm. 14 in length, of uncertain destination, but suggesting the hair of a Gorgon by the pearled strands radiating from the centre, and two pieces of imbrication, seemingly part of the *chiton* covering the thigh of a large figure. None of these pieces fit together, but a consideration of them



FIG. 4.—FOOT AND FINGERS, SYRACUSE.

all induces one to think that they may once have embodied such a group as the Gorgon from Syracuse, moving swiftly in the ancient running scheme with bent knee, clad in an embroidered tunic with serpent girdle, embellished with curving wings and clasping under one arm the little Pegasos. Yet this group must have been an advance upon the one from Syracuse, because it was in the round, and therefore needed no slab as background. Professor Gabrici has shown how beloved a form of decoration the Gorgon was in archaic times and in those regions,²⁶ and it is quite probable that, apart from the temple sculptures, a Gorgon group figured among the *ἀγάλματα* of the precinct.

To another Syracusan group belong the leg and paw of a lion, ht. cm. 35; also a hind leg placed horizontally and a portion of the right thigh of the beast.²⁷

²⁵ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xx. (1910), cols. (1919), pp. 1–15, Plates I, II. 792–5, Figs. 52–5, Plate VII., 2.

²⁷ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xxv. (1919), cols.

²⁶ *Atti R. Accad. Palermo*, Serie III., xi. 622–3, Figs. 212–14.

Even more suggestive is a left hand grasping a horn and another almost flat piece with brown circles on a cream ground,²⁸ part of a bull's flank spotted like the panthers of the pediment of the early temple of Athene on the Acropolis. Orsi recalls the toreadors of the Tiryns fresco or Herakles with the Marathonian bull: indeed, to the latter subject one's thoughts naturally turn, and even preferably to the hero's contest with Ahelocus as figured on the *arula* from Lokroi.²⁹ With these are connected the fragments of an animal's leg, ht. cm. 17.5, painted with lines to indicate muscles, with dots to denote the hide;³⁰ the cheek and eye-socket of an animal with round, widely open eye; all the details of the muscles are marked by black lines as on the leg. The eye has a black pupil and a reddish-brown iris encircled by a black outline. There is also part of a limb covered by a dark red *chiton* with a border of tongue pattern in red and black which may be the bent knee of Herakles with which he holds down the bull.

Interesting because it links up with a whole series of similar fragments is a right foot (ht. cm. 17) shod with elaborate *endromis*, a pointed boot with thick sole, fastened with crossed laces (Fig. 4).³¹ With it were the four fingers of an open right hand, length cm. 7, the nails marked by a black outline. Besides these, there is the calf of a right leg (length cm. 18) with the top of the *endromis* outlined black and adorned with two cream rosettes on a red field,³² but this seems on a larger scale than the foot. The boot is identical with the footgear of the rider on the akroterion from Camarina,³³ and is similar to that worn by the Gorgon from Syracuse, a resemblance so greatly enhanced by the fingers held in the same rigid manner as the left hand of that monster as to suggest that here we have the *débris* of another group figuring the same subject. At Gela another foot of this type, as yet unpublished, was found. From as far north as Caere comes a right foot with part of the plinth, cm. 17 × 23.³⁴ Only the toes rest on the ground, so that the person was apparently in motion. With it were found the lower part of a woman's leg shod similarly; the nude right foot of a man, for it was painted dark red; fragments of drapery with traces of red and black; the smooth horns of an animal in relief (cm. 16 × 14), also with vestiges of colour. In the excavations at Velitrae a foot three-quarters life-size was discovered, wearing a shoe with pointed, upturned toe.³⁵ The coarse clay is covered by a cream slip, and as there is no trace of a base, the foot must have projected, perhaps from a narrow pedestal upon which individual statues were erected. In this connexion, although it must be dated towards the end of the fifth century, mention must be made of a woman's foot, about half life-size, shod in a soft shoe from which the colour has been entirely obliterated.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 629-30, Figs. 220-1.

²⁹ Mus. Syracuse; *N.S.* 1917, p. 119, Fig. 24.

³⁰ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xxv. (1919), cols. 624, Fig. 217.

³¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 628-9, Figs. 218-19.

³² Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xxv. (1919), Plate XVII.B.

³³ *Boll. d'Arte*, i. (1907), fasc. 111, p. 7, Fig. 1.

³⁴ Antiquarium, Berlin; *A.Z.* 1871, pp. 123 f.; Rizzo, *Bull. Com.* 1911, p. 54; Deonna, *Statues de Terre cuite dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 101 f.

³⁵ Mus. Civico, Velletri.

The edge of the long *chiton* falls over the instep, and to one side sits an owl which identifies the fragment as part of a large statue of Athene, set up in some temple precinct.³⁶

One further scrap of terra-cotta from the Olympieion, Syracuse, is interesting because it is so archaic that it has been dated in the beginning of the sixth or even in the seventh century. It is the lower part of a beard of black hair, the surface furrowed by deep incisions to give the effect of strings of pearls in accordance with the early artistic convention, and it must have formed part of an almost life-sized statue.³⁷ Near it was found a bit of drapery, long tabs ending in a fringe; the clay is red, but all vestige of colour has disappeared.



FIG. 5.—HORSE AND RIDER FROM CATANIA.

In the excavations at Gela the statues were found reduced to miserable fragments, but among them is the beautifully modelled neck of a female figure, the upper part of the red *chiton* adorned with hammer pattern in red and black: there is also part of a shoulder (?) with cream drapery and a border of black meander, and another portion of the same drapery also with the border. There is, moreover, a bare foot with the toes a little upturned.

The left side of a very beautiful life-size female face from Metaurum is now in a private collection in Naples.^{37a} It is well modelled, but intensely individual in type, for the almost square chin is cleft by a dimple, and the

³⁶ Mus. Nazionale, Rome.

^{37a} *Ibid.*, N.S. 1902, p. 128, Fig. 3, Nos.

³⁷ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xiii. (1903), cols. 2, 6.
387 f., Fig. 5.

large almond eye is fringed by painted lashes. The cream slip is so fine and highly polished that it gives the effect of soft flesh. Possibly the statue represented Athene, for with it was found the head of a serpent which may have reared its coils beside the shield of the goddess.

A most remarkable monument was for long in private possession at Catania,



FIG. 6.—APOLLO, FROM VEIL.

where it is stated to have been found (Fig. 5).³⁸ It represents a rider on horse-back, but all that remains of the rider is the piece from waist to thigh, showing the very full *chiton* which flows out all round like a ballet skirt. The horse's head, foreleg and tail are broken: he prances forward with one leg raised and has a barrel body, very long legs and a hogged mane, in fact the type of horse found on archaic terra-cotta friezes or on Dipylon vases. The group stands on a

³⁸ Mus. Syracuse, Room XV., Cat. No. 41608.

square base and the solid slab under the horse's body gives a disagreeable effect, because want of skill prevented the artist from cutting away the ground of the relief, so that it is only the upper part of the work which is really in the round. In the base are holes for the nails which fixed it down. The clay is very dark grey mixed with volcanic particles. From the waist of the rider to the ground measures cm. 41; the length of the base is cm. 38.

Further north the *temenos* at Veii was adorned with a splendid group depicting the contest of Apollo and Herakles for a stag, assisted by Artemis and Hermes (Plate IX., Fig. 6).³⁹ The figures (ht. m. 1.75) stand erect each on its own base and were juxtaposed in a line, a simple but effective arrangement (Fig. 7). The supports are cleverly masked by palmettes enclosed between broad spiral bands. The deities with their lively poses, strong, rich colouring and graceful drapery are full of force and animation. Our admiration is excited by the skill of the artist who could ensure the equally distributed firing of such large and complicated figures. The discovery of these statues has lent credence to what the ancient writers relate in praise of Vulca of Veii and the school of workmen who adorned the earliest Roman temples with notable works in terra-cotta.

The sanctuary at Satricum was another shrine rich in ἀγάλματα of the sixth and fifth centuries, too damaged, unfortunately, to permit of the reconstruction of whole groups, but sufficiently preserved to give a vivid impression of the strength and realism of this flourishing art. Among the finest specimens are the *débris* of a statue of Zeus, especially the bearded head with broadly modelled features which betoken dignified calm (Plate IX.). The long hair is treated in a solid mass which ends in spiral curls round the forehead; the eyes were originally filled with some vitreous paste which intensified the liveliness of the expression.⁴⁰ He once held the stylised thunderbolt of which only a small piece now remains. An irregular plinth supports the lower limbs of a male and female figure who advance to right with rapid steps. Only the man's right foot remains, but his companion is preserved almost to the knees. She wears a long *chiton* and over her back hangs a heavy mantle, or rather, the back part of the aegis which in front merely covered her breast. She must therefore be Athene in the attitude of Promachos, and her companion was Zeus.⁴¹ Part of the head of Athene is also preserved, covered with a helmet with raised cheek pieces. Beneath the helmet her hair peeps out in small straight locks.⁴² The fragment of Athene's torso gives us the *chiton* partly covered by the aegis adorned with a large Gorgoneion in low relief, with wrinkled forehead, little crossed eyes, squat nose, gaping mouth with protruding tusks and pendant tongue.⁴³ Yet another female head with hair waved over the forehead must be that of Hera: ⁴⁴ it is of the same dimensions and style as the head of Zeus, and evidently the three gods were here grouped together, one of the earliest examples of the Capitoline triad. Yet it is not certain that they formed a self-contained group, for with them was found the right side of a male

³⁹ G. Q. Giglioli, *N.S.* 1919, pp. 13-37, Plates I.-VII.

⁴⁰ Della Seta, *Cat. Mus. di Villa Giulia*, No. 9982, p. 275, with full bibliography.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.* No. 9981.

⁴² *Op. cit.* No. 9984.

⁴³ *Op. cit.* No. 10020.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* No. 9983.

head covered with interlaced bands.⁴⁵ This head, however, although archaic, seems to be rather later in style than the others.

Numerous eyes, ears, mouths, fragments of hair and limbs prove the existence of at least four other statues. Besides bits of drapery, a hand grasping the hilt of a sword, etc., there is the fine torso of a warrior with a cuirass decorated with bands of meander pattern; ⁴⁶ the shoulder pieces were in relief and were fastened by crossed cords passed through rings on the flaps and breastplate. There are, moreover, remains of animals—a pair of bovine eyes, a horse's hoof, a lion's paw—which may have been the feet of a throne or similar ornamentation.⁴⁷



FIG. 7.—RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TERRA-COTTA VOTIVE GROUP FROM VEII.

To the beginning of the fifth century belongs a group from the Larger Temple, Falerii.⁴⁸ One of the figures is a woman who moves to left. Her *chiton* has been pushed aside and merely covers her back with a loose edge rising over the shoulder. The other, whose nude trunk only is preserved, with a beast's skin hanging from one shoulder, seems to be a Centaur. If the two were really combined together, the group depicted the rape of a nymph by a Centaur, a subject less frequent than the more common one of the dance of nymph and Satyr.

These early groups in humble material were the precursors of the works in bronze or marble, or the chryselephantine statues of a later age: but although

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* No. 9980.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* No. 10021.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* No. 10028-31.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* No. 7297, pp. 180 f.

they were despised in the Capital, yet in the country districts the art lingered on and produced numerous fine works in the fourth and later centuries, the splendid pediment groups of the temple of Apollo, Falerii, those from Luni and Telamone, and the recently discovered heads from Arezzo ⁴⁹ and Orvieto. In Sicily the art vanished more completely, being replaced by the delicately wrought works in marble and bronze which fell a prey to the rapacity of Verres, so that only the earliest monuments, safely buried in the kindly earth, escaped the ravages of vandal conquerors.

E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN.

Rome, May 1921.

⁴⁹ L. Pernier, *Dedalo* i. (1920), fasc. II., pp. 78-85.

AN OVERSEER'S DAY-BOOK FROM THE FAYOUM

[PLATES X., XI.]

At the Library of the University of Michigan there is a waxed diptych from the Fayoum, secured for the University by Professor Kelsey while in Egypt in 1919. The leaves of the diptych are of wood, about $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, slightly hollowed out and coated with black wax on the inner sides. These inner sides are shown in the photographs which accompany this article (Pls. X., XI.). In explanation of the photographs, it should be said that they were taken with the aid of a strong artificial light coming from the left at an angle of 45 degrees. This has caused the incisions and depressions on the wax to reflect the light in such a way that they seem to stand out above the general surface of the wax. Thus the white blotches which appear on the first leaf are really hollows and not projections, as they seem to be in certain lights. It should also be stated that a transcription was made of this leaf before the wax crumbled away, probably owing to unfavourable atmospheric conditions, along the edge of the crack in the lower part of the leaf.

The photographs also show how the diptych was held when in use. The two leaves were turned back to back, *i. e.* with the wooden surfaces touching, the edges with the two pairs of holes being at the left. When all the space on the waxed surfaces of the upper tablet was filled, the writer turned the diptych over vertically and not horizontally, and began to write on the other waxed surface. The result was that, when the two waxed faces subsequently were folded together, the top of one leaf was opposite the bottom of the other, and the writing on one of them would appear upside down.

The diptych contains a series of accounts written in uncial letters, in roughly parallel columns which are at times separated by vertical lines and regularly divided by horizontal strokes to indicate the transition to new items or new dates. There is no indication of the year to which these accounts belong, but, on the basis of the forms of the letters, β , ϵ and ς , they are probably to be assigned to the third century A.D. In preparing the accompanying transcription of the diptych I have had the collaboration of my colleague, Assistant Professor F. E. Robbins.

The accounts for the most part deal with a series of harvest operations—reaping and threshing—carried on between Pauni 2 and Epeiph 30. In addition there are three short entries, the relation of which to the foregoing

is not clear. The work referred to was performed on several holdings, partly at a place called the Island (*ἡ Νῆσος*) and partly at another called Bachias, which is very probably the village of Bacchias in the Heraclid section of the Arsinoite nome. The accounts form a series of day-by-day entries of the names of labourers, the place at which they worked, the character of the work performed, and the total return from each operation.

At the top of leaf I. the series opens with the *λόγος γεωργίας Πετείρεως καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*,—*κριθῆς, θεριστ(αὶ) ἐργάτ(αι)*. This account covers the whole of column i. and lines 4–17 of col. ii., running from Pauni 2 to 7. On col. i., l. 26, the number of workmen is given as twelve, a number which corresponds to the names listed for Pauni 2 and 3, *Ἰσίδωρος* taking the place of *Κωθων* on the latter date. The work done up to Pauni 5 must have been reaping, for on that date the labourers were engaged in threshing (*ἀλοῶντες*). On l. 17, col. ii., we have the total amount of barley threshed—(*ἀρτάβαι*) *μζ*. Apparently the next entry is the *λόγος γεωργίας τῆς Νήσου*, dated Pauni (?) 25 and beginning on l. 7, col. iii. Here the names of seven labourers are given, but there is no reference to the character or amount of work performed. The lower right half of this leaf is occupied by a single column, equal in width to both of the columns in the upper right half. Here is entered the *λόγος γεωργίας Ἀρτεμᾶτος τῆς Νήσου* for Pauni 26 and 27. The work is reaping (*Σωχώτης θερίζων*). The position of the date *κζ* (27), far to the right of the line under Ptolemaios, seems to indicate that it belongs to the list of names below that line. This is confirmed by the recurrence of the name Ptolemaios directly under the line and the absence of any other date to accompany this fresh list of names.

The record now passes to the second leaf. There, dated Pauni 29, is the *λόγος γεωργίας ἁλωνίας Ἀρτεμᾶτος*. This account occupies ll. 1–14 of col. i., covering the four days from Pauni 29 to Epeiph 2. As we see from the heading of this account, the grain just mentioned as harvested on the holding of Artemas was threshed out on his threshing floor, and the number of *artabai* obtained is given in l. 14.

A fresh account, the *λόγος περὶ Βαχιάδος θερισμού*, opens with l. 16 of the same column, filling the rest of this and the whole of col. ii. The harvesting of this crop took from Epeiph 7 (col. i., l. 18) to 17 (col. ii., l. 27). A peculiarity of the entry for Epeiph 9 is that the six labourers are grouped in pairs, possibly because of the character of the work done on that date, and the names of each pair are followed by a numerical symbol, which probably indicates the amount of their joint labour.

At the top of col. iii is the entry *λόγος ἁλωνίας*, which runs over into col. iv., and must be connected with the date (Epeiph) 17, indicating that the threshing of the harvest at Bachias began on the day on which the reaping ended. The threshing continued till Epeiph 19 (col. iii., l. 13), and the result is indicated in ll. 5–7 of col. iv.—*Βαχιάδος κρειθῆς (ἀρτάβαι) θγ ιβ̄*. On l. 17, col. iii., a new account begins—the *λόγος ὀρέβου*, which occupies the rest of this column (to l. 27), and also ll. 9–20 of col. iv. This account contains entries for the dates Epeiph 19, 20, 21, 27, and 30, and the amount

of this crop is given in the last line of the account— $\delta\rho\acute{o}\beta\omicron\nu$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$) $\beta^L \iota\beta$.

The two short entries which follow in col. iv. do not show any clear connexion with the foregoing accounts. The names of the workers recorded in them occur in previous entries, but nothing is said with reference to the place or character of their tasks. Furthermore, the days mentioned here ($\bar{\gamma}$ (?) and $\bar{\iota}\delta$) have no indication of the month, and so cannot be brought into relation with the dates given above. The significance of the numeral signs placed after several of the names in these lists is also obscure.

Finally, col. iv. closes with the $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\rho$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, consisting of a list of three names, each of which is followed by the symbol for one obol. How this entry should be interpreted is also problematical.

For the explanation of the accounts on the diptych I am indebted to Mr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum. He suggests that the tablet was the day-book of an overseer, who kept thereon a detailed record of the daily work performed by the various labourers employed on the estates under his supervision. This record he would use as a memorandum for the calculation of the wages to be paid these workmen, and also for the compilation of a report of expenditures to be presented to his employer, the owner or lessee of the estates. Mr. Bell calls attention to a report of this character in P. Lond. 1170, verso (III., 193 ff.), where there is a record of the number of workmen employed, without their names, and of the wages paid.

Besides the accounts on the wax faces, the diptych has some writing on the wood of the first leaf. Some letters, probably with a numerical significance, were scratched in a vertical line across the top of the inner side, with the leaf held on its side. However, only two of these letters, an $\hat{\alpha}$ and a ς , are legible. Then, across the outer side of the same leaf run two lines of incised letters from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high. They read as follows:

$\mathcal{M} \phi N \epsilon \varsigma \epsilon$
 $\mathcal{M} \hat{\alpha} P I \Lambda - \lambda$

Taken numerically, as Mr. Bell points out, the first line, without the final ϵ , might be either 50,555 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 15,555 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the second, without the final λ , would be 11,111. However, there does not seem to be any connexion between these figures and the accounts contained in the diptych, and the former may be mere idle scratchings.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DIPTYCH.

I.

1.	Παννι β ο		
2.	λο[γος] γεωργίας [Π]ετειρεως και του [ά]δελ-		
3.	φου ——— κριθης θεριστε έργατε.		
4.	Γαιων	άλωντος Παννι ε	
5.	Ίουλις	Γαιων	
6.	Πετειρεως	Χαριδημος	
7.	Πνεφερωσ	Παννι ζ	λογος γεωργίας
8.	Σισοις	Γαιων	της Νησου κε
9.	Πετεσυσ	Χαριδημος	Γαιων
10.	Έρας	Πεθευς Σαβες	Πτολεμαιος
11.	Σαταβους	Πνεφερωσ	Πετεσυσ του β.
12.	Χαριδημος	Παννι ζ	Χαρηδιμος
13.	Κωθων	Γαιων	Όνησιμος
14.	Σωχωτης	Χαριδημος	Πακυσις
15.	Παννι γ	Πεθευς	Γαιων(?)
16.	Γαιων	Πνεφερωσ	
17.	Ίουλις	κριθης — μζ	
18.	Πετειρεως	
19.	Πνεφερωσ	λογος γεωργίας Άρτεματος	
20.	Σισοις	της Νησου Παννι κς	
21.	Πετεσυσ	Σωχωτης θεριζων	
22.	Έρας	Πτολεμαι(ο)ς κζ	
23.	Σαταβους	Πτολεμαι(ο)ς Πονπις	
24.	Χαριδημος	Πετεσυσ Σαβες	
25.	Σωχωτης	Πεθευς Σ	
26.	Ίσιδωρος έργαται ιβ	Σισοις	
		Χαριδημος	
27.	Παννι δ	Άγνης	Ίσιδωρος
28.	Γαιων	Ώριων	
29.	Πασιων	Πεθευς	
30.	Κωθων	Πτολεμαιος	
31.	Σισοις		

II.

1.	Παννι κθ		
2.	λογος γεωργίας άλωνίας Άρτεματος.		
3.	Πακυσις		
4.	λ Πακυσις	ιβ Γαιων	λογος άλωνίας ιζ

Notes: Col. i., l. 3, θεριστε έργατε for l. 7, γεωργίας (also II., col. i., l. 2) for γεωργίας;
 θερισται έργαται: II. 5, 17, Ίουλις for Ίούλιος. l. 12, Χαρηδιμος for Χαριδημος.
 Col. ii., l. 4, άλωντος for άλωντες. Col. iii.,

5. Ἐπιπ \bar{a}	Χαριδημος	Χαριδημος	Βαχιαδος
6. Πακυσις	Ἀχιλλας Που ^π ις	Πνεφερωσ	κρειθης
7. ^{Που^πις} Πτολεμαι(ο)ς	Σαταβους	Σισοις Που ^π ις	ο θγ ιβ
8. β Πακυσις	Ἀφροδισις	ιη Ἰσιδωρος	
9. Πτολεμαι(ο)ς Που ^π ις	ιδ Γαιων	Σαταβους	κζ Γαιων
10. Ἰουλις	Ἰσιδωρος	^{Ταβαιτουσις} Πτολεμαιος	Χαριδημος
11. Χαριδημος	Κωθων	Πνεφερωσ	Κωθων
12. ^{Ταβαιτου(σις)} Πετεσυσ	Ὠριων	Χαριδημος	Πετεσυσ
13. Πτη. . σονε .	Εὐτασ . α	Σισοις Που ^π ις	λ Γαιων
14. \bar{o} ? η	Ἡρας	ιθ Πνεφερωσ	Πετεσυσ =(-
15. _____	Σωχωτης	Χαριδημος	Πνεφερωσ
16. λογος περι Βαχι-	ιδ Γαιων	Γαιων	Πετεσυσ
17. αδος θερισμου	Ἰσιδωρος	λόγος ὄρεβου	Σωχωτης
18. Ἐπιπ ζ	Κωθων	ιθ Σωχωτης	Πακυσις
19. Πτο(λ)εμαι(ο)ς Που ^π ις	Εὐτ α . . ς α—α	Ἡρας	Σισοις Που ^π ις
20. Ἰσιδωρος	Σωχωτης ο	Γαιων	ὄροβου ο β ι ιβ
21. Ἡρας	Σισοις Που ^π ις	Πνεφερωσ	γ Σωχωτης
22. θ	Σαταβους	^{ω} Πτολεμαιος	Ὠριων Λε δ
23. Γαιων και	ις Γαιων	κ Γαιων	Πετεσυσ τδ
24. Ἰσιδωρος $\bar{\epsilon}$	Χαριδημος	Πνεφερωσ	ιδ Ἡρας Λε β
25. Χαριδημος	Ὠριων	κα Γαιων	Πετεσυσ τδ
26. και Ἀυνης υιος $\bar{\epsilon}$	Σαταβους	Χαριδημος	Πτολεμαιος
27. Σισοις και Πτολε. . . .	ιζ Χαριδημος	. υ δαοσ α—α	
28. υιος δ	Πνεφερωσ	λογος θησαρ του	
29. ια Γαιων	Πετρεσυσ . εσαιοσ	ἐργαζεσθαι	
30. Χαριδημος	Ὠριων ς	Ἀφροδισις δ \bar{a}	
31. Ἀφροδισις	Ὠριων Εὐδατος	Χαριδημος \bar{a}	
32. Ὠριων	Σισοις Που ^π ις	Κωθων α	

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Notes: Col. i., l. 31, Ἀφροδισις, here and elsewhere for Ἀφροδίσιος, cf. Ἰουλὶς and Πτολεμαῖος. Col. ii., ll. 13, 19, apparently the same name occurs in each line, but the —α appears in l. 19 only. There is a somewhat similar word in col. iii., l. 27. What the

sixth letter is in col. ii., l. 19 and iii., l. 27, I cannot say, unless a peculiarly formed ζ, ll. 30, 31, Ὠριων in two successive lines is strange, but certain. Col. iii., l. 17, ὄρεβος for ὕρεβος. Col. iv., l. 28, is θησαρ του to be read θησαυρικὸς τοῦ?

SOME VASES IN THE LEWIS COLLECTION

[PLATES XII.—XVI.]

ON March 31st, 1891, died Samuel Savage Lewis, librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and one of the original members of the Hellenic Society. To his college he left a large collection of coins, gems and miscellaneous antiquities, among them the following vases :

(1) Red-figured kotyle, from Castellani Collection.

Castellani Sale Catalogue (Rome 1884), p. 12, No. 67 (not figured).

(A) Goddess running off with youth, who holds a large lyre.

304A> KAL02 (Plate XIII.)

(B) Two youths in attitudes of alarm ; one holds a double flute.

KAL02 (Plate XIV.)



FIG. 1.—RED-FIGURED KOTYLE.

Under each handle is a large double palmette from which spring elaborate palmette and tendril ornaments on either side (Fig. 1).

Purple is used for 'the letters, the cord of the lyre on (A) and the hair fillets of the youths on (B).

Details are represented in the main by black relief lines ; the less important body muscles of the youths by brown glaze lines.

The vase is entirely free from breakages or restorations, but some of the finer details have been partially obliterated by excessive cleaning.

The style is that of the late archaic period, c. 480 B.C. ; the drawing of the eye already shows signs of departure from the archaic usage, though entire correctness has not yet been attained. The drawing is on the whole careful, though a few lapses are noticeable ; thus one of the youths on (B) has six toes

on his right foot, and their tips are cut off by a carelessly drawn ground-line. The faces, especially on (A), are the least satisfactory feature; that of the female figure is especially inadequate. On the other hand, meticulous care has been expended on the folds of her chiton, and on the musculature of the two nude bodies.

The strings of the lyre, as on both the vases shortly to be mentioned, are in black relief, with the result that they are only visible against the black background in certain lights.

The palmette and tendril ornaments recall those affected by Douris in his later years; a curious feature is the projection of the central petal of the flanking palmettes of one group only beyond the encircling tendril.

The subject, from the analogy of a vase in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale¹ on which the figures are inscribed, is presumably the kidnapping of Tithonos,² though the winglessness of Eos is unusual.³ Save for this latter detail the type is not rare.⁴ The two figures on (B) undoubtedly form part of the same scene; they are the victim's companions, interrupted in the midst of a musical party, as the flutes held by one of them show. It is no rare thing, on kotylai especially, to find pursuer and pursued occupying opposite sides of a vase; it is but the logical extension of the same process to find the chief and the secondary figures in an incident thus distributed.

(2) Red-figured kylix, from Lecuyer collection.

Terres Cuites Antiques; *Collection Camille Lecuyer*, Pl. E 5 (interior and part of (B) only), with notice by Cartault (before 1885); Froehner, *Lecuyer Sale Catalogue*, pp. 62-4 (same figures repeated) (1883); Wernicke, *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 149; P. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 326-7 (quotes Wernicke's description) (1893); J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, pp. 93-4 (1918); J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. p. 458 (wrongly given as in Oxford; corrected ii. p. 494) (1919).

Interior: a bearded bald-headed man reclines on a couch and blows furiously on the double flutes; on the edge of a table beside him sits⁵ a nude boy holding a long stick, swinging his legs and beating time with his left hand. A large lyre hangs up (Fig. 2).

Inner border: three (or in two cases four) separate interlocking maeanders, to one 'Dourian cross-square.'

¹ De Ridder, 846 (ii. p. 497, Fig. 120 and Pl. III.). This is another kotyle, of the developed fine style contemporary with Polygnotus (the vase painter). The subject is continuous all round, two of Tithonos' companions, a musician and a huntsman (the latter through confusion with the Kephalos legend?), being named Priamos and Dardanos, thus showing that the artist definitely had the Tithonos legend in mind.

² On a contemporary lekythos in Madrid (Leroux, 159; Ossorio, Pl. XXXVI.) the youth is named Kephalos. Such a figure,

however, is unsuited to the Kephalos legend, and the ascription is probably a painter's error.

³ Another instance is a kotyle in Florence (4228), contemporary with the Paris vase.

⁴ E.g. the New York stemless kylix, *A.J.A.* 1915, p. 405, Fig. 3, and the twist-handled amphora (present whereabouts unknown), *Mon. In.* iii. Pl. XXIII.

⁵ In the British Museum 'Pilipos' kylix, E 68, a similar figure is dancing. This may have been intended here, though the effect is rather that of sitting.

Exterior: (A) Four bearded banqueters forming two groups which are as follows:

a. Two on one couch, one with his head on his hand being sick on the floor, the other raising his kylix to pledge nobody in particular. The first-named is bald-headed; a foot of the second is wrongly drawn as a hand. Under the couch is a pair of shoes.



FIG. 2.—RED-FIGURED KYLIX (*interior*).

b. Two on separate couches, one handing a kylix to the other, whose couch is shown as end on, back towards us.⁶ A table, from which hangs a fillet with vine twigs in the ends, stands beside the first-named, who holds, also, a kylix shown in black silhouette against his body. He wears a scarf round his head under his vine wreath. At each end of the scene a cross-handled staff leans against the vase handles; three baskets, a lyre and an oinochoe hang up (Plate XV.).

⁶ Cf. similar representations on B.M. E 38 (F.R. 73), by Epiktetos, and B.M. E 49 (W.V. vi. 10), by Douris.

(B) A naked hetaira with bobbed hair stands playing the double flute between two couches, on each of which recline two bearded banqueters. Those to her right are bald-headed; one holds two kylikes; the other, with head thrown back, appears to be hiccuping. The foot of the latter is here correctly drawn. The other two appear to be waving their arms in time to the music, one brandishing a kylix (he is probably not playing kottabos, as Cartault thought), the other a kylix and oinochoe. A lyre and basket hang up; a knotted staff leans against one handle (Plate XVI.).

Diameter 29 cm.

The vase is in perfect preservation, free alike from breakages or restorations. Purple is used for vine wreaths and the cords of lyres; other details are shown by black relief lines. A cushion on (B) is covered with a yellow glaze wash. Imitation inscription in the field of (B).

Hartwig (*Meisterschalen*, p. 326) attributed this vase to 'Brygos'; Beazley (*l.c.*) to his 'Foundry Painter,' the artist of the famous kylix⁷ Berlin 2294 with the kalos-name Diogenes and representations of a bronze statue caster's workshop. The relationship in style between this and the other vases Beazley groups with it and the best of the signed Brygos vases is patent; on the other hand, there are differences in detail and handling of the subject which betray the work of an inferior artist very susceptible to external influence. While such distinctively 'Brygan' details occur as the baskets on the wall and the bobbed hair and cross-legged pose of the flute-playing hetaira on the vase under discussion, various other features are no less characteristic of Douris or the 'Panaitios Master'—the painter of most of the vases signed by Euphronios as maker.

Thus the couch shown end on, head towards us, was inherited by Douris from Epiktetos, and a certain woodenness about some of the figures is a failing shared with Douris' later efforts; on the other hand, the angular poses, suggestive of the angularity of old age, and bald heads of several of the banqueters are to be paralleled on such productions as the Boston komos kylix signed by Euphronios as potter.⁸

Commonplace though it may appear at first sight, the subject matter of the scenes has bearing on at least one interesting problem, which has received but scanty attention in the past, namely the interrelation of the exterior and interior pictures of kylikes.

In the earliest red-figure kylikes, *e.g.* those of Epiktetos which have external designs, and those of the various painters who worked for Pamphaios and Chachrylion, no thought whatever seems to have been given to the matching of the scenes on even the opposite sides of the exterior. Thus in the two kylikes by Epiktetos in the British Museum, E 37 and E 38⁹ a mythological

⁷ F.R. 135.

⁸ Best published in the 1888 *Burlington Club Catalogue*, No. 8, Pls. IV.-VI.; also Hartwig, Pls. XLVII., XLVIII. = Hoppin, i. p. 387. The much-restored kylix in St.

Petersburg (Hartwig, Pls. XLVIII. and XLIX.) is also interesting in this connexion.

⁹ Hoppin, i. pp. 310-11: F.R. 73 = Hoppin, i. p. 313.

scene—Theseus and the Minotaur: Herakles and Busiris—is opposed on the exterior to a symposium scene, the break being marked by large handle ornaments, while the interiors of both bear convivial scenes of a type not specially harmonising with those on the exterior. Approximately contemporary with these are the Corneto kylix by Euxitheos and Olto¹⁰ and the Florence Theseus kylix of Chachrylion,¹¹ both of which show advance, inasmuch as the handle ornaments are suppressed and the design carried without a break right round the exterior, forming in one case a continuous scene,¹² in the other six scenes forming a continuous narrative. In neither case, however, has the internal figure-subject, in one case a young warrior, in the other a flying love-god, the slightest possible connexion with the rest.

Nor is there any advance in the Munich kylix painted by Euphronios for Chachrylion,¹³ nor in the Berlin Sosias kylix,¹⁴ also probably painted by Euphronios; nay, rather a retrogression, as composition is not that great artist's strongest point. Here the external scenes must be conceived of as forming a straight frieze bent round to form a circle, the break between the beginning and end of which is marked by a more or less irrelevant detail under one handle, in the first case a palm tree, in the second a female head in a curious reserved medallion.

Taking these cases as typical of countless others, we may generalise and say that, up to about 500 B.C. or thereabouts, it had not occurred to the leading kylix painters to evolve one comprehensive scheme of decoration for the whole vase,¹⁵ and when, as occasionally does occur, in battle, athletic and thiasos scenes, the interior design does happen to be of the same nature as the others, it is a pure accident.

It is in the workshop of Euphronios in the latter part of his career, and in those of his contemporaries Hieron and Douris, that we first meet with undoubted attempts to bring interior and exterior designs into close relationship. Thus the New York Herakles kylix,¹⁶ painted by the 'Panaitios Master' for Euphronios, and the Louvre Memnon kylix,¹⁷ G 115, painted by Douris for Kalliades, each bear three scenes from a single group of myths, the exploits of Herakles and the Trojan War. More to the point as regards the vase under discussion are the numerous products of both these artists with scenes of a genre character, athletic, convivial, Dionysiac, or military, not to mention the innumerable 'conversations' and thiasos scenes painted for Hieron by Makron, in which exterior and interior tally exactly in character, assuredly of set purpose. To quote a few instances accessible in excellent publications, we may mention the Boston komos kylix already mentioned, the Munich Hieron

¹⁰ *Mon. In.* x. Pls. XXIII., XXIV. = Hoppin, ii. p. 251.

¹¹ *Museo Italiano*, iii. Pl. II. = Hoppin, i. p. 153.

¹² The presence of a small and inconspicuous palmette under each handle hardly influences the general unity of the design.

¹³ F.R. 22 = Hoppin, i. p. 391.

¹⁴ F.R. 123 = Hoppin, ii. p. 422.

¹⁵ Thus the Pamphaios kylix, which is

adorned outside and in with eleven running warriors, all exactly alike save for their shield device, can hardly be quoted as an instance of design at all. It merely betokens lack of ideas on the part of the artist.

¹⁶ *A.J.A.* 1916, Pls. II.-VI. = Hoppin, i. p. 393.

¹⁷ *W.V.* vi. Pl. VII.; Hoppin, i. p. 245, from photos.

kylix ¹⁸ with seven similar pairs of Silenoi and Maenads, the New York specimen ¹⁹ with seven 'loving couples,' and the Vienna kylix painted by Douris for Python ²⁰ with arming scenes. In all these the closest correspondence may be noted between external and internal scenes.

No less is this the case among the vases attributed by Beazley to his 'Foundry Painter,' to an unusually large proportion of which, as compared with the works of the artists just cited, this criticism applies with full force. Besides the Berlin foundry kylix itself we may instance B.M. E 78 ²¹ with boxers, etc., Berlin inv. 3198 ²² (komos scenes), and, finally, the vase under discussion itself.

All of which leads up to the main point of our discussion: how far, in cases where the external and internal scenes of kylikes do show close correspondence, are we to consider them merely separate scenes intended to match like a modern 'pair of pictures,' and how far should they be considered actually one picture, distributed, like the frieze of the Parthenon, by force of circumstances, over various positions not all visible at once, but yet, by an artistic convention, to be thought of as if they were so?

Foreign though the latter notion may seem to modern minds, yet I think it will be admitted on considering the evidence that it is probably correct. Its origin may be as follows. In all spontaneous art—mediaeval no less than ancient, non-European no less than European—it is usual to represent successive stages in a story side by side in one picture without indication of a break. Should space not permit of this plan being adhered to, what more natural course could be hit upon than to depict each incident separately in a series of smaller spaces, if such are available? From this to a further subdivision, the spreading of the component parts of each scene over a series of separate spaces, is but a step. Its extreme development may be seen in the sculptured porches and coloured windows of mediaeval churches, where vast and elaborate compositions are depicted by great series of single figures, each occupying its separate niche or light.

To a Greek, for whom the rules of perspective, which form an integral part of our sense of vision, could scarcely be said to exist, it would probably appear just as obvious a way to represent a complicated subject from the point of view of an internal spectator, to whom the whole is only visible by turning about, as from that of an external spectator with a bird's-eye view of the whole at once.

This is just exactly what seems to have happened on the vase under discussion. The artist, or that of the model he had in mind, seems to have imagined himself standing in the middle of the *andron* of some Athenian house with couches arranged on three sides—probably—close to the walls, leaving the centre of the room clear. We will imagine the flute-playing girl of (B) to be somewhere near the spectator in this central space. Looking straight past

¹⁸ F.R. 46 = Hoppin, ii. p. 63.

¹⁹ A.J.A. 1917, Pls. I.—III. = Hoppin, ii. pp. 68–9.

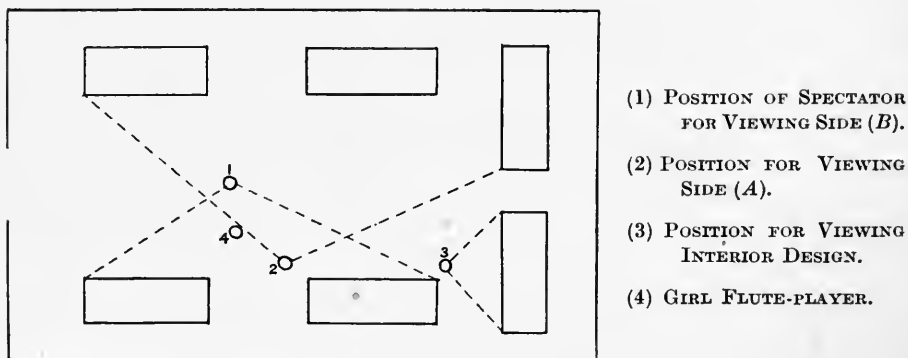
²⁰ F.R. 53 = Hoppin, i. pp. 266–7.

²¹ J.H.S. xxvi. (1906), Pl. XIII. (outside only); Murray, *Designs*, Pl. XIV. 55 (inside only).

²² *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 101, Fig.

her to the far side of the room, all that would probably be visible of its contents would be the two couches shown one on either side of her on (B). Should he turn about and look towards the opposite side of the room, presumably further away from him, and thus coming rather more into his range of vision, in addition to the two couches ranged along it he will get a diagonal view of the couch in the furthest corner of the room, at right angles to them. But as the art of the day is incapable of depicting an object seen corner-wise, to distinguish it from the others seen from the side it is shown as end on. Thus we get the scene on side (A). This accounts for five out of the six couches with which the room is furnished, presumably.

The sixth our spectator will see directly before him should he cast his eyes straight along the room to its far end. Doubtless in reality he would see both couches at this end of the room from his original position, but as one has been depicted already on (A), and the artist did not wish or had not space to represent it twice, we must imagine him taking a step or two nearer the end of the room so as to narrow his range of vision to include only this; the larger scale of the interior drawing lends additional colour to this latter supposition. The possible point of view of the artist when drawing the various sides is illustrated in the appended diagram :—



Probably a similar scheme could be made out with more or less completeness from any other symposium kylix of the time; such, for instance, as the British Museum 'Pilipos' kylix (E 68),²³ attributed to the 'Brygos Painter' himself. Here in addition the fourth side of the room is indicated by boy attendants leaning against the columns which may be supposed to separate it from the courtyard of the house.

Probably, too, most of the komos and thiasos scenes on the kylikes of the time must be conceived of as beheld by a spectator in their very midst, the figures on the two sides of the vase being to his right and left, and those of the interior, perhaps, immediately in front of him. How far, of course, the actual artists whose works we are dealing with were conscious of this convention is hard to say; but it looks very much as if they were conscious of

²³ Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pls. XXXIV., XXXV.

it and that it was a new and delightful invention in their time. The idea, of course, reaches its apotheosis in the Parthenon frieze, which must be imagined as depicting the procession as beheld by some participant in its midst, perhaps Athene herself, the presiding genius of the whole, as impersonated by the statue in the temple it encompasses. On this supposition the whole scheme of the frieze becomes easily intelligible. The spectator has only to imagine himself in the midst of the ranks of horsemen riding ten or a dozen abreast, those of the north side being to his left, those of the south to his right. The groups not yet lined up on the west frieze we must imagine dotted irregularly behind him; the heads of the horses we must imagine as all facing east, the reason for their all facing north being merely that to represent them end on would be unsuited to the nature of the relief, while to show some as facing north and some south would be contrary to fact when all are really supposed to be facing one way. Ahead of us is the central scene of all, the ceremonial folding of the peplos, and behind this group and facing us is the semicircle of enthroned gods. What scheme could be more natural or convincing, once we dissociate ourselves from modern conventions of perspective?

We have already seen, on the Tithonos kotyle, a mythological scene distributed over two separate spaces on opposite sides of a vase; surely, bearing this additional fact in mind, we can employ the facts we have adduced by studying the composition of the symposium kylix, for the final solution of a problem which has baffled very many archaeologists, the subject of the exterior of the Boston Kephalos kylix,²⁴ round which Hartwig constructed his 'Baldhead Painter.' Here we have in the interior a very ordinary representation of Eos flying off with Kephalos, such as, by itself, would call for little or no comment. Running all round the outside we have a scene by itself frankly unintelligible. A warrior with one foot on the bottom of a rocky mass gazes skywards, while behind or around him a crowd of men in civilian attire, several old and baldheaded, one with a hunting net over his shoulder, run aimlessly backwards and forwards, in most cases obviously perturbed by something up above them. Surely that something is the group in the interior of the kylix; the men with nets are no other than Kephalos' companions²⁵ on his unlucky hunting trip; whether he is to be imagined as still actually visible in the clutches of the winged goddess or whether he has merely suddenly vanished skyward to the bewilderment of his companions matters little. Either supposition is sufficient to explain their attitude more than adequately. And yet a recent writer²⁶ has succeeded in convincing himself that the subject is the seizure of Salamis by the Athenians under Solon, a representation of a recent historical event such as is hardly to be paralleled in early art, Greek, Japanese or mediaeval!²⁷ Who has not seen a mediaeval 'Ascension' in

²⁴ Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pls. XXXIX., XL. = Hoppin, ii. p. 47.

²⁵ This was suggested by Van Branteghem as long ago as 1888.

²⁶ E. Petersen, *Jahrbuch*, xxxii. (1917), pp. 137-45, Pl.

²⁷ Such subjects as the murder of Thomas J.H.S.—VOL. XLI.

A Becket and the life of St. Francis form no exception to this rule, as they had become an accepted part of the religion of the age, no less than the legends of such saints as St. Catharine and St. Margaret, by the time they found their way into art. The same can hardly be said of the occupation of Salamis!

which the Apostles gaze skyward in the direction whence the Saviour has vanished or his feet are disappearing in a cloud? and surely the art of an age when the victors of Crecy were commemorated as tiers of saints and angels is no bad analogy for that of one which typified the downfall of the Mede by the victories of deified ancestors over Centaurs and Amazons? Surely the final proof that ensures conviction is in this case supplied by the totally independent evidence of the kotyle, in which the young musician snatched away by the goddess occupies one side of the vase, while on the other, and entirely separate, are his two companions left to their confusion.

(3) Red-figured stemless kylix, from Barone collection (Plate XII.).

Minervini, *Bulletino Napolitano*, new series, vi., p. 33, Pl. IV. (all subsequent publications are reproductions of this); A. Furtwängler, *50th Winckelmannsprogramm* (1890), p. 163 (no illustration); Roscher's *Lexikon*, iii. 1 (1897-1902), s.v. *Orpheus*, p. 1178, paragraph 103, Fig. 3; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 248, Fig. 139 (1900); J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 467, Fig. 145 (1903); Robert, *Jahrbuch*, xxxii. (1917), pp. 146-7, Fig.

Interior unpainted; an impressed pattern of concentric circles.

Exterior: (A) The head of Orpheus giving oracles, under the direction of Apollo, to a seated youth who takes them down with stilus and tablets.

(B) A Muse with a lyre; another stands by with a taenia. Under handles large tendril ornaments. One handle and adjoining portion of the bowl missing and restored; (A) is broken across and clumsily mended. The surface of the ancient parts of the vase is practically undamaged and untampered with.

The taenia held by the Muse on (B) seems to have been originally painted in white, which has nearly all flaked off; it is only visible on close examination. Diluted glaze is used for various details, *e. g.* hair and the tufts on Apollo's robe, all other details are in black relief lines.

This famous vase was seen by Furtwängler in the Barone collection in Naples in 1877; how or when it came into the Lewis collection is not recorded. As Furtwängler remarks,²⁸ the old illustration, so often reproduced, gives no idea of the style, of the excellence of which he carried away an exaggerated idea. Fine and delicate it certainly is, betraying the hand of a highly skilled artist, should he care to do himself justice, but is careless and listless to a degree.

The composition is not by any means lacking in dramatic effect, though the truncated proportions of the figures detract sadly from their dignity. A further serious defect in the general effect of the vase is the disproportionately large size, compared with the figures, of the tendril ornaments around the handles. They are of the type usual in the period immediately preceding Meidias, of whom the artist was certainly a contemporary; the pose and drapery of the girl with the taenia on (B) are especially reminiscent of such figures as the 'Lipara' on the lower zone of the Meidias Hydria.²⁹

²⁸ 50th *Wpm.* (1890), p. 163, note.

²⁹ F.R. 8.

(4) Early Cycladic multiple vase ('kerchnos')³⁰ (Fig. 3).

Unpublished; origin unrecorded.

Cf. Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* iii. pp. 57-61 and Pl. IV.; J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 160, Fig. 16; Edgar, in *Phylakopi*, pp. 23 and 102, Pl. VIII. 14 (1904); Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques*, p. 87, Fig. 62.

Greatest diameter 18 cm.; height 15 cm.

The central bowl is an upward continuation of the foot; eight small cups are joined to it by projecting arms and to one another by cross-pieces. The whole was originally covered by a whitish slip; the outer sides of the small cups and connecting cross-bars are painted with a black net pattern, now almost obliterated.

This is the smallest and most primitive of a small series of early vases all of which, so far as their provenances are recorded, which is unfortunately not always the case, appear to come from Melos, and probably from Phylakopi, where one specimen was found intact by the British School explorers. The specimen is only about half the size averaged by the others. It was probably brought from Melos by some French explorer in the second quarter of last century at the same time as the two specimens in the Sèvres Museum, and was acquired by some private collector; unfortunately no record exists as to how it came into Mr. Lewis' possession.

In concluding I must express my sincerest thanks to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College for a generous grant towards the cost of the illustrations for this article, and, above all, to Sir Geoffrey Butler, Librarian of the College, for his kindly co-operation, without which its preparation would have been impossible; to Mr. A. B. Cook, for many helpful hints; to Mr. J. D. Beazley of Oxford for much invaluable advice and criticism; and, finally, to Miss E. T. Talbot for the patience and care she has lavished on the drawings for the illustrations.

C. D. BICKNELL.



FIG. 3.—EARLY CYCLADIC KERCHOS.

³⁰ For undoubted kerchnoi from Eleusis see Philios, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1885, Pl. IX., Nos. 5, 7, 8, and 9. Miss Harrison, in her *Pro-*

legomena, talks as if the Melian vases were identical with these, which is, of course, not the case.

HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE FROM CYRENE

[PLATES XVII., XVIII.]

EXACTLY ten years ago the Italian Government wrested the territory of Tripolitania from the Turks, and the hope was at once entertained that archaeology, safe from the blind fanaticism that had so seriously hindered former expeditions, might reap a rich harvest from the ruins of the famous cities of the Pentapolis, and especially from Cyrene. This hope has not been disappointed. I do not intend to study here the recent discoveries under the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo or the remains of the Temple celebrated by Pindar, nor to anticipate the prospects of discovering its *stips votiva*, or of finding the site of the earliest necropolis. To study the former we must await the completion and publication of the excavations; to justify the latter a far more settled state of the country is indispensable. I will therefore limit myself in this paper to the discussion of some of the numerous statues discovered that can be ascribed to the Hellenistic age.¹

On the night of the 27th of December, 1913, a torrential downpour flooded the platform of the Temple of Apollo and broke down part of the retaining wall at the N.E. corner. The next morning the soldiers of the garrison found, still glistening with the element from which she had been born, the beautiful statue of Aphrodite Anadyomene. Under such favourable auspices began the archaeological exploration of Cyrene. Excavations were started at once at this spot, and the work was rewarded by the discovery of the *Thermae*.² This building, if perhaps not actually erected, was extensively restored and modified by Hadrian, who decorated it with many statues of earlier date which had been injured by Semitic fanaticism during the great Jewish insurrection of A.D. 116.³ Most of these statues bear traces of having been restored in antiquity, certainly on this occasion, thus proving that they were already in Cyrene and were not imported but merely restored by Hadrian.⁴ The preservation of the statues, some twenty in all, is due to the violence of the

¹ The excavations at Cyrene are directed by Dr. Ghislanzoni, and are sumptuously published by the *Ministero delle Colonie* in the *Notiziario Archeologico*, of which two volumes have already been published, and a third is in preparation. To this publication I shall constantly refer.

² For an account of the architecture and technical details of these *Thermae*, see Guastini: '*Prime note sulla struttura e*

architettura delle Terme di Cirene.' *Notiziario*, vol. ii. pp. 129-151.

³ See *Notiziario*, ii. p. 155, for an interesting epigraphical document of this insurrection.

⁴ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 198. The same restorations are noticeable in many of the statues from Cyrene in the British Museum, e.g. *Catalogue of Sculpture* ii nn 1403, 1404, 1405

earthquake which destroyed the building almost to the very foundations, thus preserving its contents from human vandalism.⁵

By far the finest of the sculptures is the Aphrodite (*J.H.S.*, vol. xl., Plates IX., X.), a cast of which was at once despatched to the Colonial Exhibition held at Genoa in 1914.⁶ Yielding to the universal desire, the Government made an exception to the rule that the works of art should remain in Africa, and brought it to Rome, where it is exhibited in the Museo delle Terme.⁷ Prof. E. A. Gardner's article in the last volume of this Journal saves me from describing the statue at length; I trust, however, I may be allowed to examine a few points which must have escaped him owing to the insufficiency of the material at his disposal.⁸ It is hardly possible, merely



FIG. 1.—TWO GROUPS OF THE GRACES FROM CYRENE.

(a). From the Iseum.

(b). From the Thermae (small group).

on the grounds of style, for the statue to have any connexion with the fresco of Apelles, and it is very probable that the type of Aphrodite Anadyomene is older than the famous painting.⁹ A very important contribution to the study of the statue has been made by the discovery in the Thermae of a small group of the Three Graces (Fig. 1, b). Dr. Ghislanzoni at once pointed out the striking analogy between each of the Graces and the Aphrodite. To use his own words: 'Had we found one alone of the figures we would have

⁵ *Notiziario*, ii. pp. 13, 147. This earthquake evidently destroyed the whole city. In the recent excavations at the ἀγορά we have found three skeletons, the remains of victims of the cataclysm.

⁶ E. Ghislanzoni: *La Mostra Coloniale di Genova*, 1914, 2nd ed., pp. 169 ff.

⁷ R. Paribeni: *Il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 3rd ed., 1920, p. 119 n., 357.

⁸ The articles of Ghislanzoni in *Notiziario*,

i. p. 192, and of Prof. L. Mariani in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1914, p. 171, and in *Annuario della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, 1914-15, are indispensable.

⁹ See Mariani's articles mentioned above for a detailed criticism of the Apelles theory. While some of his conclusions must be modified in view of the discovery of the group of the Graces, his remarks on the style of the statue are of the greatest value.

thought it a reduced copy of the Aphrodite.¹⁰ Now the position of the head of the central figure proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the group is a copy of a relief or painting,¹¹ and therefore the sculptor could not have copied the Aphrodite. On the other hand, the great artistic difference between the Aphrodite, a masterpiece worthy of the greatest sculptors, and the very second-rate execution of the group excludes the possibility of their being both from the same hand. Thus the only explanation of this extraordinary analogy is that both sculptures are derived from the same original, a painting of the Three Graces of the middle of the fourth century.¹² This work, probably by one of the most famous Greek masters,¹³ was copied both by a mere artisan who limited himself to the faithful translation of the picture into the round, and also by an artist of the highest order who, by isolating one of the figures and giving it an entirely new meaning, can be said to have created an original masterpiece. Such a development of an earlier artistic ideal is characteristic of the Hellenistic age, and the Venus de Milo is an excellent example.¹⁴ In this period, moreover, sculptors frequently copied reliefs and paintings in order to enrich their repertory of types. A Maenad, found in these Thermae,¹⁵ is certainly derived from a pictorial motive.

The many points of contact between the Cyrene and the Louvre Aphrodites, both of which represent the same severe and dignified feminine ideal in direct contrast to the sensual derivations of the Cnidian type,¹⁶ induce me to look for other works that might be attributed to the sculptor of the Anadyomene. The great and beautiful statue of Apollo from Cyrene now in the British Museum can, I think, be from the same hand. A close resemblance has been noted between this statue and the Venus de Milo,¹⁷ who would thus serve as a connecting link between the Apollo and the Anadyomene. Since the Aphrodite lacks any distinctive drapery, the attribution of the Apollo to the same sculptor is ever likely to remain hypothetical, but a careful examination of the originals has led me to see a close resemblance in the artistic inspiration of both statues; a considerable realism held in check by a striving after monumental grandeur. Again the relation of the Apollo to the works that preceded it is the same as that of the Aphrodite, a modification of a fourth-century original.¹⁸ Lastly, they are both approximately of the same date and from the same site, and are both the work of a great artist. The most recent excavations at the Temple of Apollo confirm Mr. Lethaby's supposition that the Apollo and the Venus de Milo are contemporary. The ancient fifth-

¹⁰ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 58 and Figs. 29, 30, where the statues are placed side by side.

¹¹ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 60.

¹² Although most authorities consider that the Graces were first represented naked in Hellenistic times (Frazer: *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 176; Roscher: *Lexicon*, vol. i. p. 883), I can see no reason for supposing them later than the Cnidian Aphrodite, and Cyrene, 'ὁ τῶν Χαρίτων λόφος', would be among the first to possess a group in the new style.

¹³ By supposing the original painting to have been by Euphranor, Mariani's attractive theory, based on an admirable study of the style of the statue, might still be retained. See *Boll. d'Arte*, 1914, p. 184.

¹⁴ Furtwaengler, *Masterpieces*, 384 ff.

¹⁵ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 37.

¹⁶ Mariani: *Boll. d'Arte*, 1914, p. 183.

¹⁷ W. R. Lethaby in *J.H.S.*, xxxix. (1919), p. 206.

¹⁸ *Catalogue*, ii. p. 223. Helbig: *Führer*, 3rd ed., p. 482. *Ausonia*, iii. p. 133.

century temple was destroyed by fire and rebuilt in a late Hellenistic epoch; therefore the middle of the second century B.C. is certainly a limit *ante quem* the statue could not have been executed.

Dare we go still further and ascribe to the same sculptor the original of the charming statuette of Aphrodite Euploia, also in the British Museum? ¹⁹ The thick and somewhat massive legs and ankles and the conical and divergent breasts are noticeable in this as in the Anadyomene. It is true that the execution is very coarse, but the original statue of which this is a reduced copy might well be the work of our sculptor.

Besides the group of Graces mentioned above, another and larger group,



FIG. 2.—LARGE GROUP OF THE GRACES FROM THE THERMAE AT CYRENE.

fortunately in a remarkable state of preservation, was found in the Thermae (Fig. 2),²⁰ and a third group has recently been found in an Iseum on the Acropolis (Fig. 1, a.) The three groups that have been recovered from 'the Hill of the Graces' have nothing in common except the subject, and are thus of considerable interest in furnishing three independent renderings of the same subject. The larger group derives, like the smaller, from a relief or painting, but the sculptor has taken more care in avoiding the unpleasant features that such copies usually present. The head of the central figure is in its natural position, while in a group that has just been discovered by Prof. Amelung in the *Magazzino* of the Vatican, and that much resembles our group, especially in the position of the arms, the head is turned in the same

¹⁹ *Catalogue*, ii. p. 236. Smith and Porcher: *Discoveries*, p. 85, Plate LXXI.

²⁰ Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, ii. pp. 60-80. Mariani in *Tirso*, Anno xiv. (1917), n. 1.

unnatural way as in the smaller group from the *Thermae*. The sculptor has even gone so far as to alter the natural shape of the faces in order to correct certain optical illusions to which the spectator is subject.²¹ The original of this group is undoubtedly much later than that of the smaller one. In the latter the figures are somewhat stiff and badly knitted together, they all stand in exactly the same position, and are totally devoid of any movement, either real or apparent. In the larger group, on the other hand, the sculptor has successfully varied the attitudes of the three figures and linked them together in an harmonious whole, skilfully suppressing as far as possible the unsightly props. The original of the earlier group is, as I have said, of the fourth century, while that of the later one presents all the characteristics of advanced Hellenistic, or even Graeco-Roman, art. The third group is again very different, inasmuch as it does not derive from any pictorial representations of the Graces, but has been formed by joining together three modified copies of the Cnidian *Aphrodite*.

These three groups are sufficient to prove that no artist ever produced a canonical representation of the Graces, such as Phidias made of *Athena* and Praxiteles of *Aphrodite*. The subject lent itself to pictorial treatment, and the earliest efforts were made in painting. In the fourth century there is a general tendency to represent the various goddesses naked, a tendency that culminates in the Cnidian *Aphrodite*. This goddess was so intimately connected with the Graces that all subsequent representations of the latter were more or less directly influenced by the standard type of the former, which would naturally form the basis of any directly sculptural attempt to represent them. This actually occurs in the group from the *Iseum*, the only replica that has no painting as a model. The smaller group is a very accurate copy of the original painting, for there is no attempt to disguise the defects which become very noticeable in the round. Although the sculptor of the larger group is far more skilful, we can get a very good idea of the painting which he copied from two frescoes from Pompeii, which are almost contemporary with the group.²²

It is not without much hesitation that I advance the theory alluded to above about the early picture of the nude Graces, which served as a model to the sculptors of the smaller group and the *Aphrodite*. Its approximate date can easily be fixed; it is earlier than the *Aphrodite* of Cnidos, which is usually dated about 350 B.C.²³ Had it been later its painter could not have remained so completely indifferent to its influence, which can even be traced in the eclectic later groups and paintings. On the contrary, the proportions of the figures, both in the group and in its derivative the *Aphrodite*, are very peculiar; the severity so characteristic of the Peloponnesian school with a lengthening of the arms and legs. The only head preserved, that of the central Grace,²⁴ is of considerable size in comparison to the body, and, although of very poor workmanship, slightly resembles the well-known head in Munich

²¹ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 73 and Figs. 35, 36.

²² *Denkmäler der Malerei*, Plates XLIX.-L.

²³ Collignon : *Histoire*, ii. p. 272.

²⁴ I am regretfully obliged to contradict the rumour that the head of the *Aphrodite* has been found.

which certainly belongs to a non-Praxitelean conservative school of the fourth century.²⁵ The legs are long, and the knees and ankles singularly defective. All this agrees perfectly with the little we know of the style of Euphranor, who was the connecting link between Polyclitus and Lysippus. We must remember that he was a Corinthian by birth, and that there must have been active intercourse between Corinth and Cyrene, both Doric cities. The beginning of Euphranor's activity may be placed shortly after the hundredth Olympiad (380 B.C.),²⁶ and I would attribute the picture of the Graces to the earlier part of his career, before he went to Athens. A youthful work of this artist of second rank could easily have been forgotten in the days of Pliny, especially as it was in a decaying city of N. Africa. The fact that an artist who could sculpture the Aphrodite took the painting as a model proves that it must have been from some celebrated hand. Euphranor may well have been induced to represent his Graces naked as a contrast to those, probably clothed, with which his great predecessor, Polyclitus, had decorated the crown of the Argive Hera.²⁷ Since we are in almost complete darkness regarding this sculptor and painter, no attribution can claim to be more than a very tentative hypothesis, but I think that the original of the Graces and of the Anadyomene is much closer to Pliny's description of his style than many of the somewhat fantastic and self-contradictory attributions of Furtwaengler.²⁸

The central niche in the great hall of the *Thermae* was occupied by a colossal statue of Alexander the Great which has been recovered in a nearly perfect condition²⁹ (Plate XVII., 1). The king is leaning on the lance and is represented as one of the *Dioscuri*, as is shown by the horse's head at his feet. The back of his head was originally covered with a bronze *pilos* and the right hand should be restored as holding a sword. The head is an extraordinarily fine portrait of the monarch, and takes its place midway between the realistic Azara head in the Louvre and the much exaggerated later portraits, such as the one in the British Museum. It presents all the characteristics enumerated in the descriptions of the famous statue by Lysippus of Alexander with the lance.³⁰ On the other hand, the body bears almost throughout the distinctive character of the Polyclitan school with the solitary exception of the knees, where some traces may be seen of Lysippean influence. Although the right leg is bent and drawn slightly backwards, the position is more like the Doryphorus than the Apoxyomenus: there is no trace of that restless movement so characteristic of Lysippus and especially noticeable in the bronze statuette in the Louvre, usually supposed to be a copy of the statue by Lysippus.³¹ I am absolutely unable to see any relation whatsoever, except in the subject,

²⁵ Reinach: *Recueil de Têtes*, Plate CCXXI., p. 178, but he goes too far in attributing it for certain to Silanion.

²⁶ Brunn: *Geschichte der Künstler*, i. p. 314.

²⁷ Pausanias, II. xxvii. 4.

²⁸ *Masterpieces*, pp. 348-364.

²⁹ Mariani: *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxiv.

pp. 93-97. Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, ii. pp. 105-122.

³⁰ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 116. Miss Taylor has rightly pointed out the analogy with the terra-cotta Apollo in *Villa Giulia*. *P.B.S.R.*, viii. p. 9.

³¹ Collignon: *Lysippe*, p. 51.

between the Cyrene statue and this bronze, although Dr. Ghislanzoni goes so far as to consider them both copies of the same original. The rhythm in the two statues is entirely different, as can be seen even in the drawings on which Dr. Ghislanzoni bases his theory.³² My opinion has been further strengthened by a recent inspection of the Louvre bronze. As to the head, it is obviously impossible to institute any comparisons between a much-corroded statuette a few inches high and a marble statue over life size.

The dating of this statue presents considerable difficulty. Dr. Ghislanzoni claims it for the age of Hadrian mainly on account of the use of the drill in the working of the hair.³³ This element does not seem to me sufficient to bring it down to such a late date. The use of the drill is to be found in many Hellenistic statues; it can even be noticed about the feet and toes of the Aphrodite Anadyomene. The mixture of Polyclitan and Lysippean elements is often to be found in Hellenistic sculpture and is also visible in the Aphrodite. The *sfumato* noticed even by Dr. Ghislanzoni is the characteristic mark of the school of Alexandria,³⁴ and would hardly have been so pronounced in the second century A.D. It seems unlikely that Alexander would be taken to represent a Dioscurus in Hadrian's time, when the intended flattery would be meaningless, but it would be quite intelligible in the Ptolemaic period. Finally, the statue bears considerable traces of ancient repairs. Now if we accept, as we have every reason to do, Dr. Ghislanzoni's own theory about these repairs, they prove that the statue must have been at Cyrene before the insurrection of A.D. 116, that is, before the time of Hadrian. We may therefore consider the statue an original product of the late Ptolemaic period, only indirectly, and in its general motive, influenced by the statue of Lysippus.

In connection with the statue of Alexander should be studied the colossal statue of Zeus αἰγίοχος that has been discovered in a temple near the ἀγορά³⁵ (Plate XVIII., 1). The statue was found lying in front of a large base that bears a long dedicatory inscription to the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
 νίῳ, Θεοῦ Νερούα νίωνῳ, Τραιανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστ[ῶ],
 αὐτοκράτορι τὸ β', ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ, δεμαρχι-
 κῆς ἐξουσίας κβ', ὑπάτῳ τὸ γ', πατρὶ πατρίδος,
 σωτῇρι καὶ κτίστῃ, καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Καί-
 σαρι Ἀντονείνῳ, νίῳ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ,
 ἡ Κυρηναίων πόλις κοσμηθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 καὶ ἀγάλασιν.

The titles of Hadrian fix the date of the inscription between the 25th of February and the 10th of July, A.D. 138.³⁶

This temple had already been partly explored in 1861 by Smith and Porcher, who found there a headless statue of Athena and another headless female statue. The indications given in the text of *Discoveries at Cyrene* (p. 75) are

³² *Notiziario*, ii. p. 119 and Figs. 53, 64.

³³ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 122.

³⁴ *Dickins: Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 21 ff.

³⁵ Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, ii. pp. 195-216.

³⁶ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 198.

not very precise, but a careful study of Smith's reports to Panizzi and Newton has convinced me that they were undoubtedly found in this temple. I intend to discuss these two statues in detail in a forthcoming volume of the *Notiziario*. We may therefore consider all three of them decorations of this temple, which was probably dedicated to the Capitoline Triad. Dr. Ghislanzoni notices a very strong resemblance between the Zeus and the Alexander, and, notwithstanding the numerous analogies that he himself observes with Hellenistic sculpture, assigns it to the age of Hadrian and confidently identifies it with the statues mentioned in the inscription. I do not think this theory can be maintained. In the first place, the inscription on the base has nothing to do with the statues that stood on it. The *καὶ ἀγάλμασιν* in the last line means that the city had been decorated by Hadrian 'and also' with statues. Had they meant the actual statues in the temple and on the base they would have said so. In fact the inscription seems to me to prove decisively that other statues are intended, and in any case laudatory inscriptions should always be taken *cum grano salis*, especially in Africa. Then this identification is disproved by the statues themselves. The Athena in the British Museum (Plate XVIII., 2)³⁷ is undoubtedly an original of late Hellenistic times. It has considerable affinity, for instance, with a statue in the Capitol, which is usually attributed to the school of Pergamon.³⁸ Thus in any case one of the statues that stood on the base is much more ancient than Hadrian, and therefore that part of the argument that founds itself on the inscription falls to the ground. There remains the part founded on the alleged late style of the Zeus. Now the aegis of the Athena closely resembles that of the Zeus. The gorgoneia are practically identical and both the aegides are fringed with little serpents in exactly the same way. In the British Museum statue they have all been broken off, but have left clear traces. They are, however, present in a replica of the statue at Newby Hall.³⁹ Even the technical treatment of the hair is the same. Then, again, the attitudes of the two statues are very similar and are both the same development of the Polyclitan type, in which the forward motion is only apparent and not real.⁴⁰ The right hip is thrust forward in a very pronounced manner, and the position of the right arm was the same in both. It was supported at the elbow by a large prop, which is still preserved in the Zeus, and has left an unsightly mark on the Athena. The right hand of the Zeus holds a thunderbolt, in the Newby Hall copy Athena holds an owl. The way the *himation* is thrown over Athena's left shoulder is exactly similar to the position of the aegis of Zeus. Athena must certainly have held a spear in her left hand, and, when complete, must have presented much the same appearance as the Zeus, so much so as to make me believe that they might

³⁷ *Catalogue*, ii. p. 255 n., 1479. It is in the Graeco-Roman basement. I publish a photograph of it as a sample of the fine sculpture from Cyrene which is in the British Museum.

³⁸ Helbig: *Führer*, 3rd ed., i. p. 497 n., 883. *Capitoline Museum Catalogue*, p. 340, Plate LXXXV.

³⁹ Clarac, Plate 462A, 888n-Reinach, 229, i. Michaelis: *Ancient Marbles*, p. 529 n., 23. I must thank Miss Hutton for obtaining, and Lady Alwyne Compton-Vyner for granting, permission to photograph this statue. It will be published in the *Notiziario*.

⁴⁰ C. Anti: *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1920, p. 75.

both be from the same hand. The resemblance noticed by Dr. Ghislanzoni to the Alexander really supports my thesis, for we have seen that the latter statue is a work of the Hellenistic period.

But does the Zeus resemble the Alexander? Dr. Ghislanzoni says that it is so marked that both statues must come from the same workshop. I must confess that, after a careful examination of the statues themselves, I am quite unable to see it. In the Zeus all the muscles are tremendously emphasised in comparison with the Alexander. Especially noticeable is the little triangle of fat between the two pectoral muscles and the great and somewhat unpleasant prominence of the lower part of the abdomen from the navel to the pubes. The fleshy masses of the trunk and the segments of the *rectus abdominis* are very exaggerated, in contrast with the refined and somewhat flat treatment of this part of the body in the Alexander. The same can be said of the intercostal spaces and the prominent *serratus magnus*. Even the hair, which is always for Dr. Ghislanzoni the most important characteristic, is very different in the two statues. The curls of Zeus are quite different from the locks of Alexander. A definite proof can be found in the treatment of the pubic hair, which in the Zeus is in little curls and in the Alexander in tufts.

But all this does not mean that the Zeus is Hadrianic, only that it is later than the Alexander. We know enough about the state of art at Cyrene under Hadrian to say definitely that no such work could have been produced there at that time. For example, the statue of Hadrian in the British Museum⁴¹ which, as the recent excavations show, decorated the temple dedicated to him near the Temple of Apollo, is a very inferior work. It is not even all of one piece, but the head has simply been inserted on to a trunk. Surely for the cult image of their emperor and benefactor the Cyrenaeans exerted themselves to the utmost, and we may consider that statue as the best that could be produced. And Dr. Ghislanzoni asks us to believe that the Zeus is contemporary!

Finally, we must examine what has been supposed to be the signature of the sculptor of the Zeus. On one of the sides of the great base that supported the three statues there is cut the name *Ζηνίων Ζηνίωνος*. This name has been placed by Professor Mariani in connexion with the names of sculptors of the school of Aphrodisias, who flourished under the reign of Hadrian.⁴² If we are to refer this name to the statues that stood on the base we must refer it to *all* of them: *all three* must be the work of this Zenion. But the other statue in the British Museum⁴³ is certainly a Roman work. It very probably represents a lady of the imperial house, and its place as Juno in the Triad may be due to a piece of gross flattery. It is quite possible that the lady thus honoured is Sabina.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, ii. p. 224 n., 1381.

⁴² *Notiziario*, ii. p. 216 and note.

⁴³ *Catalogue*, ii. p. 255 n., 1478. It is at the bottom of the staircase of the King Edward VII's Galleries. My thanks are due to Mr. A. H. Smith for leave to have this and the Athena statue photographed and for a great deal of help in my work.

⁴⁴ It bears a close resemblance to the statues in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence. Dütchke, 559. An undoubted portrait of Sabina in the National Museum in Rome has the mantle drawn over the head in the same way. Paribeni: *Guida* (3rd ed.) n. 587.

A fragment of the head of this statue was found during the excavations of the temple. It agrees both in marble, technique, and size with the British Museum statue. All its traits show that it is a portrait, especially the nose and the fat throat. The fragment is far too small to allow me to identify it with any certainty, but it certainly does not exclude the possibility of its representing Sabina. In fact it seems to me to resemble considerably her profile on the coins.

In any case a comparison between this certainly Roman, and possibly Hadrianic, work and the Athena and the Zeus is all that is required to prove that the two latter must be of an entirely different period. Thus the artist who made the one could not have made the others, and the name on the pedestal belongs perhaps to the actual workman who built it.

The statue of the Athena, however, cannot have been intended by the sculptor to stand with the Zeus. The attitudes are so much alike that together they must have presented an unpleasant parallel effect. My own theory is that when the temple of the Capitoline Triad was built or extensively restored by Hadrian, the people of Cyrene took as cult images a Zeus and an Athena of the same late Hellenistic sculptor which stood in different buildings in Cyrene but were both of suitable size. Even after the insurrection there must have been a superabundance of statues in the city. Hadrian was probably content to restore and distribute them anew among the principal buildings. Naturally a certain number of portrait statues of the Imperial family would be erected by the grateful population, but bringing sculpture on a large scale to the cities of North Africa was like carrying coals to Newcastle. To complete the Triad they executed a statue of Sabina and dedicated the whole to the glory of the Emperor who had shown such signal interest in their welfare.

Of entirely different character but of the same age is the statue of a Satyr carrying the infant Dionysus.⁴⁵ The subject makes one think at once of the Hermes of Praxiteles, but there is a complete difference in style. The movement is most characteristically Lysippean; compare it with the Louvre bronze mentioned above, which has almost identically the same motion. Yet this motion is more apparent than real; it is the motion in repose created by Lysippus which influences all Hellenistic art.⁴⁶ We shall not be far wrong in attributing the creation of this type to a modification of the Hermes or of some similar statue of Praxiteles by a Hellenistic sculptor very much under the influence of Lysippus. The statue is also noteworthy on account of the considerable traces of red colour on the prop and panther-skin. The sculptures from Cyrene have fortunately preserved to a remarkable extent their polychromy, and a statuette of an oriental divinity recently found in the Iseum is more perfect in this respect than any other statue I know of. The overturned vase upon which the panther rests its paw is pierced, and it must therefore have decorated a flow of water in the Thermae. But the statue was executed a considerable time before Hadrian, and the question therefore arises whether it belonged to the Hellenistic building repaired by that Emperor or whether it was taken from another part of the city altogether. We have not

⁴⁵ Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, i. p. 200.

⁴⁶ Loewy: *La Scultura Greca*, p. 112.

got, at present, sufficient data to warrant an answer, but I take the opportunity to point out that the Aphrodite was also used in the *Thermae* as a fountain decoration. The shape of the base is Roman and is due to an alteration of the original one in order to make it fit a niche.

The discovery in the *Thermae* of a fine replica of the well-known statue of Eros bending the bow (Plate XVII., 2; Fig. 3)⁴⁷ raises some interesting problems of Greek art and antiquities. I feel quite justified in examining it at some length, as it has usually been attributed to Lysippus, whom we may well consider the founder of Hellenistic sculpture. The principal value of this new copy lies in its very perfect state of preservation, which allows us



FIG. 3.—EROS STRINGING HIS BOW, FROM THE THERMAE AT CYRENE.



FIG. 4.—THE CAPITOLINE EROS.

to restore the exact position of the bow. In the Capitoline copy (Fig. 4), which has been usually considered the best, the restorer has made Eros string his bow by drawing it towards himself with the left hand, while forcing the two ends nearer together, the upper end with the right hand, the lower by pressing it against the right thigh. This restoration has been supported in general by the evidence of two gems⁴⁸ and of traces of the end of the bow on various replicas.⁴⁹ This restoration is impossible, both on physical and monumental grounds. How could Eros, unless he had a third hand, get the bow-string into the notch? Such a position is only possible with a straight

⁴⁷ Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, ii. pp. 42-51. Mariani: *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1918, pp. 1-4.

⁴⁸ Furtwaengler: *Die antiken Gemmen*, Plates XIV., 9; XLIII., 60.

⁴⁹ *Capitoline Catalogue*, p. 87: Helbig: *Führer*, 3rd ed., i. p. 426.

bow. The famous English long-bow was strung by one extremity being placed on the ground against the foot, and when the bow was bent by the pulling of the left hand, the right, holding the bow-string, slipped along the upper extremity till it reached the notch. But the ordinary Greek bow was not straight. The usual epithet for a bow is *παλίντονος*, which can only apply to the Scythian bow whose extremities curved away from the archer, and which is the weapon placed by the restorer in the hands of the Capitoline Eros.⁵⁰ In the copy from Cyrene the lower end of the bow is preserved; it passes *behind* the right thigh and its extremity is curved right up against the left leg. This makes everything clear. The right hand alone holds the upper end of the bow, the left is pulling at the bow-string; the bow is being bent chiefly by the pressure of the legs, the right one pressing down and the left up, while the hands tend to unite. This position is entirely confirmed by the few representations we have of people stringing bows. In the well-known Naples vase a youth is bending a bow by pressing his knee on it, but it is uncertain whether he wants to string it or merely render it more supple.⁵¹ But no doubt is possible in connexion with the figures on a vase in the Louvre⁵² and on a silver vessel from the Crimea (Fig. 5).⁵³ Here the position is identical with that of the Cyrene Eros, and we must infer that in antiquity this was the usual way of stringing the bow. How, then, was the Capitoline type created?



FIG. 5.—SCYTHIAN STRINGING BOW.

If we imagine the Cyrene copy restored we can see that the bow would not present a very satisfactory appearance to a spectator who faced the statue squarely. He would see it, so to speak, from the inside and in perspective, the bow-string and the bow forming two almost coinciding straight lines. This seems to prove that the statue is not designed to be seen from this point of view, but rather that it should be seen from the side, when the spectator would look on the god full-face. Eros, then, from this point of view would appear to be preparing to shoot the spectator himself, and they would thus be brought into the most direct and intimate relationship, while from the front the statue presents exactly the same defect as the group of the Tyrannicides;⁵⁴ it is not self-contained, but must be completed by the addition of an imaginary mark at which the god is preparing to aim. The position I have suggested is the one mentioned by Ovid, who almost certainly had the original of our statue in his mind as he wrote:—

⁵⁰ Daremberg and Saglio, *sub voce* Arcus. Jebb on *Trachiniae*, v. 511.

⁵¹ Schreiber-Anderson: *Atlas*, Plate LXXX. 7.

⁵² Daremberg and Saglio: *Dictionnaire*, i. p. 389, Fig. 472.

⁵³ Reinach: *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, p. 85, Plate XXXIII. Friederichs: *Amor mit dem Bogen des Herkules* in 27^{tes} Winckelmannsfestprogramm, 1867.

⁵⁴ Lechat: *La sculpture attique avant Phidias*, p. 448.

'. *pharetra cum protinus ille soluta*
Legit in exitium spicula facta meum
Lunavitque genu sinuosum fortiter arcum
 "Quod" que "canas, vates, accipe" dixit "opus!"⁵⁵

This is almost a description of our statue and of the effect it was designed to produce. It adds an interesting detail for the restoration of the original. While the tree-trunk is an addition of the copyist, the quiver, '*pharetra soluta*,' was certainly present in the bronze original, perhaps lying on the ground, whence it was taken to disguise the prop in the marble copies. But to return to the study of the development of the type. The great popularity of the original inspired at once a host of reproductions, and, since we find it on gems, we can be certain that it was copied in paintings. In pictorial art, however, the reproduction of the Eros in what I believe to be the correct position is of considerable difficulty. Drawing, far more than sculpture in the round, tends to present figures in their broadest aspect,⁵⁶ and I think we may confidently attribute to painters and to the necessities of their technique the alteration of the position of the statue from the lateral to the more traditional frontal, a position which, as there would be no need of foreshortening, was far easier and more satisfactory. From the usual point of view the statue has almost the appearance of an archaic relief in which the head is in profile, the torso full-face, and the legs inclining again to the profile. Moreover, in this position it takes up much more room—no trifling consideration for an artist who had to decorate large expanses of wall-surface. The bow, however, was a great obstacle to painting the statue in this position, for of course it would not be seen in its broadest aspect. In the two examples I have given above in which the stringing of the bow is correctly shown, the artist has quite arbitrarily drawn the bow in profile. Such an ingenuous way out of the difficulty is not to be thought of for artists of the Hellenistic age, so the only thing to do was to alter the entire movement of the statue and make Eros string the bow in quite a different fashion, possibly the way to string the long straight bow, uncommon but not unknown in antiquity.⁵⁷ Neither the Greeks nor the Romans were archers, and they were probably just as unfamiliar as we are with the niceties of toxophily. These pictorial copies, on their part, influenced in course of time sculpture in the round, and insensibly the original point of view was lost and the more easily copied frontal aspect became predominant. The great interdependence between sculpture and painting can never be sufficiently emphasised, especially in the Hellenistic age.

Let us now see what value these brief observations have for determining the style of the statue. It has been up till now almost universally attributed to Lysippus, but recently Prof. Amelung⁵⁸ has, on a pretended analogy with the portrait of Menander, given it to Kephisodotos and Timarchos, the sons of Praxiteles, and Dr. Ghislanzoni thinks that the statue from Cyrene supports

⁵⁵ *Amores*, i. 1., vv. 21-24.

⁵⁶ Loewy: *Nature in Greek Art*, p. 12.

⁵⁷ Daremberg and Saglio, i. p. 390.

⁵⁸ Helbig: *Führer*, 3rd ed., i. p. 428.

this theory.⁵⁹ Prof. Mariani, on the other hand, still clings to the older attribution, and I am firmly convinced that this is the correct view. If the restorations I have outlined above are carefully considered, the figure of Eros obtains a degree of movement that could only have been thought out by Lysippus. The arms and legs are all in varied and contrary motion, and the play of the muscles, '*Muskelspiel*,'⁶⁰ the real characteristic of the master, becomes remarkably emphasised. Seen in what I believe to be the correct position, it acquires more markedly than any other statue the tridimensionality which Lysippus first introduced into Greek sculpture. Loewy described the Eros as the Apoxyomenus seen sideways⁶¹: seen from the correct angle it becomes almost identical with the Apoxyomenus not only in rhythm but also in position. The right shoulder is advanced in the same way as in the so-called Jason in the Louvre. Even if we admit the traces of Attic influence in the head, this is no reason for rejecting the Lysippean character of the whole. Those critics who consider both the Agias and the Apoxyomenus the work of the same master⁶² have much more to explain. Finally, the great popularity of the Eros (there must be now some forty copies in existence) is sufficient evidence that the original cannot have been by the sons of Praxiteles, or else Pliny⁶³ would hardly have failed to mention it. Moreover, Pliny considers them as essentially sculptors in marble, while there is no need to enumerate all the reasons that prove the original of the Eros to have been in bronze.

The new statue from Cyrene is a remarkably accurate copy. Not only has it preserved unaltered the original position, but its technical execution shows, especially in the treatment of the hair, a careful copying from bronze. But this general excellency is marred by the removal of the wings, which are present in all other replicas. The artist has not stopped here, but has thickened the dorsal muscles to such an extent that the back is quite deformed. This proves that the copy is an accurate one, for the copyist was no real artist, but merely a marble cutter who, had he departed from his model in any other particular, could not have produced such a pleasing work. The reason the wings were removed is probably that the copy was meant to stand against a wall, and we may therefore suppose that in the original they were not spread out as far as in the Capitoline type, but were much closer together.

Is the Eros with the bow a copy of the famous statue by Lysippus which stood in Thespieae? This is a far more difficult problem. The only positive evidence in its favour is its great popularity. If the Eros in Naples is a copy of the statue of Praxiteles,⁶⁴ we might consider the Eros with the bow to have been executed almost in emulation. It represents the Eros of Naples in action; the motive of the bow places him in more direct connexion with the spectator, but since the former attribution is very hypothetical, the latter must remain still more so.

In this paper I have no space in which to notice many other discoveries

⁵⁹ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 50.

⁶⁰ Loewy: *Lysipp*, p. 26, *passim*.

⁶¹ *La Scultura Greca*, p. 112.

⁶² Collignon: *Lysippe*, p. 31. Poulsen: J.H.S.—VOL. XLI.

Delphi, p. 286.

⁶³ xxxvi. 24.

⁶⁴ Collignon: *Histoire*, ii. 267. Furt-
gler: *Masterpieces*, pp. 317 ff.

of interest, but I hope the few I have described are sufficient to make the English archaeological public realise the great importance of the excavations in Libya. In the exploration of this region Englishmen in the past have taken an honourable place, and it is much to be regretted that the results of Smith and Porcher's excavations at Cyrene in 1860 have received so little attention from archaeologists. Over a hundred statues from this site are now in the British Museum, many of them of great merit, and yet they are nearly all unknown. Perhaps when they alone represented Cyrenean art this indifference could be excused, but now that a regular archaeological exploration of the region has begun they acquire a far greater value. The sculpture from Cyrene should be studied as one indissoluble whole; only thus will we be able to understand the artistic activity of this remote Greek colony. The rise, greatness and fall of ancient civilisation in Africa is a subject of equal interest to the archaeologist, to the historian, and to the philosopher.

GILBERT BAGNANI.

Rome, 1921.

ON A MINOAN BRONZE GROUP OF A GALLOPING BULL AND ACROBATIC FIGURE FROM CRETE.

WITH GLYPHTIC COMPARISONS AND A NOTE ON THE OXFORD RELIEF SHOWING THE TAUROKATHAPSIA.

THANKS to the kindness of its owner, Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill, I am able to describe a remarkable Minoan bronze object found in Crete, in the shape of a galloping bull with an acrobatic figure turning a back somersault over his back, both modelled in the round. Views of the group as seen in its original state from the front and side are given in Figs. 1 and 2.

The length of the bull at full stretch is 0.156 m., and the height of the group is 0.114 m. Beneath the forefeet of the animal is a metal attachment of angular form, upright in front. It must in some way have served the same purpose of holding the bronze in position as the tangs or nail-like projections visible in the case of many figurines of the votive class. The bull may have been held in some kind of framework, and it is probable that the hind-legs were fixed in a similar way.

The high action and skilful modelling of this animal is altogether unique among the relics of Minoan metallurgic craft. The bronze bulls and other animals frequent in the votive deposits of the Cretan caves, from the closing Middle Minoan Period onwards, are uniformly represented in a standing position, and cannot compare with the present example for excellence of execution. At the epoch when this object was made it is clear that the art of bronze casting was already very far advanced, indeed the casting of the acrobatic figure above in one pi



FIG. 1.—FRONT VIEW OF GROUP.



FIG. 2.—a.

scale 1 : 1.)

the bull must be regarded as a real *tour de force* of the early metal-worker's craft. The figure itself is attached to the animal both by the feet and by the long tresses of his hair, which are drawn together into a kind of pigtail for the purpose.

Though, as is noted below, the arrangement has been simplified by the stumping off of the acrobat's fore-arms, it is still so complicated that we must



FIG. 3.— *a.* GALLOPING BULL AND ACROBATIC FIGURE ON TIRYNS FRESCO.
b. 'OFFERTORY' BULL ON PAINTED SARCOPHAGUS, HAGIA TRIADA.

suppose that the whole group had been first very carefully modelled in some plastic material, such as wax. The bronze is not hollow as in the later *cire perdue* process; on the other hand, there is no trace of a joint such as is often left by a double mould. The surface, as is usual in Minoan bronze figures, is somewhat rough and certain features lack definition.

The full stretch of the bull's legs conforms to the 'flying gallop' scheme¹

¹ See S. Reinach, 'La représentation du galop dans l'art ancien et moderne' (*Rev. Arch.*, 1900-1901).

very characteristic of painted representations of this class, and of which we have examples in the fresco panels of the Knossian Palace and at Tiryns (Fig. 3*a*). It is well illustrated by a bull on one of the Vapheio cups. It is also frequent on seals and seal-impressions exhibiting such subjects. This 'flying gallop,' as I have elsewhere shown,² was already a feature of Cretan Art by the close of the Second Middle Minoan Period. In Egypt, however, it only comes into vogue, in the wake apparently of Minoan influences, under the New Empire.³

That this was in fact regarded as the typically sacred attitude is shown by the small figures of bulls borne by ministrants as offerings to the departed on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (Fig. 3*b*), which, as Dr. Paribeni has well observed, are simply copies of the standard Minoan type of galloping bull



FIG. 4.—*a, b, c.* ACROBATIC FIGURE.

on the frescoes.⁴ For sacrificial victims borne in the hands of votaries such an attitude is in itself quite out of place.

As is so generally the case in such Minoan representations, the human figure performing the acrobatic feat—marvellous as that feat seems to us—is from the artist's point of view a secondary consideration. The sacred animal—for such he must be regarded—is, as usual, rendered on a proportionately larger scale and in a grander manner.

The small human figure itself (see Fig. 4 *a, b, c*) apart from the conventional attenuation of the waist, is, however, finely executed and even the features of the face, though abnormally diminutive and incompletely brought out by the casting, were carefully rendered by the artist. The sinewy development of form, due to athletic training, is also well indicated. As is often the case with Minoan figures, the legs are disproportionately long, and measure from the sole

² *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. p. 714, *seqq.*

⁴ *Mon. Ant.*, xix. (1908), p. 28.

³ See *loc. cit.*

to the waist-band 62 mm. as compared with 45 for the upper part of the body. The lower parts of the legs from the knee to the ankle are wanting.

It must, however, be observed, that, mainly, no doubt, owing to the limitations of metal technique—still far from mature—the freedom of execution in this case does not by any means attain to the *élan* visible in the leaping youth from the Ivory Deposit at Knossos, which must be regarded as a more or less contemporary work.

As to the male sex of the figure there can be little doubt, though, so far as these feats of the Minoan taurokathapsia in its various aspects were concerned, the performers seem to have been, almost indifferently, of either sex. On the best preserved of the fresco panels from Knossos a girl, distinguished by her white skin, is seen seizing the horns, while a youth, coloured red according to the invariable convention, turns a back somersault over the bull's back, and a second girl behind seems to be about to catch him. On what must be regarded as the most artistic fragment of these frescoes⁵ we again see a female figure, as well as on a fragment of a miniature group from the Queen's Megaron. The figure, moreover, seizing the bull's horns on the Tiryns fresco, from its pale colour must unquestionably be recognised as a girl. In these cases the drapery round the waist of the female performers, in all its arrangements, even in the indications of the sheathed member, is made to conform with the male fashion. The coiffure, too, of the young performers of both sexes, with its side locks and flowing tresses behind, at first sight leaves little to choose. At the same time the regular arrangement of small curls over the forehead, such as is seen, for instance, in the case of some of the Knossian figures, may be regarded as a female characteristic. Otherwise the slim athletic bodies of the two sexes present few points of difference, a female breast, however, being clearly rendered in the case of the hindmost figure in the Knossian panel referred to above.

In the designs of similar figures to be found in metal-work and on a numerous series of seal-types, where we have no colour conventions to guide us, the difficulty in distinguishing the sex of the performers becomes much greater. It appears certain, however, that the figure clinging to the bull's horns in the scene on one of the Vapheio cups is that of a girl. Compared with that of the cowboy falling beneath the animal, not only is a certain pectoral development manifest, but the tresses of the hair are much more luxuriant, and here, too, we remark the characteristic row of short curls across the forehead. In the case of the youth the flowing tresses behind are replaced by a single pigtail.

There is a kind of bunched forelock in the bronze figure of the group, but there is no trace of the formally arranged curls. About the arrangement of the hair behind there is nothing distinctive, two rows are traceable, and the whole is drawn together with the tresses, affording an attachment to the top of the bull's head. The pectoral muscles themselves showing only a slight development, we are bound to conclude that the figure in this case is

FIG. 5.—DIAGRAM

⁵ To be published in Vol. II of *Palace of Minos* and in my

The girdle is rather broad,⁶ and the drapery about the loins with the flap behind, just covering the buttocks, conforms to that of the figures on the Knossian scenes referred to and of the Vapheio cups. The costume, in other words, answers to that in vogue in the First Late Minoan Period among those who took part in such sports.

At one point indeed, as already observed, the craftsman's resources altogether failed him. The requirements of plastic art in the round made it necessary to find the support for the upper as well as the lower part of the figure in the acrobatic position in which the artist caught it, and this, as we have seen, was obtained by bunching together the hair so as to form a kind of stem rising in one piece from the bull's head. This expedient was resorted to in order to give a second support to the revolving figure of the boy, since it is necessary to suppose that his hands had already released their hold of the bull's horns, and that the arms could not therefore be legitimately used for attachment.

At the same time the arms, with a backward direction after losing contact with the bull's head, would have crossed the line of the connecting stem formed by the youth's hair, and this complication of the design was clearly beyond the artificer's powers. He therefore solved the difficulty by stumping off the arms at the elbows.

The point in the acrobat's course which the bronze group aims at illustrating may be best understood by means of the annexed diagrammatic sketch⁷ (Fig. 5).

(1) Shows the charging bull seized by the horns near their tips.

(2) The bull has raised his head in the endeavour to toss his assailant, and at the same time gives an impetus to the turning figure.

(3) The acrobat has released his grip of the horns, and after completing a back somersault has landed with his feet on the hinder part of the bull's back. This is the moment in the performance of which a representation is attempted in the bronze group, but the upper part of the body is there drawn much further back and dangerously near the bull's head, owing to the technical necessity of using the bunched locks of hair as a support.

In (4) he makes a final leap from the hind-quarters of the bull—a most difficult feat, as he would naturally be thrown violently forward. This part is from the performance, indeed, would have been so likely to cause broken limbs—for it seems to have been usual to station an attendant to catch the leaping larger scamp and thus arrest his fall.

The scene best preserved of the Knossian panels a female figure is seen about attenuation of youth, who is turning a back somersault from the bull's back, the face, though the same arrangement occurs on a remarkable agate lentoid the casting, were—

form, due to athletic knob is visible on the Minoan figures, the leg. It is possibly an those on the sides

⁶ *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. see of the Minoan

³ See *loc. cit.*

British Museum

recently published by Mr. F. N. Pryce (*J.H.S.*, xli. Pt. I. Pl. I.; and cf. p. 88).

⁷ Executed, in accordance with my suggestions, by Mr. Theodore Fyfe, F.R.I.B.A.

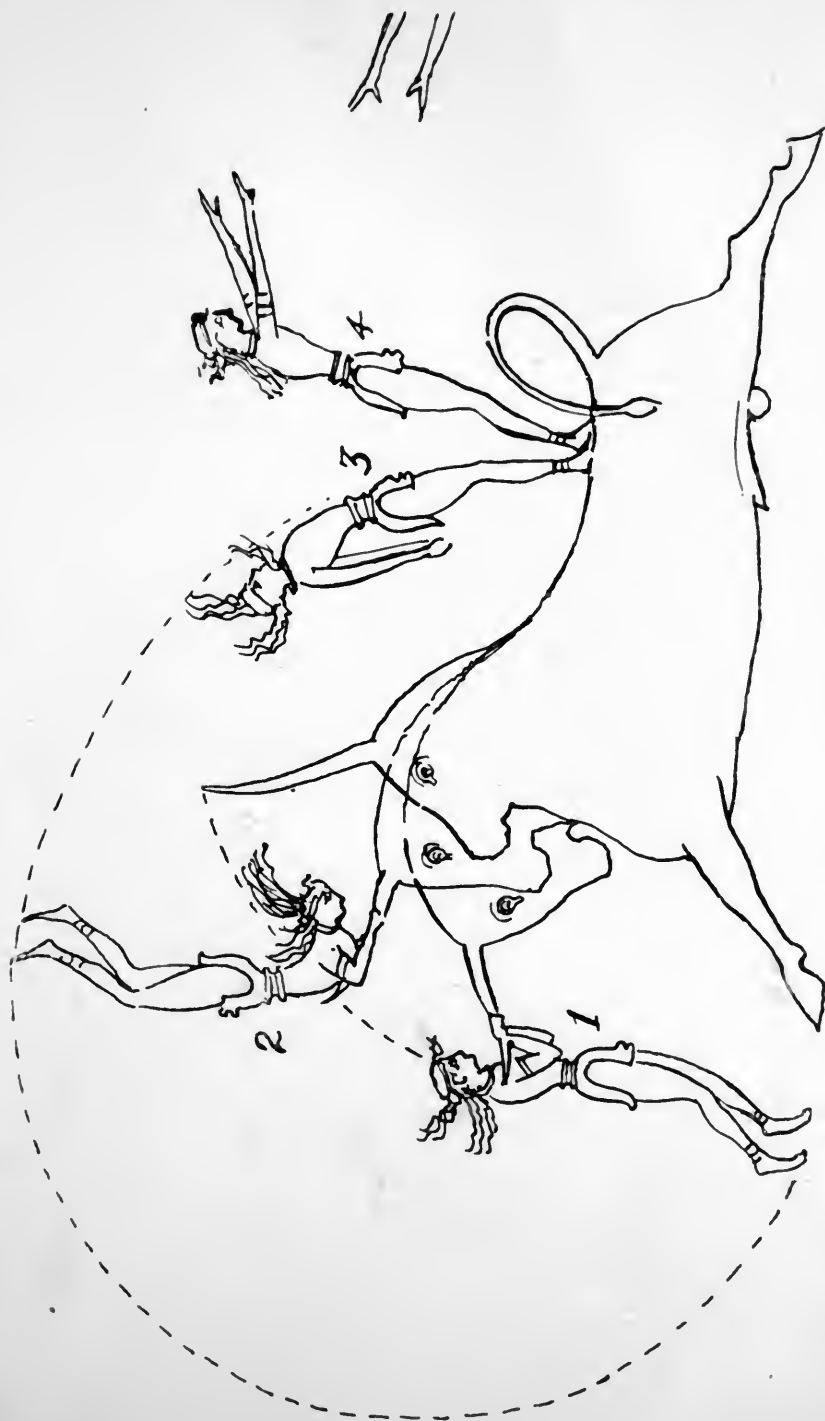


FIG. 5.—DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH, SHOWING SUCCESSIVE POSITIONS OF ACROBAT AFTER GRAPPLING BULL.

from the Peloponnese.⁸ It is also illustrated, moreover, by a clay seal impression from the Temple Repositories at Knossos in connexion with an acrobatic performance more nearly corresponding with that of which we see the penultimate phase in the bronze group (Fig. 6).⁹ In this representation the acrobatic figure, the position of which is somewhat affected by the amount of field available on the signet, is performing a back somersault over the bull's head, and may have been intended to alight on its hind-quarters in the same way as in the bronze group, previous to his final leap into the arms of the attendant. It is possible, however, that in this case the intermediate position of rest was omitted, and the acrobat landed without a break after his release from the bull's horns. This, at any rate, he seems to have done in a scene on another seal impression from the Knossian Palace (Fig. 7).¹⁰ It is noteworthy that both these seal-impressions occurred in deposits dating from the close of the Third Middle Minoan Period (M.M. III. b.).

The nearest approach to the actual attitude of the youthful performer

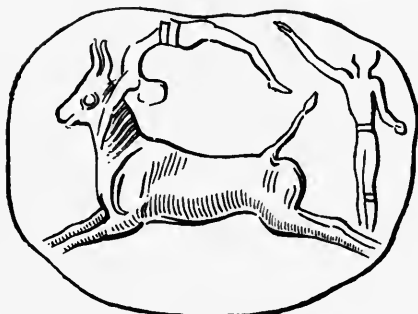


FIG. 6.—CLAY SEALING FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY, KNOSSOS.

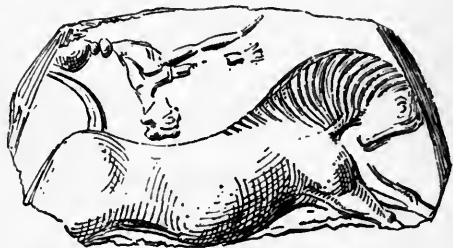


FIG. 7.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION, CORRIDOR OF BAYS, KNOSSOS.

in the bronze group is supplied by a clay impression, of approximately the same date as the others, from the Zakro Hoard (Fig. 8),¹¹ though here again we must allow for a certain lowering of the upper part of the performer's body due to space conditions of the gem, in this case apparently a lentoid. As I have shown elsewhere,¹² this representation belongs to an interesting series in which a record is preserved of the 'triple gradation' such as that which supported the painted reliefs on the walls of the Great East Hall at Knossos. In this case the globules below give a further architectonic indication of a dado border, either with round coloured disks reminiscent of the beam ends beneath an architrave, or of their decorative equivalent, the linked spirals, such as are fully shown on some Minoan gem types. These

⁸ To be published in *Palace of Minos*, etc., Vol. II. The gem is in my own collection.

⁹ See *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. p. 694, Fig. 514.

¹⁰ From a hoard of sealings found by the entrance of the Corridor of the Bays. *Op. cit.* I. p. 686, Fig. 504, d.

¹¹ See *op. cit.* p. 686, Fig. 504 a. This impression has been re-drawn for me from a cast kindly supplied by Dr. Hogarth. In the original publication, owing to a misinterpretation of the acrobat's arm, the animal had been described as a goat.

¹² *Op. cit.* I. pp. 687, 688.

features are of great interest as indicating that the scheme, of which we have a small version executed in the round in the bronze group, belongs to a class of painted reliefs that had, as we know, already appeared on the Palace walls of Knossos in the last Middle Minoan Period.

It will be seen that the bronze group with which we are at present concerned, and the representations of the seal-types and painted stucco panels above described, belong to a special branch of the Minoan taurokathapsia, to be distinguished from that which concerned itself with the capture by trained 'cowboys' of either sex, of wild or half-wild bulls in the open. We have here to do with much more artificial performances, which clearly took place in some 'arena' prepared for the purpose. The course of the bull in these cases can only be conceived in an area of round or oval shape enclosed by barriers. What we witness, in fact, are the feats of the Circus, performed in honour of the great Minoan Goddess, and doubtless overlooked by her pillar shrine, such as we see it in the Knossian Miniature Fresco. That on either side of this were grand stands crowded with spectators, appears, moreover, not only from the fresco panel but from the introduction of the characteristic pillars of these stands between representations of scenes of the taurokathapsia on steatite rhytons.¹³

It further appears that the remarkable painted stucco fragment found by Schliemann in the area of the tomb circle at Mycenae, in which women are seen looking out from a sanctuary window—connected, as we now know, with the cult of the Double Axe—stood in relation to a spectacle of the same kind.¹⁴ With it, in fact, was found another fragment in the same semi-miniature style, showing part of the back of a bull with the hands of a turning acrobatic figure above its back.¹⁵

Another interesting conclusion may be drawn from the characteristic incident of the tumbler caught by the figure who emerges at the critical moment with outstretched arms. It is evident that such immediate aid, necessary in these cases to avoid broken limbs, could only have been given if a relay of 'catchers' had been set at close intervals, possibly in some recesses arranged for the purpose along the borders of the course.

The acrobat, however, may not always have been caught in this manner. One of the Knossian frescoes referred to shows a youth springing down behind the bull with his right arm thrown back and the left forward, almost touching the border of the panel on that side, without any sign of another performer ready to catch him. So, too, on another very beautifully executed fragment we see an alighting female figure by herself in a somewhat similar attitude. The border of the panel is not shown, however, in this instance, and it cannot be regarded as certain in either case that no trained assistance was rendered.



FIG. 8.—CLAY SEALING, ZAKRO.

¹³ See *op. cit.* p. 688, *seqq.*

¹⁴ Rodenwaldt, *Ath. Mith.* xxxvi. 1911.

Pl. IX. (cf. *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 344,

Fig. 320).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

It is noteworthy that in the two representations of the Knossian fresco panels in which a female 'taureador' is seen grappling the horns of the charging bull, the action seems to be performed by a dash from the side—indeed it is difficult to see how anyone standing in the direct course of the animal could avoid injury.

To the same group with these Circus scenes,—at least as regards the artificial arrangement of the surroundings,—must be referred the remarkable *tour de force*, illustrated by a gem, of a small acrobatic figure springing down from some coign of vantage to grapple the head of a bull while he is engaged in drinking at a high square basin. The palatial connexions of this scene are well brought out by the remarkable fact that the decoration of the tank, consisting of a lattice-work square with diagonals, corresponds with that of the painted stucco preserved on two recesses on either side of the North entrance of the Central Court at Phaestos.¹⁶

The actual enclosure of the Circus round which the bulls ran in the usual type of those 'Corridas,' may well have been, as generally in Spain and Southern France to-day, a wooden palisade. In that case it is hardly probable that the actual remains of such will come to light.

That these artificial sports of the 'bull-ring' standing in a sacral connexion go back in Crete at least to the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age, is made probable by the subject of two M.M. I. rhytons in the form of a bull found in the early ossuary tholos of Messarà. There we see three small acrobatic figures clinging to a bull's head and horns in a symmetrical manner more suggestive of Circus performances than of the grappling of the wild animal.¹⁷ It appears indeed from a cylinder impression on a sealed clay envelope from Cappadocia,¹⁸ dated by Sayce at about 2400 B.C., that sports of a similar nature had existed at a still earlier epoch on that side. A bull is there seen kneeling, with a throne-like structure on his back. A man appears in front, with his face on the ground and feet in the air, falling on his left arm and with his right stretched out backwards, while to the right is a man standing on his head.

One fact that is clearly brought out by the bull rhyton with the acrobatic figures is, that by the epoch to which it belongs, that is c. 2000 B.C., the long-horned Urus breed of cattle was already introduced into Crete. The earlier indigenous class, a form of shorthorn, *Bos Creticus* of Boyd Dawkins, was indeed not well adapted for such a form of sport.

The Urus, or *Bos primigenius*, is the characteristic wild ox of prehistoric Europe. But its range certainly extended over a large Western Asiatic tract. Varro speaks of wild bulls in the Troad in the first century B.C.¹⁹ Already in the Sumerian period, moreover, as appears from the copper bulls' heads of Tello and other evidence, it was found on the Mesopotamian plains. The struggles of Gilgamesh and Ea-Bani, as seen on early cylinders, are, in fact,

¹⁶ See on this *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 377 and Fig. 274.

¹⁷ *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 189 and Figs. 137b, c, d. Cf. Mosso, *Scavi di Creta*, p. 184, Fig. 85.

¹⁸ Pinches, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, i. p. 76 *seqq.*, No. 23.

¹⁹ Also in Thrace (*De Re Rustica*, ii. 11).

a real anticipation of sports which in the ensuing age make their appearance in Cappadocia and Crete.

The Circus performances themselves must be regarded as a secondary offshoot of the prowess of early hunters and herdsmen. And this more primitive class of cowboy feats not only continued to co-exist with the other, but formed, as we know from the Vapheio vases and other sources, an almost equally favoured theme of the Minoan artists. It had, indeed, much grander potentialities and was also more fertile in tragic episodes.

It is noteworthy that the Greek traditions of the bull-grappling feats of Theseus and Herakles clearly acknowledge a Minoan source. It was at the behest of Eurystheus, King of Mycenae, that Herakles captured the Cretan bull, received by Minos from Poseidon. In the case of the Marathonian bull, the feat which, according to the Athenian legend, had been unsuccessfully attempted by Androgeos, son of Minos, was achieved by the national hero, Theseus.



FIG. 9.—OXFORD MARBLE RELIEF OF TAUROKATHAPSIA.

It is true that in the later versions of the bull-grappling sports, whether in the open or in the arena, horses play a part. But with an equestrian race this may well have been a natural development.

The feats indeed, *mutatis mutandis*, were much the same. Thus one particular method of using a coign of vantage to spring at the bull's head, and so to overthrow the monster by a dexterous twist, of which we have hints in Minoan representations, was a well-known *tour de force* of the Thessalian horsemen. This feat entered into the programme of the Circus sports of the 'taurokathapsia,' introduced by Claudius,²⁰ when the Thessalian riders first wearied the animals by driving them round the arena, and then brought them down by jumping on them and seizing their horns. A special class of gladiatorial *ταυροκαθάπται* thus sprang up, recorded in inscriptions.²¹ The best

²⁰ Suetonius, *Claud.* 21. Thessalos equites qui feros tauros per spatia agunt insiliuntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt. Cf. Dio Cass. lxi. 9. According to Pliny (*H. N.* viii. 172), Caesar, as Dictator, first introduced the sport. The action of the *ταυροκαθάπτης* is described in detail

by Heliodoros (*Aethiop.* x. 30), writing in Theodosius' time, and in an epigram of Philippos (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 543 Did.). Cf. Max. Meyer (*Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* vii. 1893, pp. 74, 75).

²¹ *C.I.G.* iii. 114.

illustration of these Circus sports is to be seen in the Greco-Roman relief from Smyrna, in the Ashmolean Museum,²² illustrating a scene of "the second day of the taurokathapsia." The riders are represented by boys, wearing round the middle part of their bodies the leather bands, or *fasciae*, that distinguished the aurigae of the Roman Circus. The relief is for the first time photographically reproduced in Fig. 9.

I am informed that the method of the sport here illustrated exactly corresponds with certain cowboy feats still practised in the Wild West of America. Young bulls or steers are there pursued on horseback till the rider, springing at their horns, throws them over and, as is shown in the relief, pins the animal down by sitting on its head. According to Pliny,²³ however, in the case of the Thessalian sport the performer was able by a violent twist of the

neck to kill the animal. Such a termination of the encounter would have eminently suited the taste of the Roman spectators.

It appears, moreover, that the earlier practice of tackling the bull on foot was still a recognised form of the sport. On the obverse of fifth-century coins of Larissa and other Thessalian cities, though the national emblem, a galloping horse, is seen on the reverse, a youth appears on foot grappling with a bull's horns and head and endeavouring to overthrow it. This earlier Thessalian version is practic-

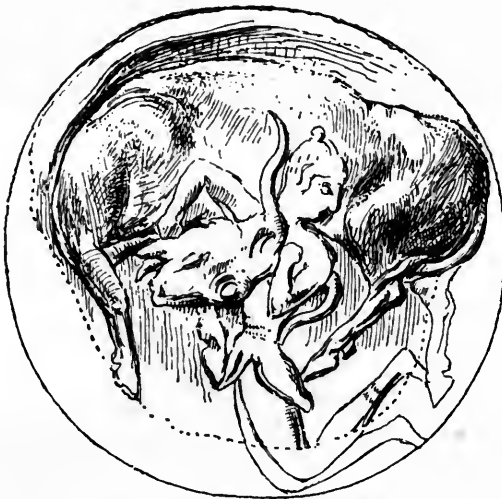


FIG. 10.—CLAY SEALING L.M. II. DEPOSIT, KNOSSOS, WITH COUNTERMARK OMITTED.

ally identical with that which recurs in some representations of Theseus and the Minotaur. But the Herculean feat—matched by those of Gilgamesh in his struggles with Ea-bani—very closely recalls a scheme of which we have more than one version on late Minoan seal types.

The most characteristic of these designs are seen on some lentoid gems, or their clay impressions, showing a convoluted arrangement that marks the full adaptation of such subjects to a round field. This class of intaglio is very characteristic of the closing phase of L.M. I. and of the last Palace Period at Knossos (L.M. II.). A very good example of the type is supplied by a clay seal impression belonging to the Fifth Magazine there, which is countermarked by a barred 2 sign and endorsed with sign groups of the linear Class B.

²² Chandler, *Marmora Oxoniensia*, ii. p. 58 (cf. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, etc., p. 573, No. 136).

²³ Plin. *H. N.* viii. 172: "Thessalorum

gentis inventum est, equo juxta quadripedante, cornu intorta cervice tauros necare."

The countermark somewhat interferes with the effect of the design,²⁴ which is, however, clearly shown in a sketch, made for me by Mr. Fyfe, in which this feature is omitted, Fig. 10. A man wearing the usual peaked helmet, doubtless adorned with rows of boars' tusches, and exhibiting the usual loin attire and foot-gear, has one arm over the bull's nearer horn, which he grasps close to its root, while with the other hand he presses on the animal's lower jaw.

On a banded agate lentoid from Mycenae we see a much weaker version of a similar scheme in a reversed position (Fig. 11),²⁵ and a similar design, in this case boldly cut, appears on a green jasper lentoid from the same site (Fig. 12).²⁶ Here the man holds the tip of the bull's further horn with his left hand and grasps the nozzle with his right.

The very prominent nose of the Knossian seal impression, Fig. 10,



FIG. 11.—BANDED AGATE LENTOID, MYCENAE.

FIG. 12.—GREEN JASPER LENTOID, MYCENAE.

which is still further accentuated in the hooked type seen on the last-mentioned gem, recalls the proto-Armenoid physiognomy of what appears to have been a Minoan priest-king, represented on a seal-impression from the Hieroglyphic Deposit at Knossos, of M.M. II. date.²⁷ This, indeed, may have a real significance in showing that such feats were a special tradition of the old Anatolian stock in Crete.

Herculean feats such as the above, repeated thus in Minoan gem types, may well embody the traditional prowess of some godlike hero of the ancient stock. The Athenian tale of the great athletic champion Androgeos, the son of Minos, who grappled—in this case to his ruin—with the Marathonian bull, may well refer to the original subject of these designs.

ARTHUR EVANS.

²⁴ For the seal-impression as counter-marked, see *Scripta Minoa*, I. p. 43, Fig. 20.

²⁵ Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 49, Fig. 28.

²⁶ Drawn for me by Gilliéron: See, too, Perrot, *Grèce primitive*, vi. Fig. 426, 24 (and cf. Furtw. *loc. cit.* Fig. 28); A. Reichel, *Ath. Mitth.* 1909, Pl. II. 5. A poor design

on a cornelian 'flattened cylinder' from Phaestos (Savignoni, *Mon. Ant.* 1905, p. 625, Fig. 97 b) may be also cited. A half-kneeling man seizes a bull by the tips of both horns. The bull stands in an attitude like the conventional suckling cow.

²⁷ *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 8, Fig. 2a.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1919-1921

THE following report has been compiled at the request of the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and has been made as complete as the short notice given has allowed. I have to thank my colleagues of the Greek Archaeological Service and of the other foreign schools in Athens for the information, which they have so courteously placed at my disposal. Thanks are also due to the Managing Committee of the British School for permission to give a brief account of its latest work.

AMERICAN SCHOOL.

In the spring of 1920 Miss Walker conducted careful and scientific excavations at Corinth, on and around the hill where stands the Temple of Apollo, in the hope of obtaining further stratified evidence to illustrate the prehistoric inhabitation of the site. The area dug had been considerably disturbed by the building of the temple and by Roman alterations. On the south side of the temple in the lowest stratum, amid the debris of what were probably rude huts, were found quantities of pottery resembling that of the First Thessalian Period, and in the upper portions there appeared wares more closely related to the Second than to the First Thessalian Period. On the north side the deposit produced no pottery resembling that of the First Thessalian Period, but wares contemporaneous with the Second and an almost equal quantity of Early Helladic pottery. To the south-west of the Temple Hill other trial pits produced principally Early Helladic ware, though there were occasional fragments related to the Second and Third Thessalian Periods. All the areas yielded obsidian knives and stone implements of the usual types, and one piece of a marble vase similar to those of the Cyclades was also discovered. The publication of these finds, which are very important for determining the relative dates of the first three Thessalian periods and the Early Helladic Age, will be awaited with great interest.

In 1921 an expedition of the school under the leadership of Dr. C. W. Blegen, who very kindly invited members of the British School to take part, conducted excavations on the mound of Zygouries near the village of Hagios Vasileios in the plain of Kleonai, and to the east of the site of the ancient city. Here remains of all three Helladic periods were found, though the mound had been somewhat telescoped and had suffered from Christian, probably Byzantine, occupation. On the top the ruins of a considerable Early Helladic settlement were laid bare, including part of a narrow street and several houses. The houses are in plan generally rectangular, and seem to have had flat roofs with walls of crude brick resting on a low stone foundation. Some had more than

one room, though the largest was apparently a one-roomed house. But it, like many of the others, had in one corner a row of three or more pithoi for keeping produce or household stores. The street was paved with gravel mixed with potsherds and off it there seemed to be one or two small alleys. The pottery of this settlement was all Early Helladic, and a large number of complete vases were found including several with simple painted decoration, two 'sauceboats' with spouts in the shape of a ram's head, and innumerable specimens of the ordinary coated and uncoated Early Helladic wares. Other small finds comprise a bronze dagger blade, a terra-cotta seal with signs that resemble some of the earliest Minoan characters, and a small terra-cotta figurine of a woman. Above this settlement there had been one of the Middle Helladic Period, but the ruins of this seem to have been swept away in Late Helladic times, and most of the Late Helladic buildings had in their turn suffered similarly in Christian times. One or two Middle Helladic graves were found of the usual cist type known at Orchomenos and elsewhere. In one of these were two small matt-painted vases and a necklace of crystal and paste beads. In the Third Late Helladic Period a large and important house was built on the east side of the mound, where two basement rooms were cleared, which were full of unused pottery. There were so many vases that one can only assume they were intended for trade rather than for household purposes. One room yielded five store jars, one of which was extracted complete, and a mass of broken kylikes. Of these latter some thirty with painted decoration have been put together and many more will probably be restored, when the detailed study of the pottery is undertaken. They make a most interesting series and well illustrate the development of the Mycenaean kylix from the Minyan goblet through Ephyraean ware. In the other room were not far short of three hundred cooking pots of a casserole type, which had been piled in rouleaux upside down, and been telescoped into one another by the collapse of the roof. In spite of this, ten were extracted unbroken. The same room produced three gigantic and six smaller stirrup-vases in fragments and quantities of unpainted pottery, small saucers, scoops, jars and so on, very many of which are still unbroken. In a drain trap just above were found a bronze knife with an ivory handle and a small gem, while near by many fragments of wall paintings came to light, unfortunately all too small for any design to be made out. The importance of this excavation lies in the discovery of the Early Helladic houses, the first so far found, and in the fine series of Late Helladic III. domestic ware.

Recent exploring work has brought to light a neolithic mound in Arcadia, between Mantinea and Tegea, with pottery of a northern type very similar to that from Corinth. It thus seems that the so-called Thessalian or northern culture was spread all over Greece in neolithic times, and that the Bronze Age people of the Early Helladic Period were intruders from Crete or the islands, to judge by the close kinship between the different kinds of pottery. This, coupled with the finding of Early Helladic ware near Vaphio and Old Phaleron, shows that the background of the Mycenaean Age on the mainland is daily growing wider.

BRITISH SCHOOL.

In 1920 and 1921 excavations were undertaken at Mycenae on the suggestion of Sir Arthur Evans in an attempt to solve in the light of the Cretan evidence some of the problems propounded by Schliemann and Tsountas. The success of the excavations was partly due to the courtesy of Mrs. Schliemann, who lent for reference her husband's original notebook of his excavations, and to Professor Tsountas, who most unselfishly gave up his rights on the site in favour of the School. The new investigations have been directed to three main spheres, the Grave Circle, Lion Gate and surrounding area, the Palace on the summit of the Acropolis, and the cemeteries.

The six Shaft Graves later enclosed within the Grave Circle were once part of a cemetery, which lay on the hillside at this point just below where the hard limestone stops and soft rock begins sloping down to the valley. Thus, this was the nearest spot to the Acropolis rock suitable for a cemetery, as graves could not be dug in the hard limestone. The cemetery began to be used in Middle Helladic times (1800-1600 B.C.), for within the Circle on the east Schliemann¹ found several and Stamatakes² found four Middle Helladic graves, and now to the south underneath two Late Helladic III. houses (Ramp and South Houses) four certain and three probable such graves have been discovered. To the north of the Circle underneath the building known as The Granary, which lies between the Lion Gate and the entrance to the Circle, another Shaft Grave was found. The contents of this had been removed in ancient times, but it still contained nineteen gold discs, some worked boars' tusks, six beads of glass paste, and two crushed vessels of lead. This grave seems later than the other six, but is probably not much later than the beginning of the Second Late Helladic Period. It cannot be later than that period because the Granary is an L.H. III. building. At the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Period, when the great Cyclopean wall of the Acropolis was laid out, the later palace built and the whole citadel replanned, it was found that the intended line of the wall running south-west from the Lion Gate would pass through the Royal Graves. Consequently the wall was made to bow outwards so as to avoid them, and at the same time the Grave Circle itself was constructed to enclose them within a kind of *temenos* and to preserve their sacred character. A careful study of the levels recorded by Schliemann has shown approximately the level of the sloping surface before the Grave Circle was built and the area enclosed was terraced. That the Grave Circle was an open space and not the base of a tumulus is proved by the finding of a line of pavement slabs laid against the upright slabs on the inside and by the erection of the *stelai* over the graves. These *stelai* are considered by Sir Arthur Evans, Dr. Kurt Mueller and other authorities to be contemporaneous with the interments; they must therefore have been lifted to the higher level when the Grave Circle was made. The Ramp, the Granary, the House of the Warrior Vase and other houses lying south of the Grave Circle are consequently

¹ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 162 ff.

² Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 97.

later in date than the creation of the latter and the building of the Acropolis walls, as Late Helladic III. pottery has been found below the floors of the Granary and South House. Below the Ramp House a large number of fragments of fresco came to light with L.H. I. and II. pottery. These fragments are identical in style and subject with the fresco fragments found by Schliemann,³ the exact provenance of which was unknown. One interesting piece shows part of a bull against a blue ground, another two acrobats or bull-baiters, and there are many pieces of a large frieze of iris or lilies, while the commonest pattern is an imitation of wood graining which seems to indicate a Victorian tendency in Mycenaean art.

On the summit of the Acropolis the palace found by Tsountas⁴ has been re-explored with most interesting results. Beneath the existing palace, which seems to date back to the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Age, are the scanty remains of an earlier building, probably that in which lived the kings who were buried in the Shaft Graves. The fine staircase of approach from the south had at least two flights with lobbies and landings, was lighted by a window, and was on the whole no unworthy successor of the Grand Staircase at Knossos. From the top of this one enters a room, which probably served the same purpose as the Throne Room at Knossos, and the court, whence the megaron and domestic quarters are reached. The hearth in the megaron proves to have had ten layers of painted stucco and more fragments of the frescoes from the walls were found badly burnt, but on the best preserved can be seen an elaborate architectural background before which stands a lady with auburn hair. The domestic quarters which lay higher up the hill—the palace is built on a series of terraces and had at least two stories—have almost vanished, but at one point are the remains of a stepped tank coated with red stucco, which may have been a bath like the Knossian examples. On the other side of the court a corridor leads to the Western Portal, a massive threshold of conglomerate flanked outside by ashlar walls of *poros*. This entrance was probably approached by a sloping passage through a propylon situated to the north-west. Unfortunately on this side the palace ruins have suffered from Hellenistic disturbance just as on the summit they were partly destroyed by the foundations of the Doric temple. Interesting minor finds include a series of small clay cups with different coloured paints—the palette of some long-forgotten artist—a table of offerings of painted stucco on a backing of clay, and part of a bull's head rhyton in steatite. Fragments of two more such rhytons were found in a well which also yielded a clay sealing showing a sacred pillar guarded by two quadrupeds. Over them fly two doves, while a third is perched between the horns of consecration which crown the pillar. This sealing is the first of its kind to be found on the mainland and shows that more such sealings are to be expected, and perhaps also inscribed clay tablets like those of Knossos.

A re-examination of the famous relief of the Lion Gate shows that the main lines were cut out with saw and drill and that the figures thus blocked out

³ *Ath. Mitt.* 1911, pp. 222 ff., Pl. IX.; *Jahrbuch*, 1919, Pl. IX.

⁴ *Практика*, 1886, pp. 59 ff., Pls. 4, 5.

were finished with the chisel. The entrance to the Lion Gate has been cleared of the fallen Cyclopean blocks, and the architectural appearance is now much more imposing. It has also been discovered from the evidence of dowel holes in the top blocks of the wings that the gate was roofed over inside, in the same way in which modern entrance gateways in Greece are roofed. One of the grave *stelai* found *in situ* by Schliemann⁵ over the Fifth Shaft Grave has been practically completed by two more pieces. The *stèle* has a flat and not a gable top and was divided into three registers of equal height. The upper and lower registers contained purely decorative patterns (rosettes and spirals) and between them was framed the central register representing a man in a chariot. This fresh evidence for the shape and composition of the *stelai* is most important.

Efforts to find earlier tombs outside have been most successful. In a hitherto unexcavated area on the north slope of Kalkani hill, a cemetery which dates back to Late Helladic I. times has been discovered. One tomb has no less than eight strata of interments. The first stratum is represented by the remains of at least six skeletons swept into a pit in the floor of the chamber. With them were some fine glass beads and a blue faience cylinder said to be a Mycenaean copy of an Anatolian imitation of a type derived from Mesopotamia. The pottery associated with them is of L.H. I. and II. types; there is a fine rhyton similar but superior to the splendid example from the Second Shaft Grave, a typical L.H. I. saucer and three small alabastra. With the third interment was a stirrup-vase of the Tell-el-Amarna style showing that this and the later interments are of L.H. III. date. The fourth interment, presumably a woman, had a long necklace of white crystal, cornelian and paste beads. Of another tomb only the entrance passage has been cleared, but here were found a set of seven painted clay alabastra, a large terra-cotta spindle-whorl with a fine design of iris, a granulated gold bead, and six gems of which five are of the finest style. One, an onyx, has a magnificent lion, two other onyxes show respectively a cow suckling her calf—a scene full of sympathy—and two couchant oxen. Two cornelians have identical representations of the Mother Goddess arrayed in the usual flounced skirt and open bodice, with a fine rampant lion on either side. Below her feet three lines make a kind of exergue—an unusual feature—and above her head is a ritual object, formed apparently of snakes, from the centre of which rises the sacred symbolic double axe. In view of Hesychius' equalisation of *πέλεκυς* with *κύβηλις* we may see in her the goddess Kybele or Rhea. Since one of these gems was found on the west and the other on the east, they may have been so placed with the intention of giving her protection to the dead amid the shades below. These and the other objects found in the entrance dromos are archaeologically of the same date as the Vaphio tomb, and so there are great hopes that when in the coming excavations the chamber itself is cleared, really important objects will be found.

A re-examination of the Treasury of Atreus, the Tomb of Clytemnestra and the other tholos tombs goes to show both from the finds and on architectural

⁵ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 86, Fig. 141.

grounds that these two tombs and the smaller perfect tholos tomb fall towards the end of the series about the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Age.

This is naturally only a brief summary of the more interesting results, but the amount of fresh information that has been collected is very great. Mycenae was first inhabited in the Early Helladic Age, but does not seem to have been very important. In Middle Helladic times it advanced in civilisation and towards the end of this period arose the dynasty whose princes were laid in the Shaft Graves. About this time Mycenae rose to a high pitch of power and wealth, and it is an open question whether this was due to conquest and colonisation from Crete or to peaceful penetration by trade and the like. Whatever the cause, the Middle Helladic culture of the mainland suddenly became saturated with Minoan influence. In the first two phases of the Late Helladic Age the underlying mainland element began by degrees to affect more and more the imported Minoan style. The earlier beehive tombs are probably those of the dynasty which succeeded the Shaft Grave dynasty. Then with the Third Late Helladic Period Mycenae reached the zenith of its dominion and riches, so well illustrated by the rebuilding of the palace, the replanning of the city and the laying out of the gigantic fortifications, corresponding so well with those at Tiryns, which the Germans have now proved to be of the same date. The Treasury of Atreus agrees so well architecturally with the Lion Gate that it is possible that the great king who built the Cyclopean walls, built also for himself the Treasury of Atreus as his tomb, in the same way in which in Egypt the pyramid building kings constructed each for himself a tomb pyramid. The prominent features of this time were great accuracy in architectural planning, and amazing mechanical and technical skill in cutting hard stone and moving gigantic blocks: it was an age of monumental engineering. It was a late period it is true, but the walls, palaces and tombs of Mycenae and Tiryns prove that it was not degenerate.

The two campaigns at Mycenae have been an unqualified success; but after another season's work in 1922, principally on the tombs, it has been decided to suspend the excavation of this Homeric site in favour of a classical one.

Two minor excavations were also carried out under the aegis of the School in 1921. Professor P. N. Ure, assisted by his wife, made some additional researches in the cemetery at Ritsona in Boeotia, which yielded such an abundant harvest to the late Dr. Ronald Burrows and himself in 1907-1909. Some forty more graves were discovered, of which the earliest belongs to the 'Geometric' period, a considerable number show various phases of Corinthian pottery, and the richest series were furnished with late black-figured vases, Boeotian kylikes of the latest phase of the style, and innumerable black-glazed kantharoi. In the latest graves the vases were almost all black-glazed cups with occasional floral black-figured kylikes and small Proto-Corinthian skyphoi. Terra-cotta figurines were fairly frequent in all types of graves except the earliest, while beads, rings, strigils and other objects were also found. The modes of burial were various and there were many cremation graves. The evidence continues to point conclusively to single interments as the normal

practice, and there is every prospect that the new series of graves will throw further light on the chronology both of the pottery and the figurines, with which they are so abundantly furnished.

The other was an experimental excavation on behalf of a research committee of the British Association conducted by Mr. S. Casson at Tsaousitsa in Macedonia. This site, which the excavator identifies with Kalindoia, is large and complex, and has yielded objects ranging from neolithic to Roman times.⁶ This year a cemetery was examined on a low mound where some burials came to light during military excavations in the war. Fifteen graves in all were found which yielded a large number of spiral armlets, pins, beads and spectacle fibulae of bronze, iron knives, and several vases of strongly contrasted types. Some of the vases are plain red jugs with cutaway necks; others have simple geometric ornamentation and are compared to the earlier geometric or Marmariane-Theotokou ware of Thessaly; and some are ribbed wheel-made vases of grey-black ware. The excavator thinks that no very great period of time is covered by the burials on the mound, and dates the culture they represent to between 1100 and 650 B.C. It is proposed to continue the work in the spring, when scientific excavation should solve some of the interesting problems raised by these finds, which the excavator associates with the Dorians and Makednoi.

FRENCH SCHOOL.

In Argolis in 1920 the Mycenaean acropolis of Asine⁷ near Tolon, seven kilometres from Nauplia, was planned. The ancient fortifications were studied and preparations made for the excavations which will be carried out there in March 1922 by a Swedish archaeological expedition under the patronage of H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden.⁸

The exploration has been begun of a Pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean site near Schoinochori, which should be perhaps identified with Lyrkeia mentioned by Pausanias. The human occupation of this site probably goes back at least to the Middle Helladic Age, as Minyan ware was found. In the cemetery five rock-cut chamber-tombs with short *dromoi* yielded vases, figurines and gems of the Late Helladic Period, and some interesting observations on the funeral customs of the age were also made.

In central Greece supplementary researches have been made at the sanctuary of the Muses near Thespias and at Thebes to prepare for the publication of the results of the excavations of Jamot and de Ridder on these sites.

At Delphi work was carried on in 1920 and 1921, when studies of certain portions of the *hieron* were continued and completed, especially with regard to the Portico of Attalos and the terrace of the Apollo temple, while the Altar of Chios has been partially reconstructed through the generosity of the modern authorities of the island.⁹ At Marmaria the exploration of the lower archaeo-

⁶ *B.S.A.* XXIII, pp. 29 ff., 36 ff.;
Antiquaries Journal, I., pp. 209 ff.

⁸ *Bull. de la Soc. des Lettres de Lund*,
1920-21, p. 17 ff.

⁷ Renaudin, *B.C.H.*, 1921, pp. 295 ff.,
Pls. VIII-XII.

⁹ Replat, *B.C.H.*, 1920, pp. 388 ff.

logical strata has resulted in a fortunate series of finds which completely change our ideas about the arrangement of the *hieron* of Athena Pronaia. A new part of the enclosure has been found with a new entrance on the south-east, thus enlarging the *temenos* to the east of the archaic altars; and bronzes, vase-fragments and ruins of curved houses have been found on this side below the stratum of the seventh century B.C. The two buildings hitherto considered to be *heroa* (of Phylakos and possibly Autoonoos) belong to a terrace of treasuries analogous to those at Olympia. The *temenos* of Phylakos was probably to the north of Marmaria where excavations will be undertaken. A collection of votive offerings has been found in the second temple of Athena in *poros*. New documents have furnished quite new material for the study of the two treasuries,¹⁰ the Doric and the Aeolian, while to the west of the fourth century *tholos* an archaic crypt has been discovered which was destroyed when the limestone foundations of the temple of Athena were laid down. The foundations of the Sikyonian Treasury in the *hieron* itself, which are largely composed of the remains of rectangular and circular buildings, have been subjected to a new examination to determine better the character of these earlier constructions. MM. Colin and Courby have completed the publication of the monuments of the temple terrace, and fresh soundings have been made in the theatre in preparation for definite plans. By the way leading to Marmaria from the east a necropolis of the sixth century was discovered, and one tomb here has produced among other vases a fine alabastron signed by Pasiades and similar to the example in the British Museum which was until now unique.

Delos.—An important inscription at Mykonos, a consular law passed by the *comitia* in 58 B.C., which regulated the financial situation of Delos after the war with the pirates, has been copied and commented upon. On the north-east of the southern slope of Mount Kynthos a *temenos* of Artemis Eileithyia has been cleared, together with an altar of the fifth century, and a small temple and a series of marble votive reliefs of the third century. New discoveries have also been made in the theatre in connection with the stage. The exploration of the hippodrome has been resumed and the tribune has been cleared. In the neighbourhood several small sanctuaries have been found; one of them with a central row of columns is archaic. The vase-fragments have enabled the Archegesion to be identified, and further to the south the clearance of an avenue leading from the *hieron* to the gymnasium has been commenced.

Macedonia and Thracian Archipelago.—Round Philippi and at Philippi itself important results have been obtained. Exploration of Mount Pangaion, the plain north and south of Philippi, and the valley of the river of Nevrokop has enabled the prehistoric sites of the Drama-Kavalla district to be mapped, and eighty-six Greek and Latin inscriptions have been found, among which may be noted a milestone of the Via Egnatia, the oldest yet known. At Philippi excavations have brought to light the *temenos* of the Egyptian gods, consisting of five parallel *cellae* with many inscriptions, and the shrine of Silvanus, which is thirty metres west of the rock with the dedication of P. Hosti-

¹⁰ *B.C.H.*, 1920, pp. 316 ff.

lius Philadelphus. In the theatre the orchestra has been cleared and the general plan of the basilica has been verified, but it does not agree very well with that given by Strzygowski.¹¹ Shafts sunk in the prehistoric mound known as Dikili Tash have yielded quantities of prehistoric pottery and many figurines, especially animals. The study of the stratification of the pottery from this important mound should provide a good sequence to form the basis of a classification of Macedonian prehistoric wares.

At Thasos the excavations interrupted by the war have been resumed, and on the Acropolis the study of the fortifications has been completed. Here a gigantic statue of Apollo Kriophoros three and a half metres high was discovered; it is unfinished, but is one of the largest examples of an archaic Apollo yet found. In the lower town the general arrangement of the porticoes in the *agora* has been determined, and in the northern portico an interesting fragment of the medieval walls of the Gattelusi came to light. In the theatre the stage buildings and the orchestra have been begun, and the arrangement of the *analemma* and the *koilon* has been made out and a study of the monumental inscription of the orchestra balustrade has been undertaken. Near the spring Archouda outside the walls the *temenos* of Archouda has been identified, with a large archaic altar and a sixth century temple.

Asia Minor.—At Notion the interrupted work has been taken up again, although the excavation house had been destroyed during the war. On the Acropolis the general topography has been ascertained. In particular the discovery of the Athenaion to the west fixes for us the division of the city, of which the eastern half even at the end of the fifth century was still occupied by the Persians. Certain buildings are repeated on either side of the *diateichisma* mentioned by Thucydides;¹² there were, for instance, two *agorai*. The Athenaion has been completely cleared and its identification is verified by an inscription. It has a closed *peribolos* with an entrance to the north-east, four Doric porticoes, a sacrificial altar and a temple, which in its present state is of Roman date and of the Corinthian order. Many votive figurines of terracotta were found and some fragments of the cult-statue. The necropolis has been located, and an exploring journey between Teos and Lebedos has yielded a bag of about eighty new inscriptions, while the Proto-Ionian site of Poyteichides has been identified.

Crete.—At Mallia, some nine hours east of Candia on the north coast of the island, operations have been commenced at Kato Chrysolakkos, some four hundred and fifty metres north-east of the palace (Ano Chrysolakkos) found by Dr. Chatzidakis in 1917–18.¹³ So far attention has been directed to a square building with thick ashlar walls of the same date as the palace and with an opening to the west. This was perhaps a sanctuary: in it has been found still *in situ* a column of clay coated with red stucco with flutings of a novel type. Many small objects of obsidian, steatite, marble, a Minoan seal, and pottery of the Middle and Late Minoan Periods were found. To the same periods

¹¹ *Baukunst d. Armenier*, pp. 843, 846, Fig. 798.

¹² III. 34.

¹³ 'Αρχ. Δελτίον IV. (1918), Παράρτημα, pp. 12 ff.

belong vases of stone and clay found in the adjoining houses and in the cemetery, though some specimens reach to a post-Minoan period. Three polychrome *larnakes* were also unearthed.

GERMAN SCHOOL.

The only excavation actually undertaken was a small trial by Professor Studniczka near the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, which was afterwards carried on by Dr. Philadelphes with the assistance of Dr. Welter. Dr. Noack continued his work on the fortifications of Acarnania and Aetolia, and his researches into the history of the Telesterion at Eleusis. This latter study produced important results and throws further light on the plans of Kimon and Iktinos. It appears that the latter's plan was never carried out by him, as he was probably relieved of the work when Phidias and the Periclean party fell into disfavour, and its completion was then entrusted to the three architects mentioned by Plutarch. This would account for many of the peculiarities and shows that the original plan of a large columnar hall goes back beyond the time of Pericles, probably to that of Kimon. This fact, taken in connection with the discovery of the Odeion of Pericles in Athens, gives a fresh aspect to Athenian architecture of the fifth century. It was also found that the earlier roadway did not follow the line taken by the later entrance through the Roman propylaea, but ran more to the south-east. At Tiryns Dr. Kurt Mueller has been continuing his study of the walls in view of the forthcoming publication. The citadel of Tiryns, it now appears, had three periods. To the first belong the earliest entrance below the propylaea of the outer court of the palace and the walls running from it westwards and south-eastwards, so as to enclose the highest part of the hill. To the second period belongs the upper and middle citadels, except for the galleries, the south-east tower, the great gateway and the ramp. To the third period are to be assigned the galleries and other additions to the upper citadel, the great gate and ramp and the whole of the lower citadel. In the north wall of the second period there seems to have been a kind of gallery or store chamber with a flat roof supported on wooden beams. The first period is probably L.H. I. or II. in date, but the second and third are without doubt Late Helladic III. That the famous galleries of Tiryns should be shown to belong to a comparatively advanced date in the L.H. III. period is a further proof, if any were needed, that this was not a degenerate age.

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE.

Athens and Attica.—In 1921 Dr. Kastriotis resumed his excavations in the Odeion of Pericles, which he had begun in 1914.¹⁴ As a result of his two campaigns on the traditional site of the Odeion at the south-east corner of the Acropolis and directly adjoining the theatre of Dionysos on the east, he has found a building which must be identified with it, although it does not conform

¹⁴ 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1914, pp. 143 ff.

to the plan which all authorities prophesied for it. He has cleared the north side and parts of the east and west sides of a large hypostyle hall, for the rest of the area is occupied by small houses which are to be expropriated. On the north the wall is preserved to a height of three metres and is built against the rock, which has been cut away to accommodate it, and is composed of *poros* and crystalline limestone in ashlar work. It was originally faced with marble slabs. Above this ran the *diazoma*, the so-called *peripatos*, behind which were rows of seats as in the *bouleuterion* at Priene. The foundations of the east entrance were also laid bare and a large substructure on the west is in all probability that of the western entrance, which was closely connected with the theatre, for as we learn from Andocides¹⁵ the conspirators entered the orchestra from the Odeion. The seats were of marble and had in front sculptured owls, and some have been found in the Zappeion garden in the ruins of a Roman bath. The north-west angle of the Odeion adjoins the north-east supporting wall of the theatre, and ran into it far enough to cut off the upper parts of three wedges of seats. Apparently, from what we know now, both buildings were planned in the time of Pericles, although the theatre seems to have been completed by Lykourgos. Within the area of the Odeion only four column bases were found *in situ*, but the places where the others stood are quite clear. They were six metres apart and there were in all, it is calculated, six rows of six columns each. These marble columns probably belonged not to the Odeion of Pericles, which very likely had wooden columns, but to the Odeion as it was restored by Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, after its destruction during the siege of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C. The column drum with the dedication to Ariobarzanes,¹⁶ which stands near the temple of Dionysos below the theatre, was one of them, as it is of the same marble and has the same diameter. It very probably supported a statue of the king, the head of which has been recognised.¹⁷ Between the columns the floor was paved with slabs probably of marble; none of these have as yet been identified and none found *in situ*, and the discovery of three large limekilns of later times within the area explains their disappearance. The restored Odeion seems to have perished by fire, for a thick stratum of wood ash was found during the excavations.

The most important result of this excavation has been to show that the Odeion of Pericles was not a circular building as most authorities have hitherto assumed,¹⁸ according to a misinterpretation of the passage of Plutarch describing its likeness to the tent of Xerxes. The Odeion was certainly a large rectangular hypostyle hall cut on the north side into the rock and on the south built upon an artificial terrace. Plutarch's reference to the tent of Xerxes applies only to the roof, which was sloping and possibly round. Dr. Kastriotis, who is much to be congratulated on the success of his patient efforts, compares the relations of the Odeion and the Theatre to those of the Thersileion with the theatre at Megalopolis. Dr. Doerpfeld and all other archaeologists who

¹⁵ *De Myst.*, 38.

¹⁶ 'ApX. 'Eφ. l.c. Fig. 17.

¹⁷ 'ApX. 'Eφ. l.c. Fig. 20.

¹⁸ Cf. Weller, *Mon. of Athens*, pp. 200 ff.

have seen the excavations are in entire agreement with him that he has at last solved a very interesting problem of Athenian topography.

Dr. Leonardos' latest work at the Amphiareion has already been described elsewhere.¹⁹

As remarked above, Dr. Philadelphes continued, with the assistance of Dr. Welter of the German School, the excavations begun by Professor Studniczka by the Monument of Lysicrates. At a depth of three metres the pavement of the Street of Tripods appeared, and by it the foundations of two other choragic monuments, probably like that of Lysicrates, while on the north side also a similar foundation was cleared. Trials were made to trace the line of the Street of Tripods towards the theatre, and in the course of these some parts of the Odeion of Pericles came to light.

Argolis and Corinthia.—In 1919 and 1920 Dr. Philadelphes excavated five chamber-tombs at Priphtani south of Mycenae and two at Mycenae itself. All were of the Third Late Helladic Period. The Priphtani tombs yielded principally vases of well-known types, but one of the Mycenae tombs contained an interesting gem. This, an onyx, shows three female figures dancing with their arms akimbo. The central figure is larger than the others and probably represents a goddess. The same archaeologist has also commenced operations at Sikyon with the assistance of Dr. Welter. Near the theatre he has cleared a stoa and a rock sanctuary, probably of the nymphs, a spring and a cistern whence water was led in pipes to the *agora* and town. Near by has been discovered a hypostyle hall with three rows of seats and sixteen columns, which is probably the *bouleuterion* mentioned by Pausanias. North-east of the theatre, beside a building cleared by the Americans many years ago, the excavator found the substructure of an important building which he thinks may be either that of the temple of Artemis Limnia or of the Stoa of Kleisthenes, both mentioned by Pausanias.

Achaia.—In the summer of 1921 Dr. Kyparisses began excavations in the cemetery of the ancient Olenos near the modern village of Kato Achaia, where local tradition reported great treasures had been found. In fact a rich tomb, well constructed with *poros* slabs and one and a half metres long by one broad, was excavated. This had belonged to a wealthy family of the third century B.C. and had contained several bodies. It seems certain at least that there were buried in it a man, a woman, and a child, to judge by the gold ornaments recovered. These ornaments principally consist of wreaths in the form of leaves of many different kinds, olive, oak, myrtle, etc. The wreath with oak leaves and that of the child have in the centre a head of Medusa probably with an apotropaic object. There were several diadems of curious form, but only one was complete. The grave-clothes consisted of some stuff woven partly with gold thread, for in the earth of the tomb was found a great quantity of fine gold thread, which, being metallic, had survived when the rest of the stuff perished. There were also sewn on to the clothes small gold ornaments with various figures such as small Erotes, Pegasos, Helios and so on. Other finds include

¹⁹ 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1919, pp. 99 ff.

earrings with winged Nikai or three-legged designs, a necklace from which hung myrtle leaves, several finger-rings, and bracelets in the form of snakes. Beside the gold objects there were some fragments of bronze and silver, and a few poor clay vases, one of which contained rouge so that the deceased could still beautify herself in the other world.

Boeotia and Phocis.—Dr. Papadakis has completed his excavation at the monastery of the Taxiarches near Koroneia, and found many very important inscriptions. Apart from the usual crop of grave *stelai*, there is one dealing with the sale of a large estate to a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, and a series of five long imperial rescripts from Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius relating to the construction of dykes in the west part of the Kopais basin, towards which funds were contributed from the imperial privy purse. On Mount Oeta at a place called Marmara (on the Xerovouni of Pavliane) he has continued his excavation of the shrine of Herakles. Apart from the great rectangular pit of burnt debris, full of bones of oxen, pigs and rams, clay vases and bronzes, a small Doric shrine has been cleared. This, which stands on the remains of a yet older shrine of *poros*, has two unfluted columns *in antis* at each end and store-chambers closed by gratings constructed between the columns and the *antae*. There was an altar in front and some distance away a long *stoa* of seven rooms dating from the times of the Aetolian League, though to judge by the deeper finds it was first built at an earlier period. Among the burnt debris were a few fragment of black-figured vases, but the most noticeable finds are two bronze statuettes of Herakles striding forward with upraised club, several bronzes bearing votive inscriptions to Herakles, a bronze and an iron club, and tiles from the *stoa* with the inscriptions IEPAIH [PAKAEOTΣ] or IEPOCH [PAKAEOTΣ]. There are a few coins of the fourth century, many of the times of the Aetolian League, and of imperial times down to Maximinus.

At Thebes Dr. Keramopoullos continued his exploration of the House of Kadmos with great success. It is now clear that there were two palaces, to the earlier of which belong the frescoes representing a frieze of ladies with elaborate dresses and carrying flowers or ivory pyxides. Below this earlier palace there are strata of the Early and Middle Helladic Periods. The later and upper palace dates from the Third Late Helladic Period, and of this a few rooms are preserved though not in very good condition. A corner wall built of large ashlar blocks is the only trace of any large room, but there are a number of small rooms and corridors, mostly store-rooms apparently. In two of these excavated this year, Dr. Keramopoullos has found a great number of stirrup-vases. One deposit of about thirty seems to have consisted of inscribed vases, for the only two unbroken specimens both have inscriptions in the mainland variety of the Cretan script similar to the well-known examples from Orchomenos and Tiryns. Many of the fragments are also inscribed, and the inscriptions, instead of being written at random on the side of the vase, form part of the design. This find of what we may term Kadmean letters at Thebes is most interesting, and the marked difference between the mainland script (as shown by Thebes, Orchomenos, Tiryns and Mycenae) and the Minoan (which is of course the parent

of the other), very likely indicates, as Sir Arthur Evans has suggested, a difference in language.

Thessaly.—Dr. Arvanitopoulos has made a small trial excavation at the Kastro of Volos which is usually held to be the site of Iolkos. Here on the neolithic stratum he has found a building (a 'palace') with a floor of stucco, and painted stucco on the walls, but as the site is covered with modern houses no details could be ascertained. At Pherai, some twenty minutes west of Velesinos on the right bank of a small torrent, he has found a large temple of the fourth century B.C. On the east side the stylobate is preserved with the two lower steps of white local marble; of the other sides the foundation is only partly preserved. The temple was Doric and hexastyle with columns of *poros* coated with stucco. Some fragments of the cornice with carved and painted decoration have also come to light. At the north-east corner are four fluted columns of *poros* of an archaic type, which with various other finds prove that there was an earlier temple built about 650 B.C. This seems to have been burnt about 400 B.C. and replaced by the building found, which was in its turn destroyed by fire. To judge by inscriptions it was dedicated to Zeus Thaulios. The finds are very numerous; there are inscribed bronze plates with proxeny decrees, bronze libation vessels, many archaic bronze figurines of animals, bronze rings, lead figurines, couchant ivory animals, terra-cotta statuettes and many bases and other fragments of statues. The vase-fragments range from the neolithic age to the third or second century B.C.

Aetolia, Kerkyra, etc.—At Alyzia, in searching for the temple of Herakles, Dr. Romaïos has found an interesting *mausoleion* of the second century A.D. This enclosed a sarcophagus and stood on a foundation 9.30 metres square resting on four steps, the uppermost of which ended at the four angles in vultures' heads. Above the steps comes an ashlar wall topped with an Ionic frieze and cornice. Above this was a row of low *orthostatai* crowned at the corners with *akroteria* of an acanthus design, in the midst of which rises an eagle holding a wreath in its beak. The whole construction had the form of an altar, and as yet no trace of a door or any other entrance has been made out, nor has the position of some Ionic columns discovered in the excavation been determined.

At Kerkyra more work has been done on the great temple which yielded the famous pediment sculptures with the Gorgon and lions during the excavations of 1911-1914. The west side has now been uncovered and the results confirm Doerpfeld's restoration of the temple, and add a few fresh details. Over the *prodomos* ran a continuous sculptured frieze, and the Gorgons, which adorn the centres of the east and west pediments, were true pendants, as the western Gorgon advances her left foot and the eastern her right. Another discovery confirms the view that this was a temple of Artemis, for a pamphlet of 1812 by a native of Corfu called Vrakliotes says that a dedicatory inscription to Artemis²⁰ was found on this site.

At Thermos the continued examination of the temple of Apollo has given new and important details. The existing stylobate is archaic dating from the

²⁰ *I.G.*, IX. 1, No. 706.

end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and only a few blocks were replaced after its destruction by Philip V. in 218 B.C. The long narrow building below this is clearly a temple, probably of the 'Geometric' age, and is much better preserved and more important than the early temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. The *cella* was divided into three as in Sicilian temples, and was surrounded by a colonnade which was curved at one end. Technically this temple is connected with the apsidal houses of the second millennium B.C. (Middle Helladic Period).

Macedonia.—Dr. Pelekides has actively carried on his researches in Salonika and the neighbourhood. Outside the western walls of the city he has found a cemetery of the time of Constantine the Great with built graves covered either with slabs or vaults. In them were vases of late Roman times, glass vessels, and many bronze ornaments such as crossbow fibulae and buckles: some of the latter are of silver and some gilt. In the Vardar quarter he has found a temple dedicated to Sarapis and other Egyptian divinities, which seems according to the evidence of an inscription to date from the very end of the pre-Christian era. This has yielded a sphinx in black stone, a statue of Athena (a copy of an original of the fifth century), and a copy of the well-known *Venus Genetrix* type, which some consider to represent the Aphrodite ἐν κήποις of Alkamenes. At the mound of Hagios Elias ²¹ he has found a settlement of the six and fifth centuries B.C., perhaps the site of Therma with a cemetery near by. The finds include Corinthian and black-figured vases, female terra-cotta figurines of an archaic type, and ornaments of gold, silver and bronze. At Amphipolis an early Christian basilica with three aisles has been cleared, and also on the far side of the Strymon on the hill called Nkrantista foundations of houses of the fifth century which perhaps mark the site of Thucydides' Kerdylon.

Epirus.—Dr. Philadelphes resumed his work at Nicopolis in the summer of 1921. He completed the excavation of the temple of Poseidon and Ares found in 1913. Then he proceeded to examine the space north of the spring and great reservoir of the city. Here two adjoining buildings of the Christian period were found, one of which he thinks was a *Bouleuterion* from the presence of two marble *larnakes* or fonts. Both buildings are assigned to the fifth or sixth century A.D., because the construction and the mosaics resemble closely those of the Basilica of Dometios. With the co-operation of an officer lent by the Fifth Army Corps, he was also able to make a plan of the site, which had not previously been done.

Crete.—In 1919 Dr. Xanthoudides excavated at Nirou Chani some thirteen kilometres east of Candia on the coast. Here he has cleared a large Minoan house rectangular in shape and measuring about thirty by thirty-four metres. The entrance was on the east through a porch with two columns. Within there are some forty different divisions of the house—rooms, courts, corridors, etc. Many rooms have gypsum slabs on the floors and interior walls, while the majority of the walls were covered with painted stucco. A staircase led to an upper floor which generally seems to have been divided like the ground floor. In plan and construction the house is a much smaller version of the palaces

²¹ *B.S.A.*, XX. p. 127, B 1; *B.S.A.*, XXIII, p. 26.

of Knossos and Phaestos, for there are corridors and light wells, halls with gypsum seats, rows of store-rooms with big pithoi and other details. The most important finds are four enormous double axes of bronze plate found in a room on the ground floor; one measures 1·20 metre across, and the other three ·90 to 1·00 metre. In two small rooms was a store of some fifty altars or tables of offering, of painted stucco on a clay backing, with three feet. Four steatite lamps were found and some fifty vases of the First Late Minoan Period, which enable us to date the house. It seems to have been the residence of the chief of the seaside settlement, traces of which are to be seen on the beach and to the east with part of an ancient mole. The number of ritual objects found seems to exclude the possibility that they were all for use in this one house. Are we therefore to assume that the minor priest-kings of Minoan Crete kept in their hands the monopoly of supplying ritual objects, such as tables of offering, to their dependents?

Aegean Islands.—In Lesbos Dr. Evangelides has excavated at Klomidados in search of the temple of Apollo Napaïos located there by Koldewey.²² No ruins, however, of the temple were found and it seems that the ancient architectural fragments on the spot had been brought there in Byzantine times to build the church of the Taxiarches. In 1921 in continuation of his search he excavated at a place called Keramidote west of the village of Hagia Paraskeve. Here he found the foundations of a large temple very much destroyed, among and near which were discovered four column capitals of Koldewey's Aeolic type and fragments of others, so that this may be the Temple of Apollo Napaïos. In Samos the same archaeologist has commenced the excavations of the ancient cemetery of Glyphada, and cleared so far thirty tombs, which have not, however, yielded anything very striking.

Ionia.—Dr. Oikonomos has begun work at Klazomenai and has discovered the cemetery whence come the famous painted terra-cotta sarcophagi that adorn so many museums. The place, called Monasterakia, is on the east side of a small plain opening to the north-east to the Gulf of Smyrna, and the whole surface is covered with the fragments of vases and sarcophagi. About forty graves with painted terra-cotta sarcophagi not later in date than the second half of the sixth century were excavated. The burials were made without any system or arrangement and the sarcophagi were often placed one above the other, so that sometimes there are as many as six layers of them. This shows the long period during which the cemetery was in use, and ought to assist in arranging a chronological series of the sarcophagi. As in the case of those already known, the upper edges are decorated with a great variety of patterns, wavy lines, triangles, meanders, friezes of flowers and lotus buds alternately, and finally animals such as sphinxes, lions and oxen. In them nothing was found, but all around in the soil were quantities of vase-fragments. Each sarcophagus contained one skeleton, and only in one case were two skeletons found in one sarcophagus. They were usually covered with slabs of *poros*, and in one case with a big terra-cotta slab. On the island of Hagios Ioannes,

²² Koldewey, *Lesbos*, pp. 44 ff., Pl. 16.

which formerly served as a quarantine station and lies in the bay of Klazomenai, excavations have revealed a street of the ancient city. This has been uncovered for a distance of about one hundred and fifty metres, and here and there side-streets diverge from it. It is paved with stone slabs and is four metres wide. In one of the houses at the side a fine mosaic came to light. On this within a polychrome border Amphitrite is shown riding a hippocamp advancing to the left. This central circular picture is set in a square, the corners of which are occupied by white seabirds with red legs and beaks. This in turn is surrounded by another broad decorative border, and near the door is a pretty scene of a Psyche trying to defend herself against an Eros armed with a spear. On the east side of the island another mosaic floor has been cleared. The design of this is mainly decorative, but at one point are two peacocks drinking out of a crater. The character of the building to which this belongs cannot yet be determined, but it is apparently of the Roman period. Finally on the rocky summit of the island excavations have been begun in what seems to be a shrine of Athena partly cut in the rock and partly supported by a terrace wall.

Byzantine Excavations.—In 1919 Dr. Soteriou began work at Chios in the church of St. Isidore and St. Myrope outside the city. The church in plan is cruciform with a central dome, and in the centre of the north side was a crypt with the graves of the martyrs. This church belongs to the beginning of the second millennium A.D. and is built above an older church (of the seventh century A.D. ?) of which only the *atrium* could be made out. In the citadel of Chios the ruins of an early Christian basilica were found. In 1921 the same archaeologist began at Thebes the examination of the supposed site of the church of Hagios Gregorios, a building of the ninth century known from inscriptions. Part of the *diakonikon* was uncovered, and many architectural members were decorated with sculptured designs.

In Asia Minor, on the hill of Agiasoulouk, near Ephesos, Dr. Soteriou has begun to clear the great church of St. John the Theologian. This was built in the reign of Justinian, was cruciform with five domes, and largely constructed of marble blocks taken in all probability from the Artemision. There were arcades between the colossal piers that supported the domes. The excavation of this important Christian monument will be continued.

ITALIAN SCHOOL.

The Italian School has not yet been able to undertake any excavations since the war, but its members have been actively engaged in exploring the coasts of Caria and Lycia, and it is hoped that in 1922 it will be possible to begin operations on some Carian site, perhaps Mylasa.

A. J. B. WACE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Baalbek. Bd. I. By BRUNO SCHULZ and HERMANN WINNEFELD. Edited by THEODOR WIEGAND. Pp. 130, 89 illustrations; also Atlas of 135 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, W. de Gruyter & Co., 1921.

This first and very splendid part of the German Oriental Society's publication of Baalbek is devoted almost exclusively to architectural technicalities: but we must wait for the second volume before the actual temples will be published. The present instalment deals first with outlying remains—the Town Walls and Gates, the Water Conduits, the Quarries, the Cemeteries and the Theatre. Then it describes the gigantic Podium of the Temple block as a whole, and finally, the Propylaea, the Forecourt and the Main Court, containing the Altar and the finely preserved tanks. This arrangement clears the way for the second volume, which will treat of the great Temple of the Heliopolitan God and the lesser Temple of Bacchus. There is reserved also all historical discussion, *e. g.* the dating of the various parts of the block, with which Dr. Wiegand himself is to deal. The first instalment envisages hardly any archaeological question that is not a constructional technicality: for example, it offers no precise date for the Town Walls and Gates, perhaps because they have been so largely reconstructed in Arab times that certainty is unattainable. Also it publishes almost no non-architectural finds. A rude sculpture of the Heliopolitan God and some ruder terra-cotta versions of the type, all found in the 'Klarbassin' (filter-tank) of the chief Water Conduit, which comes down from Anti-Lebanon; one or two sepulchral stelae from the Cemeteries, and a mutilated statue of a seated goddess found in the Temple Court, exhaust the list. We believe that there are not many more non-architectural objects to be published even in the second volume. The operations, which Koldewey began and the ex-Kaiser blessed on his visit in 1898, continued to the end to be more in the nature of clearance than of excavation. The chief work was done from 1902 to the end of 1905, and this, as Dr. Heberdey once told the writer, was from first to last more an engineer's job than an archaeologist's, and resulted in very few plastic or epigraphic discoveries. The restoration and the reconstitution of architectural remains of the later classical times, which appealed strongly to the grandiose imagination of Wilhelm II., and have claimed most of the resources and energy of German and Austrian excavators during the past generation, constitute a great work and a great advantage not only to architectural students, but also to the sightseer; but one sighs that so little effort should have been made to explore the earlier strata of the great sites cleared superficially at such enormous expense. Our regret has been shared by more than one of the excavators themselves, notably by the late Dr. Benndorf in respect of Ephesus. But, after all, we have as yet only a first instalment of the Baalbek publication before us, and perhaps in the second Dr. Wiegand, who is as interested as any one in early things, may throw light on a sanctuary and a cult, which can hardly not have been of much greater antiquity than the extant remains of the 'Kalaa' attest. This Atlas is apparently not the only one that we are to have. About a third of the 135 plates are plans, architectural drawings and restorations of the remains treated of in Volume I. of the Text. The balance is made up by splendid views of Baalbek as a whole from various points, and by photographs of remains in general and in detail. As examples of photographic reproduction the plates could hardly be surpassed. It is refreshing to be so amply assured that this sort of thing can still be done in Germany.

D. G. H.

Motya, a Phoenician Colony in Sicily. By JOSEPH I. S. WHITAKER. Pp. 357, with frontispiece, maps, and 116 text illustrations. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1921.

The small island of San Pantaleo, north of the modern Marsala, has long been recognised as the site of Motya, one of the oldest and probably after the Greek invasion the most important of all the Phoenician *entrepôts* in Sicily. Stormed and sacked by Dionysios of Syracuse in 397 B.C., it was not reoccupied on his retreat by the Carthaginians, who, instead, established themselves at Lilybaeum on the mainland, probably because, as Mr. Whitaker suggests, the island was too cumbered with ruins. There is thus probably no Phoenician site which offers greater promise to the excavator; and the author of the book under review, after having for forty years cherished the project of excavation, had at length the satisfaction of becoming sole proprietor of the island. One could wish all ancient sites were equally fortunate. Digging was at once commenced, but then came the war and the work had to be suspended; and pending its resumption, Mr. Whitaker was well advised to publish this book, which will call attention to the site and its possibilities.

The book is, of course, only a preliminary report, and most of the problems of the town still await solution; but useful work has been done on the fortifications, the dock or 'cothon,' and the burial-grounds. The individual finds are well illustrated; nothing seems as yet to have appeared which might modify the low value set nowadays on Phoenician art. We find the usual Punic stelae, and masses of deadly dull pottery; and all finer pieces are Greek importations. A curious mosaic (Fig. 24) deserves mention; it obviously derives its inspiration from South Italian red-figure vases. We await with interest the final report which Mr. Whitaker will give us some day, after the completion of the excavation.

Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos. Herausgegeben von TH. WIEGAND. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1921.

Heft 2. **Die griechische Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia westlich der 'Araba.** By A. ALT. Pp. 62, 10 illustrations.

Heft. 3. **Petra.** By W. BACHMANN, C. WATZINGER, TH. WIEGAND. Pp. 94, 2 plates, 79 illustrations.

These two works form the second and third parts of Wiegand's report of the activities during the War of the German Commission for the protection of Ancient Monuments on the Palestine front. The first part, dealing with the ancient sites of the border region lying between the desert of Sinai and the hills of Southern Palestine, was reviewed in this Journal about twelve months ago. Part II. is a collection of the Greek inscriptions found within the same area. It must be confessed that the material is poor and unpromising; beyond a tariff inscription from Bir Saba, previously edited, there is little but Byzantine epitaphs; still the editor has striven diligently to squeeze from them such scraps of information as they contain with regard to the social conditions of this little-known Debatable Land.

Part III. is of more general interest; it is a report of a lengthy re-examination of Petra, and contains much that is new. The high dates assigned to some of the monuments will, we think, hardly commend themselves; it is startling, for instance, that the Hasné, which the late Sir Mark Sykes has somewhere aptly likened to a colossal drawing-room clock, is considered to be of the early Hellenistic period. An appendix, 'Zur Erklärung der Petraischen Felsfassaden,' by K. Wulzinger, propounds a novel explanation of the peculiarities of Petraean architecture; it is suggested that the architects, forced by the exigencies of the site to build perpendicularly instead of horizontally, developed a perspective style as in scene-painting for the stage, and that the piled-up stories with their broken pediments and aediculae are meant to represent the normal domestic architecture of the period with fore and back colonnades brought into the same plane. The illustrations of some of the monuments are inadequate, but the work is of course not designed as a definitive publication of the Nabataean capital.

Muzakhia und Malakastra. By CAMILLO PRASCHNIKER. Pp. 235, 131 illustrations. Vienna: The Austrian Archaeological Institute, Alfred Holder, 1920.

An archaeological survey, made under war-time conditions, of the district of central Albania centring round the ancient sites of Apollonia and Byllis; the unfamiliar title is taken from the modern Albanian names for the area. A general survey of Albania was undertaken by Praschniker in 1916 and published under the style of *Archaeologische Forschungen in Albanien u. Montenegro*. In late 1917 he returned for more detailed work on the Apollonia sector, 'at once the richest in antiquities and the most exposed to damage by its proximity to the fighting line.' This laudable activity was, however, brought to an abrupt end, and many of the finds were lost. Before this, however, the site of Apollonia was mapped and the walls were examined; some remains of an ornate Flavian temple had been laid bare; the western end of the Via Egnatia was visited; and a collection of miscellaneous finds of sculptures and inscriptions was installed at Durazzo. Of the sculptures mention may be made of a fifth-century relief with a wrestling scene and of a group of third-century stelae from Apollonia with Erotes and rosettes which surely must be copied from Hellenistic earrings. A mosaic from Durazzo reproduces on a gigantic scale the female head seen on Apulian painted vases; and among the inscriptions we observe the epitaph of Robert de Montfort, banished from England in 1107.

Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. Pp. 40. Cambridge: The University Press, 1921. 3s. 6d.

This little volume is the sequel to the *Prolegomena* and *Themis*. Very briefly and simply Miss Harrison summarises the results to which her long work on the origins of Greek religion have led her. There are three chapters; the first two show that both primitive ritual and primitive theology spring from one common source—'the impulse to the conservation of life.' Chapter I., 'Ritual,' emphasises the group idea as the base of religious notions—first the totem-group, arising out of the social conditions of the early human family, according to Durkheim's view; indissolubly connected with the practice of exogamy in its origin, and bearing in the embryo form of tabu all later notions of sin and sanctity. Then follows the wider idea of the tribal group with its consequent of initiation rites. Out of these groups arises the individual in the shape of the medicine-man or king-god, the ruler and yet the servant of the tribe; lastly there is to be considered the expression of the tribal wish to live, the fertility play or dance, emphasising the sequence of seasons and harvests, of death and resurrection. Chapter II., 'Theology,' traces the development of the idea of a deity; out of a succession of leaders of ritual dances comes the hazy notion of a daimon of the dance; the ritual decays or is no longer believed in, but the daimon lingers on, becoming more dehumanised, more isolated, and thus finally an Olympian deity. Chapter III., 'The Religion of To-day,' compares the primary motives which produced Greek religion with the Immanentist movement of to-day.

La Religione di Zarathustra nella Storia religiosa dell' Iran. By RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Pp. xix + 260. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1920. L. 15.

The outstanding feature of Professor Pettazzoni's clear and interesting sketch of the position of Zoroastrianism in the religious history of Iran is the attempt to show that Zarathustra's teaching in its closely allied features of monotheism and universalism was strange to the genius of the people of Iran, and that it was not until the Sassanian period that Zoroastrianism was able, by a process of acceptance of polytheism and nationalism, to attain the rank of the religion of the Persian people. These characteristics of the history of the faith have suggested to the author the further conclusion (pp. 82, 83) that Zarathustra drew his inspiration from a foreign source, which may be found in the teaching of Israelites, deported by the King of Assyria to Media after the fall of Samaria to Sargon II. in 722 B.C. The deportees may have sought to propagate their monotheistic views, and

the intellectual ferment thus set up may have evoked the monotheism of Zarathustra and his attacks on the daeva worshippers. This view renders it natural to hold that the scene of the prophet's early work lay in Media, and leads the author to deny the traditional view that Zarathustra's patron, Vistaspa, ruled in Bactria, and to hold that Bactria was a late acquisition of the Iranians (p. 75).

Ingenious as the theory is, it may be doubted if it can stand serious investigation. That the deportees from Samaria were monotheists anxious to spread their faith is a pure conjecture, and by no means convincing. Moreover, if we accept it, we are bound to adopt a late date for Zarathustra. Now, it is true that one line of tradition would place the activity of Zarathustra in the period 600 B.C., but the value of this tradition is rendered minimal by the fact that we can see the ground of its coming into being, the certainly erroneous identification of Vistaspa, the prophet's patron, with the father of Darius. Every other consideration, and beyond all the extraordinary closeness of the language of the Gāthās to that of the Vedic hymns, tells in favour of a date not later than 800 B.C. and possibly a couple of centuries earlier.¹ Nor does it seem wise to seek to trace the Iranian movement as predominantly one from west to east; later history strongly supports the natural assumption which holds that in the Indo-Iranian period Bactria was occupied by pro-Iranians. There is also some measure of exaggeration in deducing (p. 90) the universal character of Zarathustra's faith from his seeking to win Turan over to it; Turan denotes merely the nomad Iranians, and Zarathustra's teaching, despite its nobility, is clearly dominated by conceptions directly due to local surroundings, which must from the first have made it far more difficult to spread his doctrines outside Iran than it was to extend the circle of followers of Buddhism.

It is difficult also to follow Professor Pettazzoni in his distinction between the status of Zoroastrianism under the Achaemenidae (pp. 128-130) and its position in the Sassanian kingdom. Whatever may be said of Darius's predecessors, that king was emphatically a devotee of Auramazda, and if, like his successors, he believed also in other gods, the Sassanians were in similar case. Moreover, Zarathustra himself had left the way open for the recognition of inferior deities in his own acceptance of the Amesha Spenta, and at no time can we suppose that his monotheism was ever fully appreciated except in a select coterie. The attempt, which was made by the last Persian dynasty, to associate the revival of the old faith with the new national kingdom evidently failed to extend effectively the sphere of Zoroastrianism, as is proved by the success of the Nestorians and the Manichaeans, even when the kingdom could use its temporal power against heresy, and the rapid passing over of Persia to Islam when the Arabs overwhelmed the state. But, whether we accept Professor Pettazzoni's conclusions or not, recognition must be accorded to the value of his discussion and to his command of the literature.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium. By R. REITZENSTEIN. Pp. xii + 272.
Bonn a. Rh.: A. MARCUS & E. WEBER, 1921. M. 45.

Dr. Reitzenstein's latest work vindicates for Iran an important part in the development of the ideas of immortality and of a Saviour in the Jewish and Christian beliefs, thus negating in essentials the results attained by Dr. J. Scheftelowitz in *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum* (1920). The author's views have been largely influenced to his new conclusions by study (pp. 2-10) of a Zoroastrian fragment which seems to him to contain ideas which afford a clue to the ultimate source of the doctrines expressed by Paul in 1 Cor. xv. An elaborate examination of Manichaean fragments and of the Mandaean Book of the Dead (pp. 43-92) is made to yield the conclusion that it is fundamentally erroneous to seek in Greek philosophical developments the source of dualistic views, which can far more easily be derived direct from Zoroastrianism, and a determined attack is directed (p. 106) against Leisegang's effort to derive the doctrines of Philo from a Greek

¹ Compare J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 18 ff.; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religionen des Orients*, p. 91.

source. The author's arguments suffer from complication and lack of orderly presentment, but they serve to show that it is unwise to ignore the existence of the Zoroastrian creed as an important factor among the causes which brought forth early Christian doctrine. It may be feared, however, that in his enthusiasm for his case Dr. Reitzenstein has fallen into the error of underestimating the evidence which can be adduced on the other side. Thus he traces the distinction in Philo of the *οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος* and the *γήινος ἄνθρωπος* to the Iranian distinction between the soul and the spirit, the latter embodied in matter, while the former comes from the world above; and Paul's views he would refer to the same ultimate source. Yet it must be remembered that there was ready in the *De Anima* (iii. 5) the germ of a similar distinction. If, as it is open to argue, the *νοῦς παθητικός* is inseparably combined with the body, whose form it ultimately is, then the *νοῦς ποιητικός* may come from without and be divine.¹ We may believe that the Iranian doctrine may have affected Philo, but there is no reason to suppose that the conception which it suggested was in any way incompatible with the development of Greek philosophy.

In somewhat loose connexion with the main object of his work stands a treatise of considerable length (pp. 151-250) on the conception of the Aion and the eternal city, ideas which are carried back through Iran to India itself. The speculations of the *Brāhmaṇas* culminate in the conception of Prajāpati as the year and the symbol of eternity: in Zoroastrianism there appeared at an uncertain date the conception of Zervan Akarana, time as uncreated and eternal; from this comes the conception of Aion in the Hellenistic period, and the treatment of the Aion in the Epistle to the Ephesians and in I Cor. ii. 6. In Babylon (p. 207) the Iranian idea took shape in the form of the conception of the eternal city, an idea which is to be discerned in the Roman doctrine of Janus and of the *aeternitas imperii*. The theme is expounded with much curious learning and ingenuity, but the Iranian origin is very far from being proved. There is much also in the attempted demonstration that is obviously wrong; to assert (p. 175) that the seven-day week is derived from the progress of the moon through her twenty-eight stations goes far beyond the available evidence, and ignores the fact that India for centuries held the doctrine of the moon stations without thinking of a seven-day week. To suggest that the conception of a thirty-day month or 360-day year is later again contradicts the Indian evidence, which shows this division as obviously primitive. Nor is there any plausibility in the suggestion (p. 249) that the conception of the Aion as a charioteer is to be derived from the Indian view of the horse as the symbol of the sun.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

Sanctuaires de Byzance. Recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople. By JEAN EBERSOLT. Pp. 158, 24 illustrations. Paris: E. Leroux, 1921.

In this learned monograph the writer gives us a careful study of the relics preserved at Constantinople in the centuries before the sack of 1204, and so puts vividly before us an interesting side of Byzantine faith and practice. The book consists of two parts: in the first, *Les anciens sanctuaires de Constantinople*, the author discusses the most notable collections of relics preserved in the churches of Constantinople, and in the second, *La dispersion des trésors des sanctuaires*, the types of Byzantine reliquaries as they are known from the examples preserved in the churches of Europe, to which a certain number found their way after the sack of 1204. This second part gives him occasion to remark upon the influence which these examples of the art of the Byzantine goldsmiths and jewellers exercised upon western Europe.

So complete has been the dispersion of the relics and reliquaries and the destruction of the churches in which they were stored, that the first part of the book has to rest almost entirely upon literary sources. Of the churches whose treasures are, as it were, reconstituted only S. Sophia, S. Irene and the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus are now standing; of Vlachernai and of the Pigi nothing is left but the sacred springs over which they

¹ *De Gen. An.* ii. 3, 736 b 27: *λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον*

were built. All the others have disappeared, unless indeed the mosque known as Kilissi Mesjedi is the church of Agia Anastasia Pharmacolytria, a point on which the author would have done well to consult Van Millingen's *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*. The second part finds its material in the actual relics and reliquaries of Byzantine work scattered about in Europe, many of which can be directly traced to the depredations of the Crusaders. And even amongst these much has been lost; many examples, formerly preserved in France, disappeared at the Revolution, and are now known only from earlier descriptions.

The study of these sanctuaries is carefully documented throughout, and affords striking evidence of the part played by relics in the popular and official worship of the church at Constantinople. This is all the more valuable, as a change has come about in this matter owing to the wholesale dispersal of relics by the crusaders and Turks. Conspicuous relics are now comparatively few in the Christian east, and the popular devotion which was formerly spent upon them is now mainly directed to wonder-working eicons. The present book reminds us that this was not always the case; the city was full of relics, and these were regarded as its protection against enemies, and received on fixed days the ceremonial visits of the emperor and the Court. Finally, mention must be made of the very interesting illustrations of the cult of relics drawn from the Menologion of Basil II.

R. M. D.

Mission archéologique de Constantinople. By JEAN EBERSOLT. Pp. 70, 6 illustrations in text, 40 plates. Paris: E. Leroux, 1921.

This book contains five papers and an appendix, the results of the author's archaeological studies in Constantinople in 1920, of which the first and the third are of the greatest general interest.

The first deals with a series of sarcophagi at Constantinople, now brought together in the Imperial Museum. First we have a series of seven and fragments of two more, all in porphyry, datable by their shape to the fourth and fifth centuries. Literary authorities tell us that nine emperors, from Constantine the Great to Marcian, were buried in such porphyry sarcophagi. Although no individual sarcophagus can be traced, there is a strong probability that we have here a series of imperial sarcophagi of this period. Next, there are five sarcophagi of verd antique, a material known to have been used for the sarcophagi of six emperors from Leo I. to Basil I., and lastly other sarcophagi of various marbles. Since the violation of the imperial tombs by the Latins in 1204, the sarcophagi have been so much moved about that no definite identifications are possible, but there is no doubt that this collection now in the museum represents as a whole the tombs of the earlier emperors. The second paper records observations made amongst the ruins of the great palace of the emperors, now made possible by fires which have destroyed the houses by which they were until recently concealed. The third paper deals with the Arabjani. F. W. Hasluck wrote a paper (*B.S.A.* XXII, p. 157) on the traditions connected with the building and on its present name, a point upon which Ebersolt does not touch, and traced its existence back into the Genoese period, when it was dedicated to St. Paul and belonged to the Dominicans. A recent restoration has now cast fresh light on its history. Besides traces of frescoes, a series of sculptured slabs have been found, which date some of them to the fifth and sixth, some to the tenth or eleventh century. The position in which they were found we are not told, and they have now been removed to the museum. They are shown on the Plates, and the author points out that they go to show that there was possibly a church on the site in the fifth century, reconstructed in the tenth or eleventh, or that in a church built at the later date use was made of earlier materials. The flooring slabs with Latin inscriptions and Genoese coats of arms, mentioned by Hasluck, have also been removed to the museum. Of the twelve Byzantine inscriptions 'inédites ou peu connues,' published in the fourth paper, eleven are funeral epitaphs in Greek of no great interest, but the twelfth, a 12-line metrical epitaph in bad Latin elegiacs dated 351, is of a kind less common in Constantinople. The last paper

consists of notes on Greek MSS. preserved in the library of the Seraglio. It is curious that no one who goes there seems to see all the MSS., so that each visitor's list differs a little from that of his predecessors. It is gratifying to see that the unique MS. of Critoboulos' 'History of Mahommed II,' is still there. The short appendix is devoted to a fragment of a sculptured column.

The appearance of this fully illustrated volume is very welcome, especially as it shows that it is now possible to do archaeological work in Constantinople, and it is to be hoped that this fair promise will be continued.

R. M. D.

Ikonographische Miscellen. By FREDERIK POULSEN. Pp. 94, 21 illustrations in text, 35 plates. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk Meddelelser. IV. 1. Copenhagen: Ny-Carlsbergfondets Direktion, 1921.

Dr. Poulsen's good fortune in discovering so much new material is only equalled by the skill with which he handles the now hackeneyed subject of Greek and Roman iconography. His little book opens with a discussion of two unpublished portrait heads at Steengård, one a new replica of the head of Hyperoides, the other a rather poor copy of that of Chrysippus, distinguished from all other replicas by the spirited turn of the head to the right, which gives new life and meaning to the figure as we know it in the Paris statue, now wrongly restored with the head of Aristotle.

With the two unpublished portraits in the National Gallery of Edinburgh, interesting as they are, the reviewer is less concerned than with the admirable vindication of the Naples Zeno as the Stoic as against those who hold that the owner of the famous Villa at Herculaneum was too fanatical an Epicurean to admit the head of a rival school into his collection, and with the extremely lucid and interesting discussion of the Menander of Studniczka in connexion with other Hellenistic portraits of the same character. The discussion of the double herm of Menander and the Pseudo-Seneca is both interesting and profitable, and Dr. Poulsen is certainly right in regarding the latter as the portrait of a poet earlier than the second century B.C. In the present writer's opinion, based on the replica, larger than life-size, in the British Museum, the poet in question must not only be earlier, but much earlier, as no author of the fifth or fourth centuries could conceivably be heroised after this fashion. Hesiod, the one inexplicable gap in our poetic iconography of Greece, seems to fulfil this condition sufficiently well, and the combination with Menander on the double herm of the Villa Albani might be explained by the fact that both were essentially gnomie poets, and quoted as such over the whole Hellenic world.

Of the seated Borghese poet of the Ny-Carlsberg collection, of the famous Caligula there and the almost equally well-known statue of Metrodorus, Dr. Poulsen has much to say, and the admirable effect of the Athens head of the philosopher when added to the torso makes us wish that a similar experiment could be made with the Louvre Chrysippus and the new head discovered by Dr. Poulsen, who justly contrasts the stately bearing of Epicurus on his cushionless *εργον* with the comfortable lounge of his disciple. 'Der Meister thront wie ein Prophet, während Metrodorus es sich ganz menschlich bequem macht.'

The tentative identification of two portraits, Nos. 619 and 628, in the Ny-Carlsberg as Antonia and Agrippa Postumus is bold but not unjustifiable; and the further identification of another perplexing portrait known to us from two replicas (Hekler 191 and the Ludwigshafen bust here reproduced) as Mark Antony is of the first importance; if we imagine the head placed more upright, as on the coins, the likeness to the issues bearing the head of Antony is remarkable, and the suggestion merits careful consideration.

The final essay on Technical Innovations in the Portraits of the Hadrianic Age is of great interest, and points the way to a fuller treatment of the subject of the artistic rendering of the pupil of the eye, the polishing of the surface, and the use of the drill in the hair. Perhaps Dr. Poulsen will see his way to producing the treatise on the beginnings and cause of the new technique which he urges on others in his concluding sentences. Meanwhile we must note that thirty-five plates and twenty-one drawings, all well reproduced,

add to the attraction of his luminous and entertaining pages, one of the few works on the subject which we could wish longer. How much of interest has been omitted from this brief review the student who consults the book will soon discover.

Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum. By MARGARETE BIEBER. Pp. 212, 142 illustrations in text, 109 plates. Berlin & Leipzig, 1920: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, W. de Gruyter & Co., 1920.

A greater service could hardly be rendered to students of the Greek drama than the gathering into one volume of all the scattered archaeological evidence, which can be reproduced in illustrations, bearing upon the history and external setting of the Greek Drama. In the present volume this task is very well carried out, and its 109 plates and 142 illustrations in the text leave out very little that is important. The illustrations are well executed, and the accompanying explanations short and clear. In the summaries, given at different points in the book, of the history of the various types of drama there is inevitably much that is disputable; for instance, Dr. Bieber takes in the main Dörpfeld's view of the place occupied by the actors, and follows the conventional theory of the relations of Tragedy and Satyric drama; but whatever may be said on these obscure matters, she shows excellent judgment and self-restraint in drawing conclusions, e.g. from vase paintings; as regards the history of the drama, she is well aware of the limits of this method, and not infrequently differs with good reason from Robert and others of her predecessors. The illustrations of the remains of extant theatres, which are particularly good, are followed by a long series bearing upon the costumes worn in Tragedy, Satyric drama and Comedy. Dr. Bieber shows a special interest in questions of costume (as those who are acquainted with her article on the Dresden Relief would expect), and these are more fully discussed in the text than are some other subjects. After these come a large number of reproductions of Phryges-vases and Terra-cottas illustrative of Comedy, and the work concludes with a brief treatment of Music. There is a good bibliography, but the third (1906) edition of Haigh's *Attic Theatre* should have been cited, not the second (1898), and there is no mention of the writings of Flickinger and J. T. Allen; there are, in fact, very few references to English or American work. On p. 194 ('Böotische Posse') Mr. A. B. Cook's paper in the *Classical Review* for 1895 should have been mentioned. By an odd slip of the pen, 'Andromeda' for 'Andromache,' occurs twice on p. 111, but the work as a whole is thoroughly careful, and will be valuable to scholars, not only for the time that it will save them, but for the brief and clear indications of questions at issue and (often) of the chief arguments which have been used in the solution of them.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus. Represented in English and explained. By EDWARD GEORGE HARMAN. Pp. 111. London: E. Arnold, 1920. 10s. 6d. net.

This book seeks to prove that the *P.V.* is a political allegory. Zeus represents the sovereign Athenian democracy; the foolish marriage points at Themistocles' naval policy; Prometheus is the poet himself, with some reference to Aristides; the oppressed mortals are the subject-allies.

Mr. Harman's treatise has very few of those exciting details which one has learned to expect from critical filibusterings of this kind. But there is one good example; on p. 16 he maintains that Oceanus represents the old landed aristocracy, as is shown 'by the play on the traditional Eupatrid claim to be γηγενεῖς and αὐτόχθονες'—περὶ περὶ αὐτόκτις' ἄντρα (vv. 308 sq.).

Any one who essays to show that a literary work does not aim at its ostensible object, but possesses a quite different meaning, must obviously prove not only that the work suits the supposed allegory but also that it does *not* fit the ostensible object. Mr. Harman fails even more markedly in the latter respect than in the former. His only relevant

suggestion here is that the conception of Zeus in the *P.V.* differs from that found elsewhere in Aeschylus. This argument most people would answer by referring to our considerable knowledge of the companion-plays. Mr. Harman, however, does not believe that the *P.V.* formed part of a trilogy; indeed, he will have it that the play was never performed on the stage. His proof of these two contentions is entirely unconvincing.

GILBERT NORWOOD.

Our Hellenic Heritage. Part I.—The Great Epics. Part II.—The Struggle with Persia. By H. R. JAMES. Pp. 408, 12 illustrations in text, 12 maps. London: Macmillan & Co., 1921. 6s. net.

Mr. James has made an experiment which should excite the interest of all phil-Hellenes. He accepts the 'Greek-less' school as an established fact, but far from losing courage he recognises that nothing is lost irretrievably so long as Greek civilisation continues to be studied, and he believes that this civilisation can be salvaged from the wreckage of the old linguistic curricula. In the present volume the author surveys the life of Greece from the earliest days down to the 'great deliverance' from Persia. In his introductory chapters he summarises the distinctive features of the Greek land and people, not forgetting the people's achievements and sufferings from Chaeroneia to Navarino. He next illustrates Homeric Greece with translated extracts from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and an explanatory chapter on the archaeological background of Homer. The third section of the book contains a brief description of the age of colonisation, and of Spartan and early Athenian institutions. The remaining chapters tell the story of the Persian wars, interwoven with numerous excerpts from Herodotus.

In regard to the author's choice of subjects our only regret is that he did not find room for a passage or two from the Argonautica to illustrate the adventures of the age of Discovery; apart from this, his selection could hardly be improved upon. His treatment of the subject-matter is uniformly scholarly and up-to-date. He is unduly reticent about the blind violence of the Homeric heroes and the crass parasitism of Sparta. He decidedly over-emphasises the distinction between Dorians and Ionians. He does not always make clear his attitude to Herodotus' good stories, e.g. whether Xerxes really brought along 1,700,000 men. Nevertheless his picture of early Greece is true in all essentials, and it is drawn in clear outlines. The chapter on prehistoric archaeology is conspicuous for its lucidity, and the narrative of the Persian wars reproduces Herodotus' own sober enthusiasm.

We shall look forward with interest to Mr. James' second volume, which will deal with Greek art and literature, and (let us hope) Greek science.

The Greek Renaissance. By P. N. URE. Pp. 175, 12 plates. London: Methuen, 1921. 6s. net.

In this volume Prof. Ure provides for the general reader a brief and bright account of the most momentous of the world's many renaissances. He begins by setting off the civilisation of historic Greece against the dark background of the 500 years that followed upon the collapse of the prehistoric culture of Greece. He then proceeds to discuss the causes of the great revival of the seventh and sixth centuries. Among these causes he emphasises (1) the slow resumption of settled industry, as typified by Hesiod, in place of the 'city-sacking' habits of Homer's heroes; (2) the stimulus of contact with Lydia and other foreign powers; (3) the growth of wealth consequent upon colonisation, and the resulting political upheavals which ended in the establishment of a progressive type of government under the so-called 'tyrants.' Prof. Ure makes comparatively little use of the striking parallel between the Greek renaissance and the last three centuries of the Middle Ages; and he does not define the contribution of the Homeric school of poetry towards the regeneration of Greece.

Nevertheless his preceptment of early Greek life and thought is both comprehensive

and sharply defined. Of the many felicitous remarks in Prof. Ure's book it will suffice here to single out two. Prof. Ure aptly points out that the comparative failure of the Greeks in the field of natural science had two really serious effects: it retarded political co-ordination and it prevented that diffusion of knowledge which might have made the world safe for Greek culture. Best of all, he reminds us that to the Greeks tradition was a guide but not a strait-jacket, and that early Greek art and literature were anything but 'classical' in the bad sense of that word. Altogether, *The Greek Renaissance* is a thoughtful and a thought-compelling book, and it certainly should realise the author's hopes of 'bringing ancient Greece nearer to us than to our fathers.'

Greek History. By E. M. WALKER. Pp. 165. Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1921.

This booklet contains a reprint of Mr. Walker's contributions to the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. A full third of it is devoted to a discussion of sources and authorities; in the remaining part the author characterises the principal epochs of Greek history down to the death of Alexander and discusses the key problems of each period. Mr. Walker has nothing to say on the important question whether Philip and Alexander were foreign oppressors or legitimate successors in the hegemony of Sparta and Athens over Greece. But apart from this omission he makes reference to all the chief topics of Greek political history. We may mention, *honoris causa*, his refutation of Beloch's heresies concerning the Dorians, his defence of the tyrants and of the Peloponnesian League, and his excellent summary of the strong and weak points of Athenian democracy. But the whole book is a storehouse of close-packed argument, and a model of method to students who desire to think things out.

Olympen. En framställning av den klassiska mytologien. Vols. I. and II. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Stockholm: H. Geber, 1918-19.

This is a popular book, but it includes in its short chapters nearly all the important results of recent researches in ancient mythology. The facts are placed with sure appreciation of their importance, and are frequently illuminated with parallels or observations from the religions or superstitions of other peoples.

The first chapters describe the different sources of art and poetry, from which knowledge of Greek religion is derived, and trace the scientific treatment of the myths from the logographers down to modern scholars. Of great interest is the chapter on Cretan-myceanean survivals in Greek religion and myth, a field of research to which the author has lately contributed an excellent little study, *Ueber Die Anfänge der Göttin Athena* (Meddelelser af Kgl. danske Vidensk. Selsk., 1921). Subsequent chapters deal with the myths of the creation of the world, the great Greek gods, the gods of the Romans (with many valuable observations), the cult of the Roman emperors, personifications and allegories in Roman belief, and the Oriental and German gods.

The second volume contains the legends of the Greek heroes, so far as they are not told in relation with the gods, the Roman myths, and finally a list of genealogies. The whole book is finely and copiously illustrated, and well deserves translation for the benefit of other than Scandinavian readers.

F. POULSEN.

Fishing from the Earliest Times. By WILLIAM RADCLIFFE. Pp. 478, with numerous illustrations. London: John Murray, 1921. 28s. net.

Mr. Radcliffe's net is of fine mesh, and he has cast it very wide. He has pursued the history of fishing from A.D. 500 to its earliest recorded origins not only among the Greeks and Romans, but in Egypt, Judaea, Assyria, and China, with sidelights from other

quarters of the world. The book is written with zest and industry, with an ample equipment of scholarship, and with a practical knowledge of angling and pisciculture. The abundant illustrations, chiefly from archaeological sources, are not merely a delight to the eye, but have been chosen with a strict regard to the elucidation of the argument. Besides a few misprints (as *Tuncus* for *Juncus*, *hirundinibus* for *hirudinibus*), the chief blemishes are a fondness for following irrelevant issues and a forced and slangy jocosity.

The four historic methods of fishing are by the spear, net, hand-line, and rod; fish-weirs and other fixed engines, and the use of poisons and explosives, may be regarded as subsidiary. The earliest fishing implements that we know of are the harpoon or spear, and the gorge—the primitive ancestor of the fish-hook. Strangely enough, there is no record of the fish-spear or the rod having been used in Mesopotamia; and it is even more remarkable that the rod appears not to have been used by the Jews, though it was familiar in Egypt. Physical conditions may partly explain these diversities of practice. Fish-spearing requires either such a firm bank over deepish water as is afforded by our own salmon-rivers, or calm water, neither too deep nor too turbid, if practised from a boat. The rod is fundamentally a device for projecting a line beyond a screen of vegetation on the river-bank, or far enough to reach deep water, and secure a certain amount of concealment, when the fisherman is perched on a rock, as in the lively representation attributed to Chachrylion, and reproduced on p. 131.

It has already been observed that nearly all Homer's references to fishing occur in similes; and this is natural when his main narratives are of war and adventure rather than the pursuits of civil life. Mr. Radcliffe discusses at length the only passage (*Od.* xii. 250–4) in which Homer definitely mentions a fishing-rod. There seems here a point in the description of the fisher as fishing for 'little' fish; for it is probable, as Mr. Radcliffe suggests, that Greek fishermen preferred the hand-line for catching heavier fish, as did all our own sea-fishermen until very lately. Sea-fishing with a rod, now growing popular, is a development not of commercial fishing, but of sport. Mr. Radcliffe quotes, on the other hand, 'the contention of modern fishermen (that) the value of the rod as an implement increases in proportion to the weight of the fish on the hook.' This surely applies only to the powerfully elastic modern rods, equipped with reel and running line—these last an improvement since Isaak Walton's time. In the same passage, as well as in *Il.* xxiv. 80–3, occurs the much-disputed problem of the 'horn of the field-ox' which the fisher casts into the water. Mr. Radcliffe inclines to the view that this was a horn lure, like a metal pike-spoon, and states that horn spoons are now used in England in pike-fishing. But the Greek says definitely 'a horn,' not any fragment of horn; and in the passage in the *Iliad*, Iris plunging into the sea is compared to a piece of lead fastened to a horn. It seems clear that the horn and the lead formed a sinker, like leaden weights, or split shot, to-day. Perhaps an ox-horn was chosen as a common and convenient receptacle into which molten lead could be poured.

Aristotle's recognition of at least the elements of the recently developed science of scale-reading is justly quoted as another example of his superiority to all other naturalists for nearly 2000 years. Passing to authors of the Roman period, Mr. Radcliffe claims to find in Martial the first mention both of the use of the fly in angling, and of the jointed rod. The first of these contentions is the sounder, and the more interesting if accepted as true. Martial (*Ep.* v. 18, 7) asks who does not know that the eager *scarus* is deceived by the fly it devours. Since all the MSS. read *musca*, there is no need to substitute *musco*, in the sense of *alga*, and understand that a bait for the *scarus* was a piece of weed. But there is here no hint of an artificial fly; the first mention of this is still Ælian's, who not only describes its use on the river Astræus in Macedonia, but gives precise directions for trying it. As for the jointed rod, the crucial line (*Ep.* ix. 55, 3) is *Aut crescente levis traheretur harundine præda*, and neither here nor in the lamp-design illustrated on p. 149 is there any indication that the prey was fish and not birds. The three rods of the grotesque fowler on the lamp need no more be meant to be fitted together than three arrows, though Mr. Radcliffe affirms the contrary 'past peradventure.' *Crescente*, and *crescit* in *Ep.* xiv. 218, seem simply to mean 'quietly lifted'—unless *crescens* can possibly mean 'tapering'—with the form of the growing reed, as a 'crescent' is the form of the waxing moon.

Greek Medicine in Rome, with other Historical Essays. The Fitzpatrick Lectures in 1909-10. By Sir T. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT, N.C.B., M.D., etc. Pp. 633. London: Macmillan & Co., 1921. 30s. net.

The editor of *Dioscorides* has shown that a philologist can write excellent treatises on Greek medicine. This book proves, what is perhaps more remarkable, that distinguished labours in the practice of the art may be combined with accurate and scholarly knowledge of its history. But the monographs of Wellmann and others serve only as paving-stones—duly marked—for a footpath along the Roman road which stretches through more than a millennium of human history, and the numerous necessary deviations add to the interest of the journey. After an account of theurgic and folk medicine in early Rome, and elsewhere, the author makes 'a long digression' to the Ionian and Italo-Sicilian schools of philosophy and medicine. He lays much stress on the naturalism of the Ionians, their ἀεισιδαιμονία, and points out that Greek science is derived directly or indirectly from them. Some may be surprised by the statement, 'Cos and Cnidus were Ionian,' yet it may be fairly argued that the Hippocratic writers, as well as the Cretan Diogenes and Empedocles of Acragas, had their spiritual homes in Ionia, though the physician who gave science her first watchword against superstition, *νάφε καὶ μέγας ἀπιστεῖν*, probably thought himself a good Dorian. Another long digression deals with the Alexandrian schools, and we return to Rome fairly well acquainted with early Greek philosophy and medicine. The achievement of the latter is well portrayed in one of the lucid summaries which abound in the book.

In spite of 'the manifold doxies spun by Greek ingenuity . . . there were for the wiser physician three factors of safety. He was free from magic: he was a master of hygiene, and, whatever his abstract notions, he never forgot to treat the individual.'

From the second century B.C. all roads led to Rome, and we may safely conclude that Rufus, Soranus, Antyllus and Philumenus sojourned there, as well as Asclepiades, Archigenes, Heliodorus and Galen. The reader will find no better combined account of these and other remarkable men than that which is given in the seven following chapters, where the author shows himself at home with the latest German monographs and competent to pass an independent judgment, as for example the Marx-Wellmann-Ilberg controversy on the sources of Celsus. Greek medicine in the East from Oribasius to John Actuarius is set forth in a chapter on Byzantine medicine, while an essay on Salerno joins western Rome to the Middle Ages. Fragments which may remain are gathered up in essays or addresses on the ancient doctrines of the pulse and generation, hygiene, infectious and other notable diseases, and pharmacology, while others deal with later episodes in scientific and medical history down to our own day.

This method involves some amount of repetition, but the reader is left asking for more, since by a little straightening out and filling in of gaps we should get an admirable and complete history of Greek medicine, legitimately continued to the author's own time, for, as he tells us, his teachers retained 'no little remnant of Galenism.' Ionian Macander, however, was probably a pleasanter river than 'the swift Hebrus,' and a copious index directs the reader to any desired point.

In dealing with so vast a subject some oversights and doubtful statements are inevitable. No one, for example, can carry in his mind all the voluminous works of Galen; which probably accounts for the statement (p. 42), 'Galen does not mention it [Aesculapian worship] even to attack it,' and for what is perhaps the only serious oversight in the book (p. 143 f.), which the author shares with another distinguished scholar, the failure to notice that the mysterious but 'learned and distinguished Alexandrian physician' of Dr. Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines* is none other than Galen, large portions of whose *De locis affectis*, including all the 'cases,' are clearly visible through the double translation.

Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Libri Quattuor. Recensuit Indicem Verborum Addidit F. H. FOBES. Cantabrigiae Massachusettensium e Typographeo Academiae Harvardianae. MDCCCXVIII. 15s. net.

What Mr. Fobes on his title-page professes to have done he has done so well and so thoroughly that we cannot help regretting that he has not done, nor apparently contemplated doing, a little more. The contents of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* are so interesting in themselves, and make so strong an impression of the author's wide knowledge, wide research, and wider curiosity, that a few notes from a scholar so competent as Mr. Fobes would have been very welcome, at least in those places where his emendations of the text imply an alteration in the meaning. His discussion in the *Classical Review*, 1916, of a difficult passage in the second book shows how valuable a commentary he could have made in a small space; but when we turn to the passage we find nothing but a brief intimation in a foot-note that the text has been 'changed'. And surely a diagram might have been inserted at the two or three places where the author employed one.

Mr. Fobes retains not only Bekker's division into chapters, but also his paging, so that comparison is easy. He has also given us a list of all the passages in which he has made any considerable alteration in Bekker's text. It will be found that he is chary of suggestion; for example, in 371a, 4, he rejects *νιφετῶν ὄντων* in favour of *νιπτικῶς ἐχόντων* without any hint as to the meaning of the unusual word thus restored to the text. In another passage, 376 b, 23, where Bekker's *τῶν δὲ πρὸς τῇ γῇ στηριζομένων* is not very satisfying, he does indeed hint in a note at a possible solution, but contents himself with printing in the text the unmeaning and improbable MS. word *προσπτεριζομένων*. A peculiarity of the volume is that *μέγνυμι*, *μικτός*, *μῆξις* are always spelt *μεῖγνυμι*, *μεικτός*, *μειξίς*. If I understand Mr. Fobes aright, he regards this unusual spelling as merely a freak of the scribe of his favourite MS., and if so, one hardly sees why the familiar forms should not be retained. Mr. Fobes gives a very clear and very full account of the many MSS. he has examined, and a most valuable 'notitia litteraria' containing a list of commentaries on the *Meteorologica*, ancient and modern. There is also an *index verborum*, the more valuable because the vocabulary of the fourth book in particular is extraordinarily rich. Altogether he has given us in a beautifully-printed and very portable volume a most satisfactory edition of a most remarkable book.

Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium in the VI. and V. Centuries B.C. By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. Pp. 74, 32 Plates. London: John Murray, 1921. 16s. net.

This attractive volume will be welcomed on many grounds, and especially by those readers whose appetites were whetted by the articles on Italian architectural terra-cottas by Mrs. Strong and Mrs. Van Buren in Vol. IV. of the *Journal of Roman Studies*. The authoress expresses, almost too modestly, the hope that 'a simple catalogue of the figurative terra-cotta revetments from Etruria and Latium in the earliest periods may be found useful,' for this is much more than a simple catalogue and will prove not only useful but indispensable. In scale and sumptuousness it does not, naturally, rival Koch's *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*—a pre-war publication—but it provides a handy and lucid collection of similar material from Etruria and Latium, collating duplicate examples of types, quoting helpful parallels, and revealing an extensive acquaintance with a wide range of material.

Thirty-two plates of good photographs—many of which reproduce several pieces—are a generous but not excessive allowance for the seventy-four pages of text, for so little of this material is easily accessible to students in this country, and it is somewhat of a revelation to see how many museums have been drawn upon for the purpose.

The catalogue is divided into three sections—*Antefixae*, *Acroteria* (which includes a variety of other architectural members), and *Friezes*—and each is prefaced by a short

introduction. When we observe that on pp. 31-35 there comes a brief, but clear and scholarly discussion of the ancient authorities for the fictile decoration of Italian temples, we realise that the book is an accretion of three articles, which might with advantage have been rearranged so that all the introductory matter preceded the catalogue proper under its three headings; indeed the miscellany appended to the *Acroteria* might well have formed a fourth and separate section. We feel also that the usefulness of the book would have been increased by even a short discussion of these terra-cottas on a chronological basis, to justify the bald statement of dates, e.g. 'VI. century,' 'VI.-V. centuries,' etc., given without further explanation, which may puzzle readers who are naturally less familiar with the material. Certain other omissions can hardly pass without comment: (1) references to the Plates at the end should have been inserted in the text as well as in the elaborate table on p. ix. f.; (2) the scale of the illustrations is not given; (3) the dimensions of all fragments, not merely of a selection from acroteria and friezes, should have been furnished. Scarcely less serious, and perhaps more irritating, is the inadequacy of the press-correction. Misprints occur rather too frequently for a book of reference of only 74 pages. We note *antifixae* (p. 3, twice), satyr sand Pans (p. 25), *Straticum* (for *Satricum*, p. 36), and Keldewey and Loescheke (pp. 57, 69, 71) among authorities cited; Pl. XXXI. represents Type V., not VI., of the friezes. The foot-notes seem to have been inexcusably neglected, as witness the four citations of the excavations at Gordion by the brothers Körte:

- p. 35 (note 8): G. A. Körte, *Jahrb. d. Inst., Ergänzungsheft*, v (1904),
- p. 57 (note 2): G. u. A. Körte, *Jb. d. Inst. Ergänzungsheft*, v (1903),
- p. 65 (note 1): Körte, *Jb. d. Inst., Ergänzungsheft*, v (1904),
- p. 66 (note 2): G. u. A. Körte, *Jb. d. Inst. Engänzungsheft*, v (1904).

We hope that the descriptions and references have been checked with more care than this inaccuracy and inconsistency indicates. The descriptions given are usually clear and ample, though 'height, cm. 8 by 10.5' (p. 16, note 3) is a rather Thucydidean construction, and the 'lateral akroterion of a horse' (p. 59) is mystifying without the context. It has not been possible to check the completeness of the catalogue, but surprise may be expressed at the omission of the large series of architectural terra-cottas from Lanuvium presented by the late Lord Savile to the British Museum; in fact the antefix 'Division IV., Type XX.' (= *B. M. Terracottas*, B 605, of which there is another slightly different example in the Museum at Leeds, unknown to the authoress), is almost the only type figured from this site. But perhaps the other pieces would not come under the title 'Figurative,' of which the reviewer unfortunately does not know the literal meaning. And after all, even this rather formidable list of minor blemishes, mostly easy of remedy in a subsequent edition, does not seriously impair the value of this attractive book, and we offer congratulations to the authoress on the successful completion of a laborious but clearly congenial task.

Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher. *Internationales wissenschaftliches Organ unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Phil. NIKOS A. BEES (Βέης). Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Weimarsche Strasse, 19: Verlag der Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher.

This new periodical, of which the first volume was published in 1920, and the first half of the second in September 1921, deserves a hearty welcome. An introduction by Dr. Bees lays down the lines which it is to follow. The war put an end to several periodicals on Byzantine matters; thus *Byzantis* and the *Neos Hellenomnemon* and the two Russian journals, the *Vizantijskij Vremennik* and the *Journal of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople* have all disappeared, and if Byzantine studies are not to fall behind, their place must be filled. It is remarkable that neither in this list nor in any part of the introduction is any mention made of the most important of all these periodicals,

the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, founded by Karl Krumbacher at Munich, carried on after his death until August 1914, and begun again in 1920 with the third and fourth parts of Volume XXIII. This omission cannot pass without notice in view of the great services rendered to Byzantine studies by Krumbacher, and it is in this case all the more curious as the new periodical follows exactly the admirable arrangement of the *Zeitschrift* in dividing its contents into three parts, original articles, reviews and short notices. The present undertaking is purely private:—the editor writes, 'Das Unternehmen ist—ich betone dieses ausdrücklich—nicht von irgendeiner Regierung angeregt, sondern rein privat.' It is published by Dr. Bees himself, and the necessary expenses have been found first by Mr. George Pianos, a Greek of Dresden, and then by subscriptions from a number of Greeks, all resident in Germany. A very wide field is to be covered; the new periodical is to deal with Byzantine literature both learned and popular, internal and external history, language, folklore, art, religious life, the geography, topography and ethnology of the lands which formed part of the Byzantine empire, epigraphy, numismatics, sigillography, jurisprudence, medicine, and other departments of Byzantine and modern Greek science. In addition the editor lays stress on his intention to deal with papyri and manuscripts, the *koine*, early Christian art, the Greek *diaspora*, and the influence upon other peoples exerted by the Greeks both in the Middle Ages and in modern times. The character of the periodical is to be international, and articles will be admitted in Greek, Latin, German, French, English, and Italian, although everything at present has been in German, except two articles and two reviews in Greek and one review in French, which is, however, by the Greek Professor Andreades. The future of the periodical largely depends upon whether it can obtain the support of Byzantine scholars outside Germany and Greece, but to this beginning a warm welcome can be extended. All readers of the old *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* know how much such a periodical is needed, and Dr. Bees will have all good wishes with him in his enterprise. The articles published are various and interesting, and it will be especially gratifying to members of the Hellenic Society to read the editor's warm appreciation of the work of the late Mr. F. W. Hasluck and his wish for a complete edition of all his papers. In conclusion the price is moderate; for this country 25 French francs for each annual volume, and this first volume contains 456 pages.

R. M. D.

Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality. The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St. Andrews in the year 1920. By LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL. Pp. 434. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 18s.

"This," says Dr. Farnell of a somewhat foolish theory, "is ingenious, but much that is ingenious is not worth saying." To the Thucydidean ideal of scientific investigation here implied he remains himself true. He is not concerned to make a demonstration of dexterity nor to balance inverted pyramids of hypothesis upon some random analogy, and his investigations start inductively from a collation of all the facts ascertainable about particular problems.

The result of this method is deadly to the assumptions of most schools of mythologists, from the champions of the solar myth to those who would read into every legend an hieratic meaning. The only assumption upon which Dr. Farnell insists, and here the trend of modern scholarship is with him, is that saga, whatever accretions of folklore it may have collected, contains a nucleus of historical tradition. Not that he believes in any single master key which will unlock the mysteries of the origin of all Greek hero cults. The Greeks themselves supposed that all their heroes had once been mortal men; Usener, on the other hand, was sure that they were all faded deities. Dr. Farnell gives uncritical adherence to neither view, but his bias is rather towards the Greeks. He recognises a small group of heroes, Trophonios, Linos and the like, who appear to have their origin in cult, and he acknowledges the existence of some functional heroic powers. But of the other five classes into which he divides the heroes of cult, all consist of persons who at the time of their canonisation were, rightly or wrongly, believed to have once been living men.

Opinion may perhaps be divided as to the assignment of particular heroes to particular categories, but the broad lines of Dr. Farnell's classification would appear difficult to shake. *ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὁμῶς τοιαῦτα ἔν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἂν διήλθε οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει ηὐρήσθαι ἡγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανιστάτων σημείων ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι ἀποχρώντως.*

The most important cults considered are those of Herakles, the Dioskouroi and Asklepios, to all of whom a heroic origin is assigned. The weakest case is that of Asklepios, for here the most certain of Dr. Farnell's tests fail. The meaning of the name is unknown and the evidence of cult, appropriate equally to a hero or a chthonian deity, is inconclusive. The case rests ultimately upon general probability and the fact that Homer appears to consider Asklepios the human father of Machaon and Podaleirios. The analogy between Asklepiadae and such professional patronymies as Talthubiadae, Homeridae and the like supports upon the whole the heroic theory. But though doctors are from Homer onwards the 'sons of Asklepios,' the remarkable thing about the cult is the lateness of its emergence as a Pan-Hellenic worship of the first importance and the extraordinary success which it then achieved. From the fifth century B.C. to the end of Paganism its popularity steadily increased. Although Trikke was the original home of the cult, this expansion was certainly due to Epidaurus. It is true that various cults, both in the Peloponnese and elsewhere, derived directly from Thessaly, but we know very little about them before the period of Epidaurian influence and nothing about the parent cult, except that it had a subterranean *adyton*. Perhaps the most satisfactory feature of the discussion of the cults of Herakles and the Dioskouroi is the clearing away of much obscuring lumber. The criticism of solar and stellar explanations is ruthless and convincing. Throughout Dr. Farnell rightly emphasises the importance of historical perspective and the chronological sequence of the evidence. It is important that Kastor and Poludeukes are not called Dioskouroi earlier than the Homeric Hymns, and that not before Euripides is there any trace of their stellar associations. Similarly the apotheosis of Herakles in the flames of Oeta is unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and therefore points not to the Phoenician origin of Herakles, but to a confusion resulting from the identification in historical times of the Greek hero with the aliens Sandan and Melqart. The advisability of treating evidence in its chronological sequence may seem too obvious to need emphasis, but in practice it is often ignored.

The book is full of matter which demands reflection, and most readers will find that postulates, which they have uncritically held, need re-examination. For example, it may come to others also as a surprise to find that the distribution of the cult of Herakles has little or no connexion with the movements of the Dorians; the facts which Dr. Farnell adduces appear conclusive upon this point. But upon the whole the very great value of the evidence of cult upon questions of tribal movements is once more demonstrated in this volume, and interesting results would be likely to follow a systematic examination of the religious material from the ethnographical standpoint. Boiotia would seem here as central a point of importance as in the Catalogue.

In view of the mass of material which is contained in the book, it is perhaps a pity that the index is not more elaborate. There is no entry, for example, under 'Minyans,' though there is much in the text which throws light upon the distribution of that people. There are one or two misprints, chiefly caused by the difficulty of maintaining consistency in the transliteration of Greek names upon an uncompromising system of letter for letter. Praisos upon p. 159, where the allusion is clearly to the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, must be a slip for Phaistos. The most notable omission as regards subject matter is the absence of any reference, whether for praise or blame, to Sir William Ridgeway's theory of the origin of tragedy.

La Religione nella Grecia antica fino al Alessandro. By RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Pp. 416. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1921. L. 20.

This little book suffers by comparison with Dr. Farnell's *Outline History of Greek Religion*. The author has read widely, but may be suspected of a better acquaintance with theories both ancient and modern than with the actual facts of Greek cult. His work lacks the

clarity, caution and grasp of essentials which distinguishes the English book, and his generalisations are too often based upon disputable assumptions. In this respect the earlier part of the book is particularly weak. It is stated as a fact that the Mycenaean in the period of the shaft graves spoke Greek, which the Minoans did not. Inhumation, and with it the worship of the dead, was abandoned by the invaders of Asia because they had perforce left behind them their ancestral graves in Greece. Greek polytheism developed from the reaction of the poems of the Asiatic Homer upon mainland Greece, and the new Olympian gods of Homeric mythology absorbed the pre-existing *Sondergötter* as cult titles. The importance of the cult of the Nature goddess in the Bronze Age is not sufficiently appreciated; the emphasis is laid upon the worship of the dead and its continuity. It is therefore surprising to find that Adrastus and Melanippos are assumed to be faded deities of vegetation. The claim of Delphi, which is surely inconsistent with the facts, that the policy of the oracle had been consistently opposed to tyrants, is made the basis for argument. The initiate of Euripides' *Cretans* would be surprised to learn that it was by the words *τάς τ' ὁμοφάγους δαίτας τελέσας* that he proclaimed his conversion to vegetarianism (*proclami di aver posto fine ai pasti cruenti*).

The assumption that the worship of Demeter was in origin peculiarly the property of an agricultural as opposed to an urban class suggests a misapprehension of the size and economic conditions of early Greek communities. It is of course true that Greek religion absorbed, sobered and civilised wilder elements, both native and foreign. But this is true not only of Athens but of Greece, and the attempt to show from the peculiar political and social history of Attica that the process is connected with the acquisition of political power by the lower classes will not carry universal conviction.

If indeed one is to philosophise upon the history of Greek religion, the forces which call for analysis seem rather to be those centrifugal and centripetal tendencies which characterise Greek civilisation throughout—Pan-Hellenism and particularism, civic religion and individualism. Eventually, and here the tendencies of the later pagan philosophies and religions prepared the way for Christianity, the middle term of these pairs of opposites, based as it was upon a political fact which had ceased to exist, became eliminated. Religious thought in its various manifestations tended to become universal in its scope, embracing not merely Hellenes but mankind, and individualistic in its absorbing interest in the hopes, fears and needs of the individual soul.

**The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates (Panagia Hekaton-
tapyliani) in Paros.** By H. H. JEWELL and F. W. HASLICK. Pp. 78, 14 Plates.
Published on behalf of the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund. London:
Macmillan & Co., 1920. 50s.

The Byzantine Research and Publication Fund has added to its previous volumes on S. Irene and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem this study of the Church of our Lady of the Hundred Gates in Paros. The description and discussion of the architecture, the drawings and the bulk of the photographs are the work of Mr. Jewell, a travelling student of the Royal Academy of Arts, who visited Paros in 1910, and later completed his researches by a second visit to the island; the late Mr. F. W. Hasluck has contributed chapters on the history of the church and on the inscriptions, while Mr. H. A. Ormerod, a member of the British School at Athens, rendered assistance in recording the inscriptions.

The church is situated at Paroekia, the capital of Paros, and is indisputably the finest in the Cyclades. In the earliest records the church is known as Katapoliani, which is, it seems, the adjective derived from the place-name *Κατάπολα*, probably from *κάτω* and *πόλις*, for both at *Κατάπολα* in Amorgos and in Naxos with their churches named *Καταπολιανή*, as here in Paros, the church is built on lower ground than the adjacent village. Even in Paros the old name remains the common spoken form; the new name, appearing first according to Mr. Hasluck in the *Γεωγραφία* of Meletios 1661–1714, reflects the pride of the islanders in their church. ‘The new name is accounted for by the legend that the great

church had a hundred doors (πύλαι, which common sense compels the Parians to construe doors *and windows*), of which ninety-nine are visible, and the hundredth is to be revealed when the Greeks take Constantinople' (cf. Kambanis in the Athenian periodical 'Εβδομάς iii. [1886] p. 345).

Apart from local legend (see pp. 1-3) we possess no history of the church during the Byzantine period, but Mr. Hasluck refers to the account of the political mission of Niketas (Magister) to the Saracens of Crete in A.D. 902. This account is contained in the *βίος τῆς ὁσίας μητρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοκτίστης τῆς Λεσβίας τῆς ἀσκησάσης καὶ κοιμηθείσης ἐν νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάρῳ* written by Niketas himself. 'Niketas on his way to Crete, being detained by contrary winds,' to quote the summary of Mr. Hasluck, 'put into Paros, and being there, thought well to make his prayers at the Church of the Virgin. He found the island entirely uninhabited save for a hermit, who told him the story of S. Theoktiste the Lesbian; the saint, carried off by Arab pirates from a convent in her native island, had eluded them in Paros, and for the rest of her life lived as an anchorite in the abandoned church, where she was discovered by a hunter from Euboea and eventually died in the odour of sanctity.' Mr. Jewell suggests that the crypt in the present church situated under the holy table (11 ft. × 3 ft.) is apparently the traditional retreat of S. Theoktiste (see pp. 43-4). Niketas describes the deserted church as ἀξιοθέατος καὶ λείψανα σώζων ἔστι τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀραιότητος: σύμμετρος τε γὰρ ἐδέδμητο καὶ κίοσι συχνοῖς τῆς ἐκ βασιλικοῦ ἡρηρεῖστο λίθου, πριστῇ τε λίθῳ πάντα τοῖχον ἡμφίεστο παραπλησίως τοῖς κίοσιν. Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸν λίθον λεπτύνας ἐξέφανεν ὁ τεχνίτης ὥς δοκεῖν ἐξ ὑφασμάτων τὸν τοῖχον ἐνδεδύσθαι βυσσίνων and praises the τῆς σεβαστῆς καὶ θείας τραπέζης ὑπερκείμενον ὀρόφιον εἶσω τῆς πύλης lately broken by Nisiris an Arab raider who had tried unsuccessfully to carry it off: καὶ γὰρ ἔσπενδε . . . τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῦτο τῶν τῆς Ἁγαρ ἀνάθημα καταθέσθαι.¹ This account of Niketas may be illustrated by the fact that the original cupola of the ciborium has perished, and been replaced by cement.

Since the Byzantine inscriptions give us only the names of two bishops, Hylasius and Georgius, both otherwise unknown, the sole means of dating the construction of the church is thus the architecture of the building itself. The great church has incorporated an earlier church of S. Nicholas which stands to the N. of the bema and to the E. of the N. transept. This small church was, Mr. Jewell argues, originally of a basilica type planned as a simple nave with aisles; to this the dome and cruciform upper structure were added at a later date, probably at the time of the building of the great church. With the original form of the church of S. Nicholas Mr. Jewell compares the plan of the church at Bin-bir-kilisse (cf. Strzygowski: *Kleinasien*, p. 104). The great church itself is of cruciform plan with a single dome and transepts; a baptistery adjoins the church on the S., and is approached both from the aisle and the transept. Although in type and character the great church at Paros seems to be unique, Mr. Jewell argues that it probably dates from the reign of Justinian, and is perhaps contemporary with the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The baptistery would seem to have been built soon after, possibly in the latter part of the sixth century.

This is no place to enter into the detailed considerations by which Mr. Jewell supports his views (cf. pp. 49-52): two points of special interest in the church may, however, be accentuated here. The columns, bases, capitals and lower screen of the original iconostasis are still intact, and with the exception of the columns are all of Parian marble. Mr. Hasluck notes that a stone screen preserving so much of its original form is rarely met with in Greece; as probably the best example he cites the screen at Torcello. In Greek lands the absence of such screens is attributable partly to the transformation of churches into mosques and the consequent removal of the screens as obstructions, and still more to the vogue of carved and gilded wooden screens dating in particular from the eighteenth century. Further, the ciborium, praised by Niketas and apparently contemporary with the foundation of the church, which still stands, is probably unique in the East, for here even in churches which have remained in Christian occupation the stone ciboria have been replaced, like the stone screens, by others of carved wood.

Students of Byzantine architecture have every reason to be grateful to the Research Fund for this valuable study of a most interesting building. N. H. B.

¹ Of this *βίος* the best text is published by Ioannou in his *Μημεῖα Ἀγιολογικά*, Venice, 1884. from which the citations are made, pp. 4, 5, 7.

A Short History of Antioch, 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268. By E. S. BOUCHIER. Pp. 324, 4 Plates. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Bouchier's sketch of Antioch on the Orontes is in his own words 'an attempt to gather together a few leading points regarding the history, life, manners and interests of this great centre of population' from its first foundation down to its devastation in 1268 at the hands of the Sultan of Egypt. 'I am quite conscious,' he writes, 'that such a book, like its predecessors, will be open to a charge of superficiality.' But teachers, at any rate, will be slow to raise the charge. Such general sketches of a city's life will help them in accentuating the continuity of historical development as well as the individuality of the centres of Hellenistic civilisation, while they may readily awake in students an interest which will only be satisfied by further detailed work upon special aspects of the city's story. It is for this reason that one could have wished that the bibliographies given at the close of chapters could have been more adequate: thus the reader hears of Julian at Antioch, but he is not reminded that a large part of Julian's works is now translated in the Loeb Library, there is no reference to King's useful collection of translations in the Bohn Library, nor to any of the recent studies (e.g. by Geffcken or Bidez) on the apostate emperor; a picture is drawn of the rhetoricians of Antioch with Libanius at their head, but there is no mention of Walden's book with its valuable chapters on the later Greek rhetoricians, nor to Missong's recent study of the paganism of Libanius. It would also have been well if some hints could have been given to the reader of the contents of the books cited, a mere title, though adequate for the specialist, is often an insufficient guide for the uninitiate. A well-written popular book is an admirable thing, but its greatest achievement is surely that it should stimulate curiosity and itself supply some direction towards the satisfaction of that curiosity.

In a work like the present every student will naturally find omissions which he regrets; the reviewer looked in vain for a mention of the long-lived legend of S. Mercurius and the death of Julian (cf. W. R. Halliday in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vii. pp. 89-106), he would have welcomed some account of the life of S. Simeon the Younger (the Vita printed in the A. SS. is mentioned in a footnote, but cf. now Engelbert Müller: *Studien zu den Biographien des Styliten Simeon des Jüngeren*. München dissertation Aschaffenburg, 1914). In the treatment of Jewish hostility to the Christians in Antioch in the seventh century it is a pity that the frank confession of James the Newly Baptised was not utilised (cf. the edition of N. Bonwetsch in *Abh. d. kön. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Klasse*, N. F. xii. No. 3, Berlin, 1910, p. 391), while there is apparently no reference to the influence of Syrian traders in western Europe (cf. L. Bréhier: *Les Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen âge*. B. Z. xii. (1903), pp. 1-39, and papers in *Chambre de Commerce de Marseille. Congrès français de la Syrie: Séances et Travaux*. Fasc. II. Marseille, 1919). The list could of course be prolonged, but it would serve no purpose. Mr. Bouchier's book, let it be repeated, will be of real use alike to the teacher and the general reader.

N. H. B.

Aus der Offenbarung Johannis. By F. BOLL. Pp. 151. Leipzig: Teubner, 1914.

THIS small book of 151 pages is the most original contribution to the study of the Apocalypse of John that has been made for many a long day. The author, Professor Boll of Heidelberg, is the chief living authority on the Astronomy and Astrology of the Graeco-Roman world. He is engaged in making a Catalogue of all ancient astronomical and astrological MSS., and some readers of this JOURNAL may know his book *Sphaera*. In the work before us he has turned aside to tell us the impression made by the Apocalypse in the New Testament on one whose special business it is to be familiar with what men thought in the first century A.D. about the sky.

The result is startling. The late Dr. Cumming (who predicted the end of the world in 1867), Ferdinand Christian Baur the Tübingen theologian, and Canon Charles, are found

on one side, Professor Boll on the other. Baur and Charles and Dr. Cumming differ very widely, but they agree in this, that the Apocalypse is a book of cryptic history. Dr. Cumming and old-fashioned scholars thought it contained future history, Baur and Charles think it contains history now past, but they all assume that the word-pictures painted in the Apocalypse refer to events on earth—a Parthian invasion, a flight of Christians to Pella, etc. Prof. Boll will have none of this, or very little of it. He believes that there is very little reference in the book to current events on earth, but that the seer supported his belief in the imminent trials and miraculous vindication of his fellow-Christians by literal signs from Heaven, signs in the stars and constellations as interpreted in current myths and beliefs about the heavenly bodies. Do we suddenly hear about the Altar in heaven (Rev. vi. 9), under which are the souls of the Martyrs? Naturally, says Prof. Boll (p. 33), the Altar *is* in the Milky Way; you can find it if you look for it on the Celestial Globe. And of course the Martyrs *are* underneath it, *i. e.* nearer the horizon: does not even Cicero tell us in Scipio's Dream that the souls of the virtuous dwell in the Milky Way?

Possibly the astrological key will not unlock all the difficulties to which Prof. Boll applies it, but in certain cases this new method of interpretation sheds at least some light and order where all before was confusion, and in no case is this more so than in his explanation of the woman clothed with the Sun (pp. 98–124). In Rev. xii. the Seer sees a great sign in heaven, a woman arrayed with the Sun and the Moon at her feet; she is about to bear a child, and a great red Dragon stands in front of her to devour it when born. The child is born, but is caught up to God; there is war in heaven, and Michael casts the dragon down to earth, who proceeds to persecute the woman, now transferred herself to earth: the monster casts a river of water out of his mouth to carry her away, but the earth swallows the river, and the Dragon goes off to make war with the woman's seed, which 'hold the testimony of Jesus.' It is not too much to say that no explanation has ever before been given of this famous word-picture (or rather moving panorama) that has been even plausible.

Prof. Boll regards it as an adaptation of the myth of Isis and Typhon by the Christian writer, who turned it into a myth of the birth in heaven of the pre-existent Messiah. A sign in heaven in touch with Sun and Moon must, says Prof. Boll, be in the Zodiac; we naturally think of *Virgo*, below which is *Hydra*, the sea-monster. The name notwithstanding, '*Virgo*' was connected with Isis nursing Horus (p. 110). Further, when both the 'Dragon' and the 'Woman' come down to earth, the image of the earth swallowing the Dragon's river to help the woman fits the Isis-myth, for the land of Egypt swallows the Nile.

Yes, it may be said, the Isis-myth fits the imagery of Rev. xii. well enough, but what is the Christian application? How did the Apocalyptist come to put it in his book? This question also is considered by Prof. Boll, and he suggests that the Apocalyptist regarded the Isis-myth and the Constellations connected with it as a mystery or type of the cosmic drama of Redemption, particularly of the pre-mundane birth of the Messiah. He points out that we must not think of the Apocalyptist and his first readers as acquainted with our Gospels, or as familiar with the doings on earth of 'Christ after the flesh.' Jesus indeed had come to earth, died, and had risen again and was about to come to reign in glory over the Saints, but little more than this can be gathered from the Book of Revelation. When, therefore, the Christians began first to ask themselves what was the origin of their Lord, it was not in every place that they were well instructed in all things from the beginning by those who were eye-witnesses (Luke i. 2, 3), but they had the text from Isaiah, 'Behold, the Virgin shall conceive.' Revelation, chap. xii., seems to show that there were some Christians of Asia Minor who interpreted this of a birth from a heavenly Power or Being, whom the heathen had corrupted into Isis, the Queen of Heaven.

This interpretation of the passage is not without difficulties, but at least it gives some sort of a sense, which in my opinion no previous explanation has given, and for that reason it should not be lightly rejected because of its strangeness. In fact, I venture to think that no one should reject Professor Boll's conclusions, novel as they are, without a careful study of his book as a whole.

F. C. BURKITT.

Greek Vase-Painting. By ERNST BUSCHOR. Translated by G. C. RICHARDS, with a preface by PERCY GARDNER. Pp. 180, 160 illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus, 1921. 25s.

Ever since its appearance in 1913 (second edition 1914), Dr. Buschor's book has been recognised as the best consecutive account of Greek vase-painting. Wide knowledge, and a wide outlook: a love of beauty, but none of verbiage: the essential facts seized, and expressed tersely and vividly: the illustrations well chosen, and nearly all from excellent drawings or photographs. Not a book for beginners: or rather the best kind of book for beginners, one which is not for beginners only.

The book was hard to translate, and Mr. Richards' translation reads like a translation; it seldom breaks into English. Nearly all foreign sentences need to be recast, and not merely construed before they begin to be English: the translator must observe English sentence-order and English idiom, or his rendering will be not only cacophonous, but often obscure as well.

In his interesting preface (pp. ix-x), Prof. Gardner speaks as if there were no beauty in Greek vases before the middle of the sixth century, but only historical interest. Happily this is not Dr. Buschor's view. He finds beauty, of form and of decoration, in Minoan and in geometric vases, in protocorinthian, in early Attic and elsewhere. Prof. Gardner also states that 'German scientific writers aim at an exactness in the use of terms which we seldom attempt.' This is not true of chemists or mathematicians; and I trust it is not true of archaeologists.

A short bibliography might have been added to the translation, since the chief defect of Dr. Buschor's book was that the series to which it belonged did not allow footnotes. Pl. LXXXIX has been retouched, and some of the illustrations are fainter than in the German edition. The gilt tondo on the side-cover is an error of taste, but excusable if it helps to sell this excellent book.

J. D. B.

Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum. Vol. II. Sculpture and Architectural Fragments. By STANLEY CASSON, with a section upon the Terra-cottas by DOROTHY BROOKE. Pp. 459. Cambridge: The University Press, 1921.

The first volume of this Catalogue, containing the archaic sculpture, by the late Guy Dickins, appeared in 1912. It should have been followed at a short interval by Mr. Casson's volume on the sculpture of the fifth century and later, and the MS. of this work was actually ready in 1914, when the War intervened to delay its publication for seven years. Mr. Dickins had set a very high standard in his admirable Catalogue; and Mr. Casson has not fallen below it, though the material he has had to deal with and the problems he has had to face are of a very different nature. It has not been practicable in this volume, as in the other, to give an illustration of almost every number in the Catalogue; but the need for this is to a great degree met by the publication of series such as the fragments from the Parthenon in the British Museum plates, or of the Erechtheum frieze in the *Antike Denkmäler*.

It was not to be expected that many new discoveries or identifications could be made in material so often worked over by different archaeologists. But a careful account is given of the assignment of various fragments in Athens to their place in the metopes or frieze of the Parthenon, the frieze and balustrade of the temple of Nike, the Erechtheum frieze, and other compositions. Some new joins are recorded, and some new identifications made—notably the fine female head from a metope, published for the first time on p. 96. Another interesting point is that Mr. Casson thinks, from the style of the work, that repairs of late Greek or Roman date can be recognised in some of the sculptures, notably in No. 27 from the Nike Balustrade and in some of the wings from the Parthenon pediment. Such repairs are known at Olympia, but have only been recognised in one or two doubtful cases at Athens.

The descriptions and references appear, so far as can be judged without using the

Catalogue in the Museum, to be very accurate. The numbering as previously marked on the figures and fragments has been preserved, but this causes little trouble to the reader, thanks to the index given at the end. The only omission I have noticed is No. 1044, which is described as part of the recently reconstituted slab of the frieze on p. 101. The two horses of Selene on the East pediment of the Parthenon have now been transferred to the Museum; it is stated that these are perhaps the middle two. But, according to Prof. Sauer's investigations, the lost fourth horse was that nearest to Selene, and the two in Athens were at the extreme end. In the unfinished statue, No. 1325, the grooved lines are said to be 'cut with a gouge.' A sculptor has assured me that the instrument used was a round chisel. That it should be worth while to mention such minor points is a testimony to the general accuracy. There are two or three oversights in details. On p. 284 '5th century' is a misprint for '6th century' (date of Andokides); and on p. 321 'terminus post quem' should read 'ante quem' (in the section on terra-cottas).

The section on the architectural fragments is interesting, particularly in the suggestion that the painted architectural fragments, which are all stated to be in Pentelic marble, are later than the painted terra-cotta fragments—probably about the first decade of the fifth century, and that in earlier buildings the terra-cotta simas and antefixes were actually replaced by marble ones. The date suggested, however, seems later than necessary, especially if, as stated, the painted fragments from the Pisistratid peripteral building are also in Pentelic marble.

In the treatment of the terra-cottas, Mrs. Brooke (Miss Dorothy Lamb) acknowledges her indebtedness to Dr. Winter's type catalogue and to Miss Hutton's discussion of the reliefs. Here, as in the sculpture, an introduction summarises the evidence as to the various types and technical questions. It is noted as unfortunate that there is little record as to where, on the Acropolis, the various terra-cottas were found.

The whole volume will be a most useful work of reference for all who are making a detailed study of Attic art.

E. A. G.

Grundfragen der Homerkritik. By PAUL CAUER. Dritte umgearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Erste Hälfte. Pp. 406. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1921. M. 66.

The third edition of this well-known handbook is welcome. Paul Cauer has always distinguished himself among Homeric scholars by his candour, impartiality, clear reasoning and competence, more especially on the philological side. The third edition, of which this, the first half, contains Book I, 'Textkritik und Sprachwissenschaft,' and Book II, 'zur Analyse der Anhalts,' augmented by a chapter on the Homeric hexameter, takes account of recent literature up to the date of publication without megalomania or *campanilismo*. With all this openmindedness Herr Cauer does not seem to have materially altered his own position, e. g. with regard to Ithaca, the Homeric dialect, or the reality of the Trojan war. And indeed, in face of such distances of time and the possibly impending new evidence, we must be content to say ταῦτα μὲν ἔξεσται τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας κρίνειν πρὸς τὰς ἰδίαις ἐκδότου προαιρέσεις.

T. W. A.

Homerische Poetik. Edited by ENGELBERT DRERUP. Vol. I., Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart. By E. D. Pp. 511. Vol. III., Die Rhapsodien der Odyssee. By FRANZ STÜRMER. Pp. 632. Würzburg: Becker, 1921.

As much cannot be said for this book. The first volume, of 510 pages, contains a farrago of people's opinions on all subjects connected with Homer except the MSS. Information may be obtained from it, but the utility of the information is qualified by the value of past and present Homeric criticism. It is pathetic to see Herr Stürmer to the tune of 627 pp.

thinking by an effort of the intelligence to recover the original sections of the *Odyssey*. Herr Drerup will apply the same process to the *Iliad* in Vol. II as yet unpublished. This is understood to be a defence of the Unitarian position. *Non tali auxilio*. This book, and *Homer und die Ilias* by Wilamowitz (1916), show that the leopard does not change his spots, bricks do not wash, and the Germans, like the Bourbons, have learned nothing. *On passera outre*.

T. W. A.

Recueil Milliet. Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne. By ADOLPHE REINACH. Vol. I. Pp. 430. Paris: Klincksieck, 1921. Fr. 30.

MR. MILLIET having presented a sum of money to the Association des Études grecques for the publication, with translation and commentary, of the passages in ancient writers which treat of art, the work was entrusted to Mr. Adolphe Reinach, who had completed a great part of his task when the war broke out. After Mr. Adolphe Reinach's heroic death, the duty of publishing his manuscript fell to Mr. Salomon Reinach. The first volume deals with Greek painting from the earliest times to the Hellenistic period, and supersedes the corresponding section in Overbeck.

'Il s'agissait,' as Mr. Solomon Reinach truly says in his preface, 'moins de commenter des textes que de les établir et de les interpréter.' The value of this volume, however, lies chiefly in the comprehensive and interesting commentary. The translation is not free from errors; and the treatment of the text is unsatisfactory: there is no critical apparatus; conjectural readings, certain and uncertain, are admitted without warning; the manuscripts are sometimes quoted, but not always correctly. The punctuation is erratic, and misprints very numerous. It would be unjust to impute these faults to the author: we may be sure that he would have removed many of them in his final revision.

In the translation: p. 8, l. 2, *rustica . . . decerptae* is 'gathered by the attentive rustic': p. 25, 37, *βούλει* is not 'il veut': p. 36, 16, *vitium indecentiae* go together: p. 44, 12, *tenentes ordinem inventae artis* is not 'observant les règles d'un art perfectionné,' but 'observing the sequence in which the processes were discovered' (the idea Aristotelian, see no. 37): p. 44, 18, *τὴν ἰδίαν μορφήν* is not 'leurs propres traits': p. 46, 4, *οὕτως* is 'and then': p. 46, 24, *τὰς δοξούσας εἶναι καλὰς* is translated as if it were *τὰς δοκούσας*: p. 75, 18, *σχήματα* means 'attitudes': p. 82, 17, *μέγα φρονεῖν* is not 'to enjoy a reputation': p. 112, 17, *ὑπέρτωται*, under his body, not under his feet: p. 132, 3, *συνεστάλλθαι* is not 'tomber': p. 146, 10, *ὑδρίας* plural: p. 168, no. 165, *τὸ ξέανον* is simply the statue (of Zeus), not 'the wooden parts of the statue': p. 208, 10, the subject of *ἐλήλεγκται* is *δ' αὐλὸς*: p. 213, 15, *ἀπλοῖς χρώμασι* is contrasted with the *ἀνθηραῖς βαφαῖς* of no. 172: p. 220, 10, *multa contulit* is not 'made many works,' but 'contributed greatly' to the progress of the art: p. 234, 7, *ἐφην* mistranslated: p. 248, 3, *βλεπόμενον* is passive: p. 280, 8, the subject of *dixit* is Euphranor: p. 286, no. 363, the translation misses the point of the anecdote: Nikias was so fond of his work that he would often ask his servants, 'Have I had my bath? Have I had breakfast?': p. 294, 7, *τὴν ὑπόθεσιν* is not 'such a subject' (that is, cavalry engagements), but 'Subject': p. 300, 12, *βλοσυρὸς* is not 'grave': p. 301, 20, *manu* and *brevior* go together, 'too small for his hand': p. 302, note 2, *κατὰ Ζεῦξιν* must mean 'of the same rank as Zeuxis': p. 336, 27, *artificis* and *Coi* together: p. 340, 15, *χρυσοῦ* goes with *Χάριτες*: p. 354, 24, *nulla in Apellis tectoriis pictura erat* is not 'il n'y avait aucune peinture à fresque d'Apelle': p. 358, 1, *quam . . . jactat* is 'on which he particularly prides himself.'

In the text: p. 101, note 3, the manuscript reading, *ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν*, is not ascertainable from the critical note: p. 111, note 4, *τὸν συλήσαντα ἱερέα* is the reading of all, not some, manuscripts, in 39 (not 31): p. 142, no. 118, no MS. reads *ἐχοντας ἐς*: p. 242, no. 297, 'Overbeck écrit locum': so do the MSS.: p. 268, no. 342, *Aristidi* is not the reading of some MSS., but a conjecture: p. 397, note 5, the readings of the better MSS. are not given: *reitoris* is printed in the text, and *pictoris* translated.

Misprints : p. 4, l. 3, read experiment ; 6, 8, quum ; 15, 37, penicilli ; 16, 10, prose printed as verse ; 19, 43, read reliqua ; 20, 1, igni ; 26, 5, marmorea nuda ; 26, 8, inimicus ; 28, 1, minii ; 28, 14, autem (not ad) ; 30, 5, VII : 34, 27, vere : 38, 14, Protopogenis ; 44, 35, illita ; 46, 22, a whole line of Plato is omitted : 48, 5, read οἶον ; 49, last, dissimillimique ; 52, 32, μὲν not μὴν ; 58, 10, παρακαλέσαιμεν ; 60, 17, ἡ ; 60, 20, -γράφαι ; 72, 6, αἰσχίστη (the misprint is taken from Overbeck). 80, 13, deesse is missing. 85, 24, read θρόνον ; 117, 22, f. r. ; 122, 22, ἀπελθεῖν ; 128, 1, κατὰ, 5, Αἰθλοφ and γυμνός, 8, Φρύγες, 9, στρατῖαν, 13, τῷ ψόφῳ, 15, προσώπου ; 132, 15, ἔψιν, 23, ὑποκρατηρίδιον ; 135, 28, inlita (not inclita as here, nor illi as on p. 158 in the same passage) ; 135, 36, σχοῦσα and ἦνπερ and ἐσύστερον ; 148, 9, χέρι (an emendation anyway for the MS. πέπλω) ; 150, 2, Thespiis ; 150, 17, πορθεῖ παλι καὶ (not πορθεῖ καὶ) ; 160, 3, θρυλούμενον, and 175, 35, διαθερούλητο ; 166, 34, ἐποίησε ; 174, 25, ἔγραψεν ; 188, 3, δεδιότες ; 188, 19, postea (not poeta) ; 192, 14, risu (misprint after Overbeck) ; 196, 22, ποιοῦντα ; 214, 18, ulmeis ; 222, 2, τό τε ; 231, 35, προσπεπατταλευμένον ; 234, 9, σύν βα ; 234, 13 nobilissimae ; 240, 23, quas ; 246, 12, addidisset ; 254, 23, ἐμφυλον ; 280, 3, est (not et) ; 298, 3, aliquando. 302, 19, vicit is missing. 306, 19, read καθήψατο ; 308, 39, ἀγνοοῦντα ; 309, 31, τε not τι ; 312, 7, τύχας ; 316, 20, quo, 27, vindicaturum ; 336, 2, effingere ; 336, 27, est is omitted. 346, 4, read ὁ δὲ ; 358, 17, obnoxia ; 358, 23, signata ; 366, 7, philosophi ; 378, 2, ἀπάγει ; 380, 5, μιν (not μὲν) ; 381, 14, Eétion ; 404, 2, τὸν ; 420, 6, attollit, 420, 15, ἐθαύμαζον, 25, τὰ πτερὰ ; 421, 26, ἀληθινῶν and ἴδιον and ζωγραφικῆς ; 341, 21, θήῃσατο.

By the omission of a stop, or the deft insertion of a comma in the wrong place, the difficulty of a sentence may be considerably increased : yet the object of punctuation is to facilitate reading, not to impede it. P. 4, 5, read permanentes, quod calx : 8, 2, fabrorum, ceræ ; 22, 14, colon after est, question-mark after facis ; 23, 29, comma after ἀπεοῦσαν ; 24, 14, εἰδῶλα ταῖς ; 26, 27, quæque, transfunduntque ; 46, 3, σκληρότητας, ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ; 46, 27, φαίνεται μὲν, ἔοικε ; 58, 110, πόθεν οὖν ; 72, 7, εἶδος· εἰκυῖαν ; 86, 18, pingeret : vel ; 122, 15, ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ ; 151, 30, nubila cristæ, et ; 208, 8, full-stop after ἀλέεγkται ; 228, 17, ζωγράφων δ ; 240, 19, comma after sodalibus ; 276, 33, θέῖσα οὐκ, 34, κακὸν πατὴρ ; 288, 1, colon after Danaen, 21, comma after Olympi ; 342, 6, ταύτης ἤρίστευσε ; 344, 20 and 40, full-stops after fuit and crinem ; 358, 17, aderat nullis ; 376, 11, τις, ὥς ; 382, 17, tabellis, utraque. In the Vitruvian passages, Choisy's extraordinary punctuation is usually retained, but not consistently.

The commentary deals at length with the historical, technical and other questions suggested by the text. It shows wide reading, and the material collected will be useful to students of ancient painting.

In the commentary : p. 7, l. 4, is obscure : we do not know that all monochromes were on marble. P. 44, no. 31, for splendor and lumen, see Seneca, Epp. 2, 9, 2. P. 65, note 4, most of the Clazomenian sarcophagi, if not all of them, are much later than the beginning of the seventh century ; p. 75, on no. 78b, it is doubtful whether any such painting existed in the time of Timachidas, and the inscription is almost certainly a fabrication ; p. 77, note 2, the metopes of Thermos must be earlier than the middle of the sixth century ; p. 88, no. 106, refers to the Iliupersis at Athens, and should be placed with no. 116 ; p. 113, note 2, the 'vase de l'Italie du Sud' is the Attic vase in Vienna ; Dike is not covered with spots ; her clothing is : p. 125, note 4, Pausanias does not say that the lyre was at the feet of Thamyris in the statue ; p. 141, note 4, if the artists had meant Theseus to be receiving a ring, they could and would have made their meaning quite clear ; p. 147, note 12, the youth on the cup Mon. 11, 33, which must be earlier than 469, is not seizing a spear but holding one ; that the subject is Achilles in Seyros is improbable : the 'hydria' in Munich is a neck-amphora, the style singularly unlike that of the Brygos painter ; the new publication in Furtwängler-Reichhold should have been mentioned, also Hauser's discussion of the Nausicaa vases, and of Polygnotos' Nausicaa, in volume 8 of the *Jahreshefte* ; the Berlin vase mentioned next is not a bf. fragment, but a rf. Nolan amphora ; p. 167, the reference to Winter unintelligible : p. 175, note 3, Glaukytes dated too late ; pp. 180-1, Robert's publications of nos. 3 and 4 should have been cited ; p. 199, note 3, the vase is Faliscan not South Italian ; p. 229, note 3, the vase belongs to the third quarter of the fifth century, not to the fourth : what is the seated type of Philoctetes found from the beginning of the fifth century ? p. 236, there is no ground for calling the terra-cotta

nurses Thracians: a Thracian nurse (tattooed) is represented on the early Lucanian fragment, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, 3, p. 308; p. 270, note 8, the principal publication of the Alexander mosaic is Winter's; p. 271, the text no. 344 does not mention *portraits* of women; p. 272, the abridgment of the passage from Quintilian makes it unintelligible; p. 360, note 2, there is no reason to suppose that the archaic representatives of the Births of Athena or Dionysos are meant to be caricatures; p. 380, note 2, doubtful if the signature of Aetion is genuine; pp. 420-21, note 1, the Polybian passages do not refer to animal painting, and the last not even to painting.

Mr. Salomon Reinach states in his preface that a second volume, dealing with the later painters, is ready for the press: we hope that its appearance will not be long delayed, but we hope also, that Mr. Salomon Reinach, or some other scholar, will make himself responsible for giving it those finishing touches which it doubtless deserves.

J. D. B.

Linguistique historique et linguistique générale. By A. MEILLET. (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, VIII.) Pp. 334. Paris: E. Champion, 1921.

Of this collection of twenty-two papers on the study of language two appear for the first time; the others, written since 1905, are collected from various periodicals. They find a unity in the point of view of the author. To the mediaeval mind, as he remarks, grammar appeared as a branch of logic, and it was only in the nineteenth century that this way of looking at the matter gave way to scientific observation and to an impartial collection of the facts. Professor Meillet would now carry the study a step further and co-ordinate these facts in accordance with certain 'règles générales que déterminent les conditions universelles de toute langue.' This can only be done in one way, by taking into consideration that language exists as a product of society, and that therefore 'les causes dont dépendent les faits linguistiques doivent être de nature sociale, et que seule la considération des faits sociaux permettra de substituer en linguistique à l'examen des faits bruts la détermination des procès' (p. 232); that is, to arrange facts in their real sequence of development. Until recently the study of language was confined in the main to the psychical factor, itself generally unconscious, and to the examination of the physical mechanism of the production of sounds; to these must be added the social factor. It is in the perpetual variation of social conditions that the author sees the causes of linguistic development, for which the physiological and mental factors, owing to their fixed nature, cannot satisfactorily account; although whether these two factors are really 'partout sensiblement les mêmes' is perhaps not so certain as he would have us believe. That it is not easy to set down the precise nature of the action of this social factor is a difficulty inseparable from the problem, but it none the less remains that the author lays himself open to the charge of invoking a factor as an explanation on no other ground than that it undoubtedly accompanies the phenomenon to be explained, avoiding the very difficult task of showing that they have any causal connexion. To many readers in this country the whole book will perhaps seem rather too deductive in method, with occasionally what looks like an attempt to force the evidence. For example, on p. 106 the possibility of the existence of mixed languages gets in the way of the view that borrowed elements can always be readily distinguished from the native in a language; but to say that they are the languages 'de populations inférieures; ils ne survivent généralement pas,' is not to get rid of the fact, and to go on to say 'au cas où ils survivraient, il est permis de se demander si l'on en pourrait faire la théorie: les faits seraient beaucoup trop compliqués,' is to set a theory above the facts upon which all theories must be based. Space does not allow us to do more than mention the fundamental principles which underlie all the author's treatment of the subject. The book is full of the most suggestive ideas, and this insistence on the social aspect of language marks a real advance, as well as the resolute aiming at the disengagement of general ideas of universal validity. Some of his views cut very deep into

generally accepted notions. If, for example, we follow him in his paper on *Les parentés des langues* in admitting that similarities in kindred languages may proceed not from a period of linguistic unity, but from parallel and independent developments due to similar tendencies in the daughter languages spoken in similar social conditions, not only are we forced to grant, as he says, that the idea of 'latin vulgaire' is a fallacy, but many beliefs as to the character of the *Ursprache* must disappear also. And certainly long and similar but quite independent developments, provided an original source of the impulse existed in the period of linguistic unity, seem in no way impossible. But all depends upon the exact nature of a 'tendance générale' (p. 74), and this it is not easy to grasp precisely, nor is it easy to see what social conditions will produce what 'tendance.' That these deep problems are raised shows that Professor Meillet has given us an important and most stimulating book, and it is because of the interest of his theoretical views that we have devoted space rather to the chapters on general questions than to the latter part of the book which treats of special subjects. But these are no less worthy of attention; in particular we would call attention to the two papers on the problems of gender and to the paper *Comment les mots changent de sens*. The last paper, *La religion indo-européenne*, shows us what is left of the once so rich contributions of comparative philology to the early religion of the Indo-Europeans after the evidence has passed through Professor Meillet's sieve.

R. M. D.

Balabish. By G. A. WAINWRIGHT. With Preface by T. WHITEMORE. Pp. 78, 28 plates. *Thirty-seventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society*. London: Allen & Unwin. 1920.

This small memoir describes the results of an excavation undertaken in 1915 by the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Society (then the Egypt Exploration Fund) under the direction of Mr. G. A. Wainwright, one of the British archaeologists working for the Fund. Prof. Thomas Whittemore, the American representative on the Committee of the Fund, was charged with the general oversight of this special work on behalf of the American subscribers, and he explains the circumstances of the excavation in a preface to the scientific part of the work, which is written by Mr. Wainwright. Tombs were excavated at various dates from the predynastic period to the New Kingdom, and yielded a fair amount of archaeological material of the usual kind for the contributing American museums.

Mirone d'Eleutere. By SALVATORE MIRONE. Pp. 136, 11 plates, containing 64 illustrations. Catania: F. Tropca, 1921.

Our knowledge and appreciation of Myron and his work have been increased in the most remarkable way in recent years; and therefore Signor Mirone's monograph upon his namesake appears very opportunely. The identifications of the Athena at Frankfort and Dresden and of the head of Perseus at Rome have placed the artistic character of Myron in a new light; and in addition to these there are numerous other suggestions and attributions, some of them less convincing, that are scattered throughout archaeological literature. The author has collected and criticised this material with great care and thoroughness, and all students of Greek sculpture will be grateful to him. If he is sometimes too ready to discover or to accept Myronic qualities on scanty evidence, this may readily be forgiven to the author of such a monograph, especially since he states the evidence in every case.

The work is clearly arranged; it opens with a discussion of the ancient authorities as to Myron's art and as to his various works, together with such extant sculptures as can be connected with them. As these are in all cases copies and not originals, the question of

the fidelity of the copies to the style of Myron is important. Signor Mirone discusses this carefully in each case; among the copies of the Discobolus he regards the new example from Castel Porziano as the most trustworthy. But he is somewhat too ready to accept an attribution to Myron where little or no evidence exists in its favour. For instance, the fine group of Heracles wrestling with the lion, which appears on many coins of the fifth century and later, may be worthy of Myron; but there is no proof that he designed it. And it is a strange oversight to associate the triple Hecate on coins of Aegina with Myron's statue, which Pausanias expressly says had only one head and one body. Again, the poor reproduction of two warriors from an Athenian lead tessera does not suggest at first sight the *ἄνδρες διεστῶτες εἰς μάχην* whom Pausanias describes as Erechtheus and Immaradus. A discussion of works wrongly attributed to Myron, or really belonging to a later Myron, is useful. Among these the drunken old woman is assigned to the Pergamene age. The dates of Myron's career are fixed. There is also a discussion of the character of Myron's art, especially in relation to the ancient criticisms quoted by Pliny. Here the much-disputed 'numerosior' is interpreted on the supposition that the Latin 'numerus' is a translation of *ῥυθμός*.

Finally, there is a list of such other works as may be attributed directly or indirectly to Myron and to his pupils; most of these are now generally recognised as showing his style. In general, Signor Mirone points out the great influence exercised by Myron on his contemporaries and successors, and even on such works as the sculptures of the Parthenon. In contrast to Phidias and Polyclitus, who were the leaders of traditional schools, Myron was especially the master of those who showed their individuality by breaking away from tradition. The plates are useful as serving for the identification of the various works mentioned in the text; but the reproductions are far from clear, especially in the case of coins.

Man's Descent from the Gods, or the Complete Case against Prohibition.

By ANTHONY M. LUDOVICI. Pp. 255. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1921.

It is a bewildering task to present to readers of this austere JOURNAL an adequate summary of the work under review, so wondrously is it compounded of Greek mythology, dietetic values and Nietzschean misogyny. Let us, at all events, make a beginning with the mythology.

The *πῶς στῶ*, whence Mr. Ludovici essays to move a universe of Puritans and Professors, is Herbert Spencer's dictum that ancient deities are traceable back to human origins. Armed with this explanation, we attack the myths of Prometheus and Dionysos. Zeus is a chief of a Cro-Magnon tribe which has seen better days and is now reduced to mixing with Aryan Greeks, people so ignorant that they cannot make fire for themselves, but must beg it of Zeus. Prometheus, desiring to usurp the place of Zeus and thinking to gain the support of the Greeks, reveals the secret. But the result is unexpected; having now fire at their disposal, the foolish Aryan Greeks use it to cook the meat which they had hitherto eaten raw; and, rolling in dyspeptic agonies, they gladly witness the righteous punishment inflicted on Prometheus by Zeus. But the evil gift once imparted cannot be recalled; and mankind suffers all the woes of malnutrition until a great teacher arises, Dionysos, who restores health and vigour by a regimen of raw meat and fermented drinks.

We confess that this bald summary hardly does justice to the fresh enthusiasm of Mr. Ludovici's style, or the rigorous detail of his method, which is seen at its best in the section on the Prometheus myth. The chapter on Dionysos is not so good; Mr. Ludovici has made a great mistake in admitting the existence of the 'miraculous or supernatural'; it suggests that after all there may be more things in Greek mythology than were dreamed of in the Spencerian philosophy. But it was with regret that we concluded these thrilling chapters of mythological discovery and plunged into the disquisition on food values and vitamins.

The general conclusion of the argument is that beer is a prime necessity of life under civilised conditions. It may be objected that this great truth needed no illustration from ancient myths, but all the same we are grateful to Mr. Ludovici for his book. Nor is the conclusion the only sane part about it. For example, the section on the value of traditional memory would be accepted by most historians nowadays: in fact, while Mr. Ludovici persistently damns the archaeologists, he does not always seem acquainted with the more recent developments of archaeological thought, and thereby misses more than one opportunity. It is waste of powder to bombard poor Max Müller and his solar myths; they have been dead this many a day; but we would have read with much interest Mr. Ludovici's views on the Zeus of Mr. A. B. Cook or on the *Eniautos-Daimon*.

Dynamic Symmetry: the Greek Vase. By JAY HAMBIDGE. Pp. 161, with 16 plates and numerous figures in the text. Yale: The University Press, 1920.

Dynamic Symmetry: A Criticism. By EDWIN M. BLAKE (*The Art Bulletin*, an illustrated Quarterly published by the College Art Association of America, Vol. III, pp. 107-127).

The system of proportion called by its discoverer, Mr. Jay Hambidge, *Dynamic Symmetry* has already been made known in this country by papers read by Mr. Hambidge before the Hellenic Society, November 10th and October 16th, 1919, and March 1st, 1921, and reported in *J.H.S.* xl. p. xxxvi, xli. p. xxi, and by a journal devoted to the subject, called *The Diagonal*, of which we have seen the first number only. An account of the theory, based upon these sources, was given also in the *Times Educational Supplement* in 1920. We have now in addition the present book, in which his system is applied in elaborate detail to the shapes and proportions of Greek vases. The author has devoted so much labour and enthusiasm to this study, his views have gained so much acceptance, and cut so deeply into the fundamentals of artistic design, that we welcome the appearance of this book, in which the theory is for the first time applied to a definite class of objects on a comprehensive scale.

Dynamic Symmetry Mr. Hambidge opposes to what he calls *Static Symmetry*. In the chapter devoted to the latter in this book he does not describe it as clearly as might be desired, but it appears that *Static Symmetry* is a system of designing the proportions of a work of art resting on squares and equilateral triangles and their inscribed and escribed circles. A notice of a paper on this system which Mr. Hambidge read before the Hellenic Society in November 1902 will be found in *J.H.S.*, xxiii. For the present purpose it is enough to say that the essence of the static system is that the underlying circles have radii in the proportions of 1 : 2 : 4 : 8 :, etc., and therefore the measurements of works of art designed on this system will be, if not confined to these ratios, at all events numerically commensurable. On this system in 1902 Mr. Hambidge was ready to analyse not only numerous natural forms but also the Parthenon. This latter point is of interest, because increased study has now shown him that this view must be abandoned, for he tells us that *dynamic symmetry*, the system which he is now expounding, was borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians in the 6th or 7th century B.C., and continued to be used by them for some three hundred years, and not only for the pottery with which the book deals, but also for their temples. 'There is no essential difference,' we are told on p. 7, 'between the plan of a Greek vase and the plan of a Greek temple or theatre, either in general aspect or in detail. The curves found in Greek pottery are identical with the curves of mouldings found in Greek temples.'

The *Dynamic Symmetry* which Mr. Hambidge now finds in Egyptian and Greek works of art, but except in nature nowhere else, is based not upon any such system of dimensions of commensurable length, but upon the proportions of certain rectangles, which he calls the (square) root-two rectangle, the root-three, and the root-five rectangle, and the 'rectangle of the whirling squares, the base of *dynamic symmetry*,' which is closely connected

with the root-five rectangle. These rectangles are those of which the shorter side is to the longer in the proportion of 1 to the square root of 2; 1 to the square root of 3, and so on: beyond the root-five rectangle the Greeks seldom went. The result of using these rectangles as a basis for design—that is, of fixing the main points of a design in accordance with a group of rectangles of one of these types and the forms based upon it—is that the proportions of the work will not be commensurable relations of numbers but incommensurable, involving, that is to say, the irrational ratios of unity to such surds as the square root of 2, and so on. What *will* be commensurable in dynamic symmetry is not the linear measurements of the work, which are not in the relations of numerical units to one another, but the areas of the squares erected upon these measurements, naturally in the corresponding ratios of 2, 3, etc. We quote *The Diagonal*, p. 48: 'Both nature and Greek art show that the measurableness of symmetry is that of *area* and not *line*. . . . That is the secret. Dynamic symmetry deals with commensurable areas.' It is thus utterly opposed to the system of design by *moduli*, according to which it may be laid down, for example, that the human figure is so many heads in height. In this book, after a few preliminary chapters, in one of which is an attempt to apply the method to the proportions of the leaf of the American maple, Mr. Hambidge gives us a series of profile drawings of vases in the Museums of New York and Boston, and their analysis according to the principles of his symmetry. Rectangles of his proportions are applied to the profiles of the vases, and it is shown that all the leading points of the profile coincide with the angles in certain arrangements of these rectangles: one vase is therefore called 'A theme in three root-two rectangles'; another, 'A theme in three whirling-square rectangles,' and so on. The groups of rectangles derived in this way from study of the vase are supposed to be those used by the original designer in planning out the shape: he worked from the rectangles to the vase, Mr. Hambidge the converse way from the vase to the fundamental rectangles.

These applications of the system show that a great deal of manipulation of the rectangles by subdivisions is allowed, and although the analysis of each vase is confined to one set of rectangles, root-two, root-three, etc., yet the division of these rectangles gives so much latitude that the reader is apt to think that with an equal amount of ingenuity almost any work of art could be got into such very elastic moulds, so much more accommodating than the bed of Procrustes, that they can be made to fit any patient really almost painlessly. And the attempt to apply the same system to the maple leaf makes the reader who is aware of the irregular development of leaves pause very seriously.

Mr. Blake's criticism in the *Art Bulletin*, which we only read after Mr. Hambidge's book, is much on these same lines. He remarks that the number of rectangles which can be used for an analysis on the Hambidge system is very great, indeed theoretically unlimited, although he very fairly does not press this point; but according to the examples shown so great that any design can be analysed in many different ways and according to any system. By figures calculated on the root-five and on the root-thirteen rectangle, and lastly on a rational system, that is on a system of commensurable linear measurements, he shows that it is possible to analyse the design of one and the same vase not only by the use of the Hambidge root-five rectangle, but also by another rectangle of the same class, the root-thirteen, and finally on a basis which is not 'dynamic' at all. Space forbids any detailed repetition of Mr. Blake's work, but any one who reads his pp. 112 to 121 will not, we think, escape from the conclusion that any vase can be analysed in any way, and that there is no proof, and can hardly be any proof, that any one of these systems was actually used, whilst from the absence of any literary evidence there is every probability that they were not. We may add that the statement that Lysippus reduced the size of the head and made it about one-eighth of the total height of the figure instead of like Polycleitus one-seventh, is directly against the use in sculpture of the dynamic system.

In dealing with the claim that dynamic symmetry is the method of nature, amongst many interesting points Mr. Blake touches on the one which we have made above about the maple leaf: he points out the great variety in the proportions of human skeletons, 'quite out of harmony with the exactness and incommensurability which distinguish dynamic symmetry' (p. 123). In the point made by Mr. Blake, that this, or we gather any system of design, has no very clear connexion with aesthetic impression, we cannot alto-

gether follow him. If it were proved that in the works of nature or in the more admirable of the works of men this or any other system were followed, we too should do well to follow it, and that without knowing why the results were pleasing. But the practical examples given by Mr. Hambidge have made it to our mind so little likely that the Greeks knew of this system or that nature uses it, that the further question need not occupy us.

Professor Rhys Carpenter (*A.J.A.* xxv. 1921, pp. 18-36) has discussed Mr. Hambidge's theory with much the same results. His mathematics are very plain, and lead to a condemnation stronger than his very moderate conclusion that Mr. Hambidge's evidence is ingenious but ambiguous, and his theory *a priori* improbable. From the artistic standpoint he observes that dynamic symmetry does not touch the important element of beauty afforded by the shape of the curves of the vase, and that it can therefore at most be only a contribution to the beauty of the whole.

In conclusion we should like to see both Mr. Blake and Professor Rhys Carpenter turn their able attention to *Ad Quadratum*, a Study of the Geometrical Bases of Classical and Medieval Religious Architecture by F. M. Lund (Batsford, 1921). The author, primarily interested in the Cathedral of Thronthjem, takes occasion to explain the design of Greek and mediaeval religious architecture in general by means of diagrams made up of the square and the pentagon, and involving, we might almost add of course, the *golden section*. By this system he analyses the beauties not only of the Norwegian Cathedral but also of the Parthenon, which yields up its secrets to Mr. Lund, just as it did twenty years ago to Mr. Hambidge's earlier system and now again does to his dynamic symmetry.

R. M. D.

The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons of St. John Chrysostom. A Study in Greek Rhetoric. By Rev. THOMAS E. AMERINGER, O.F.M., M.A. Pp. 103. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1921.

A DISSERTATION submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The Art of Transition in Plato. By GRACE HADLEY BILLINGS. Pp. 103. Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1920.

A DISSERTATION submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Recherches sur l'Éphébie attique, et en particulier sur la date de l'institution. By ALICE BRENOT. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 229^{me} Fascicule. Paris: E. Champion, 1920.

The Greek Orthodox Church. By Rev. CONSTANTINE CALLINICOS, B.D. With a Preface by the Right Rev. J. E. C. WELLDON, D.D. Pp. 60. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.

A SCHOLARLY and impartial account of the history of the Greek Orthodox Church, its geographical extent, its doctrine, worship and organisation, its present state and its relations with the Anglican Churches.

The Agamemnon of Aeschylus. Translated by RUSHWORTH KENNARD DAVIS. Pp. 70. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919.

The Redemption of Saint Sophia. By Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D. Pp. 79, with coloured illustrations. London: The Faith Press, 1919.

THIS book, which is an appeal to the British people to insist upon the restoration of S. Sophia to Christian worship (without, however, giving offence to Indian or Arabian Moslems), contains a popular account of the fall of Constantinople, the ancient monuments of the city, the history and legends of the cathedral, and the misdeeds of the Turk.

Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition. Part I. By JOHN DONOVAN, S.J., M.A. Pp. 124. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921. 5s. net.

THIS work is designed for the use of students preparing for University scholarships or taking the Honours Course in Greek at a University. The present volume presents more than half the treatise on the 'Functions and Equivalents of the Subordinate Clause and of the Parts of Speech,' together with a corresponding 'Digest of Greek Idioms.' The large collections of examples, which the author modestly claims to be 'possibly unique,' are a valuable feature.

Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst. By A. GUDEMAN. Pp. 91. Leipzig: Felix Weiner, 1920. M. 10.

A NEW translation into German of the *Poetics*, with an introduction and an explanatory index of names and subjects.

Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit. By A. HEISENBERG. (Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-philolog. u. hist. Kl., Jahrg. 1920, 10 Abh.). Pp. 144, 4 Plates.

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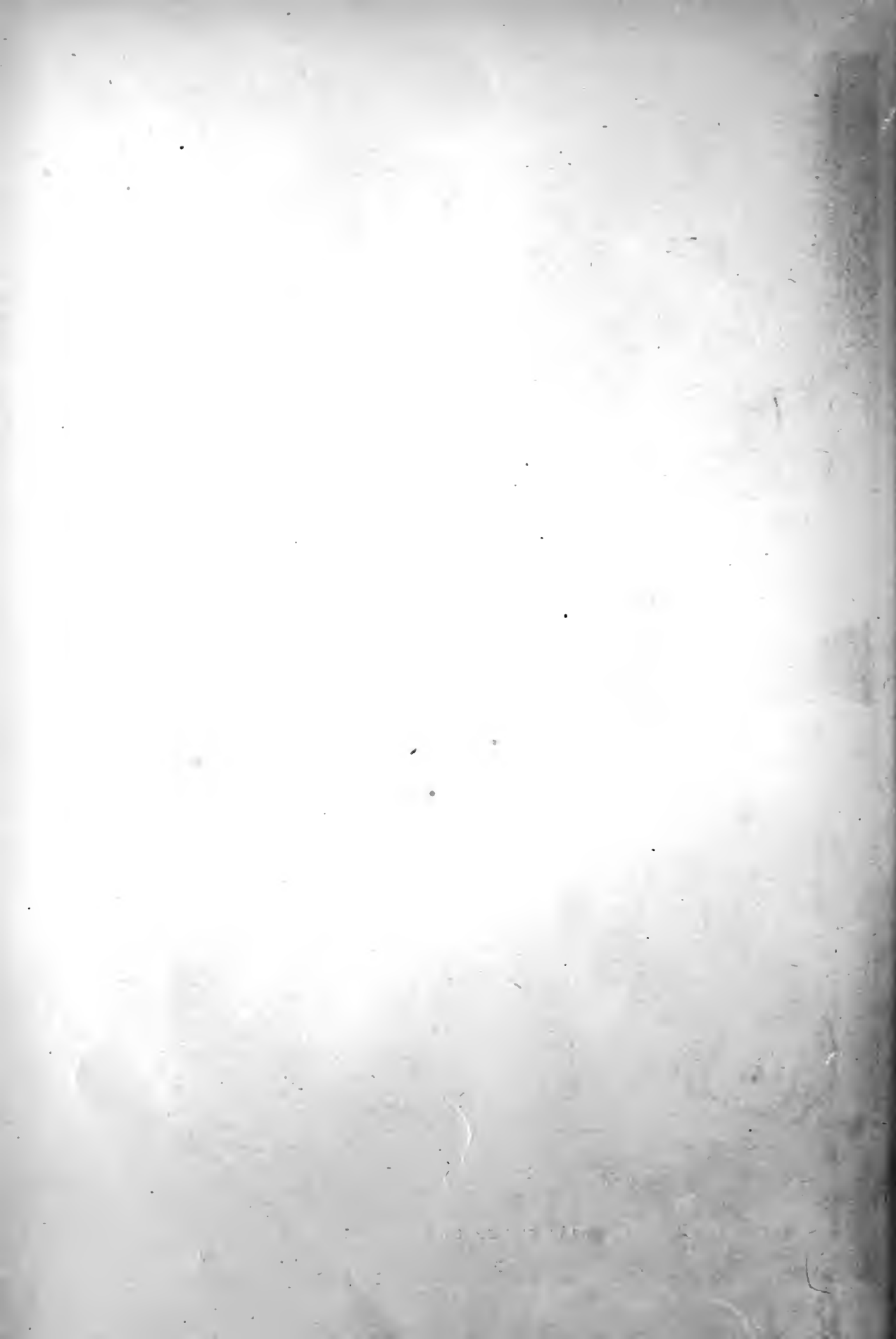


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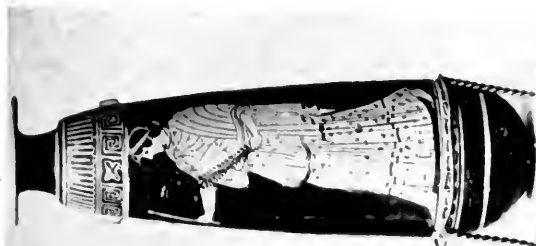
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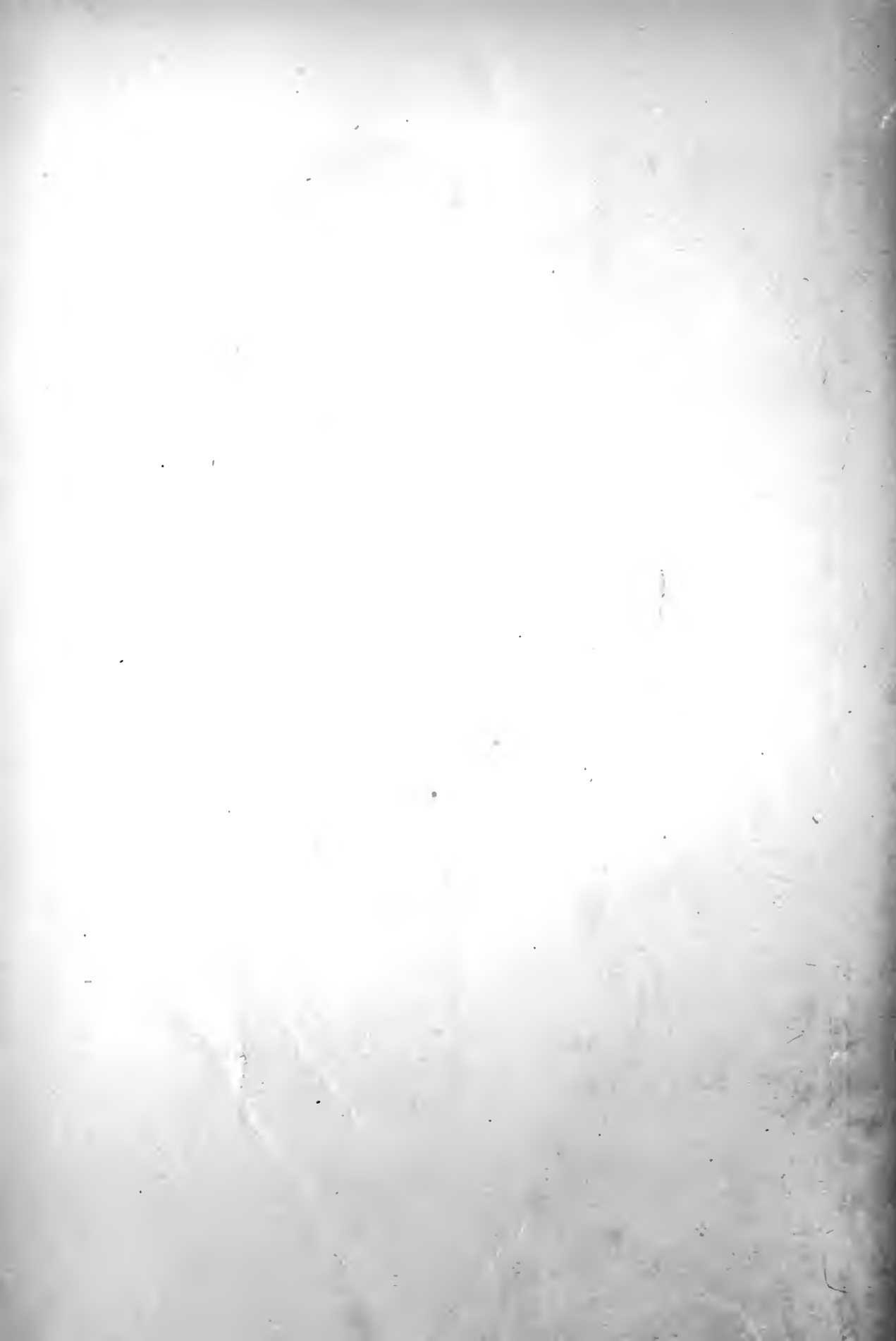


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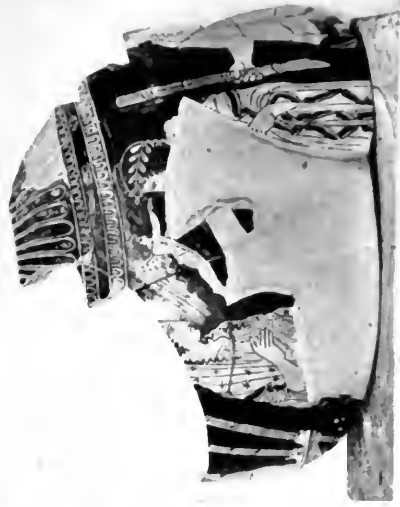
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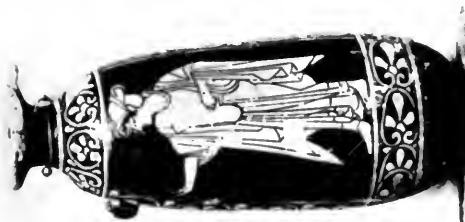


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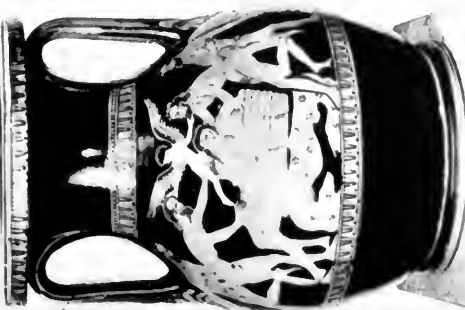
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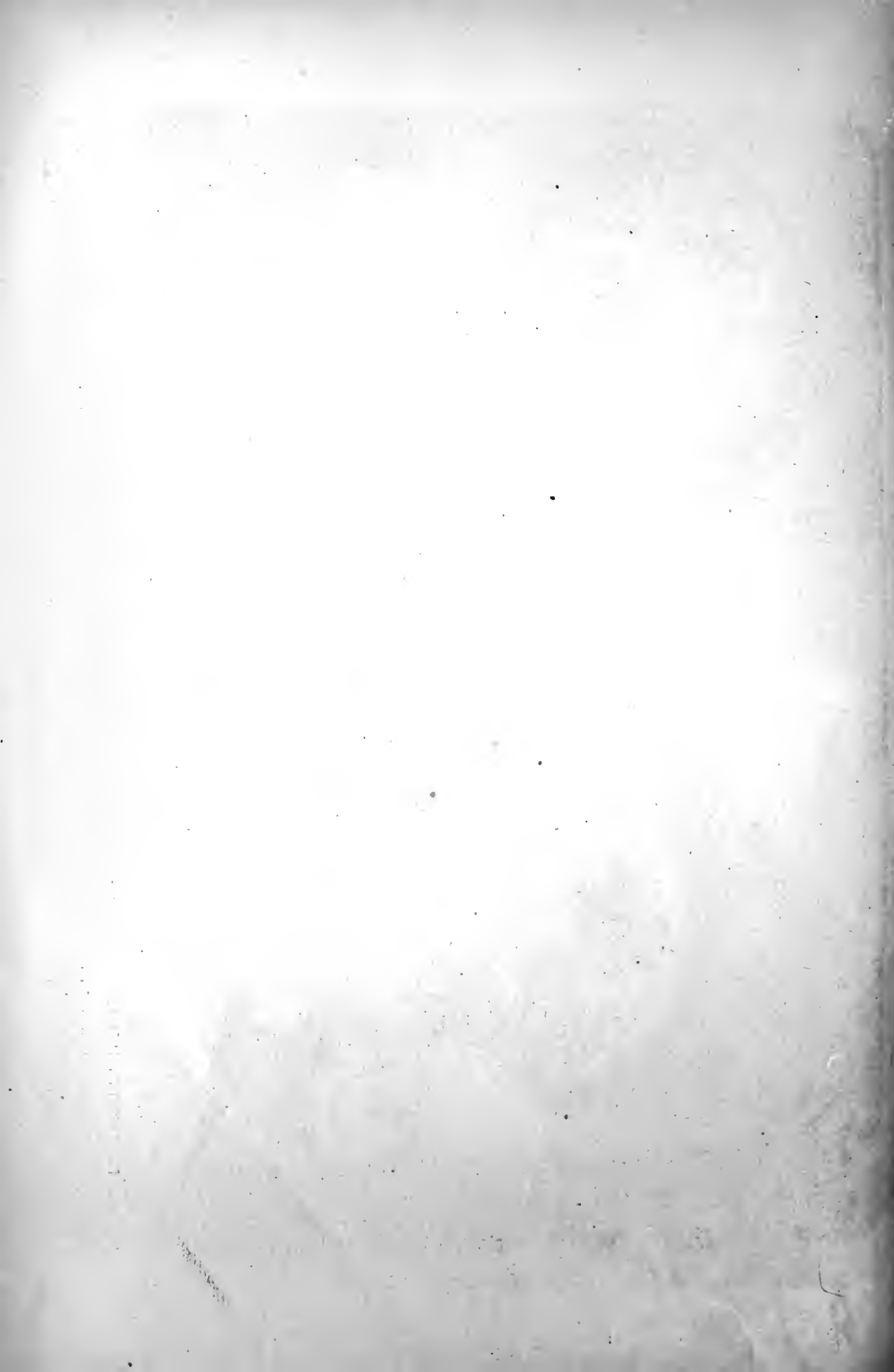


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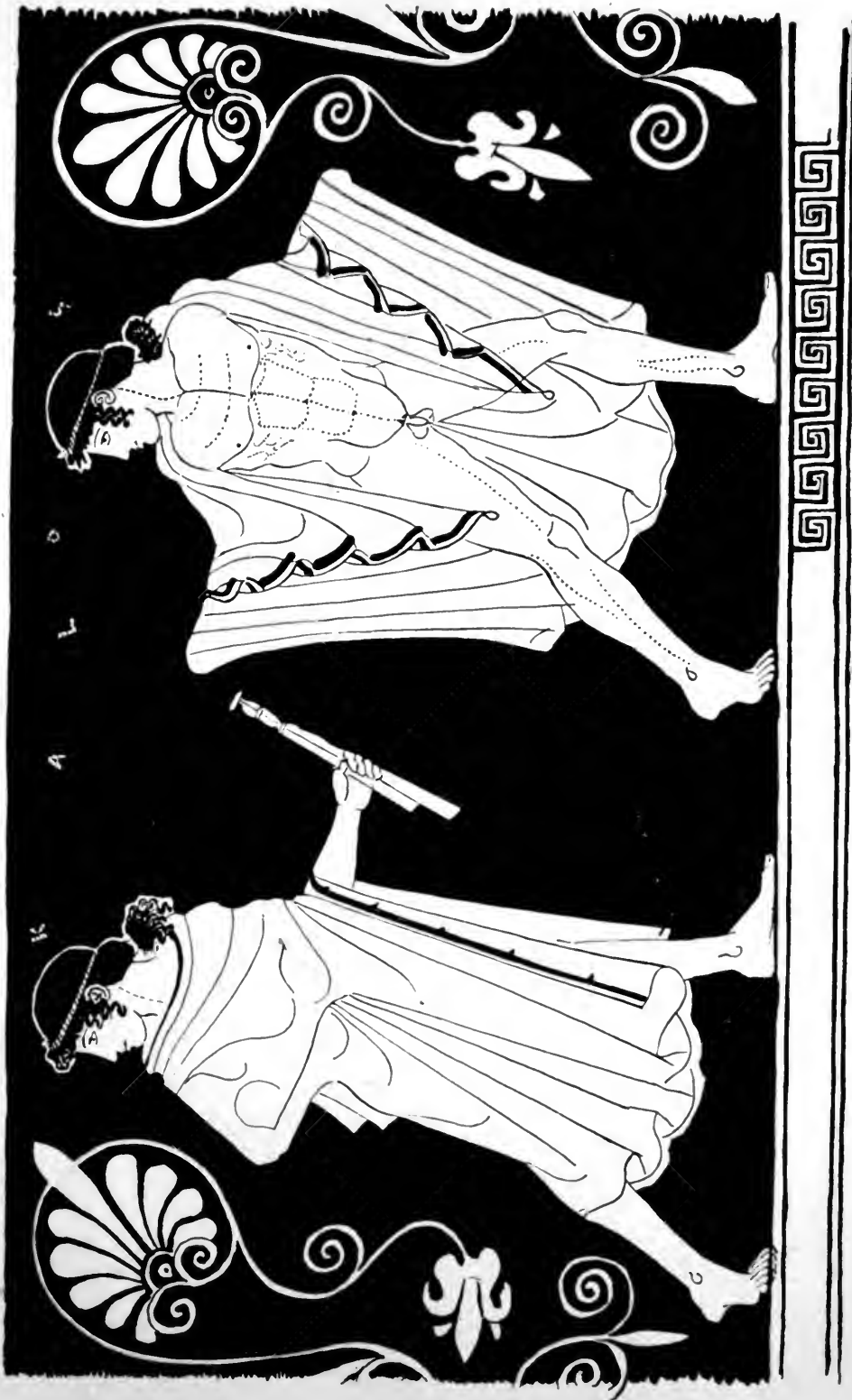
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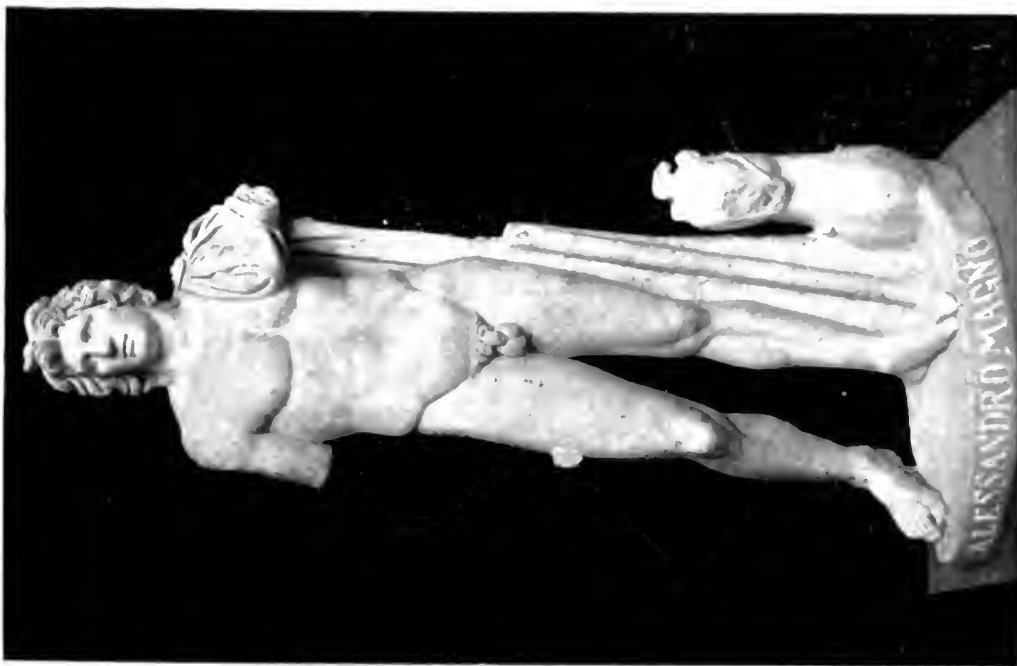
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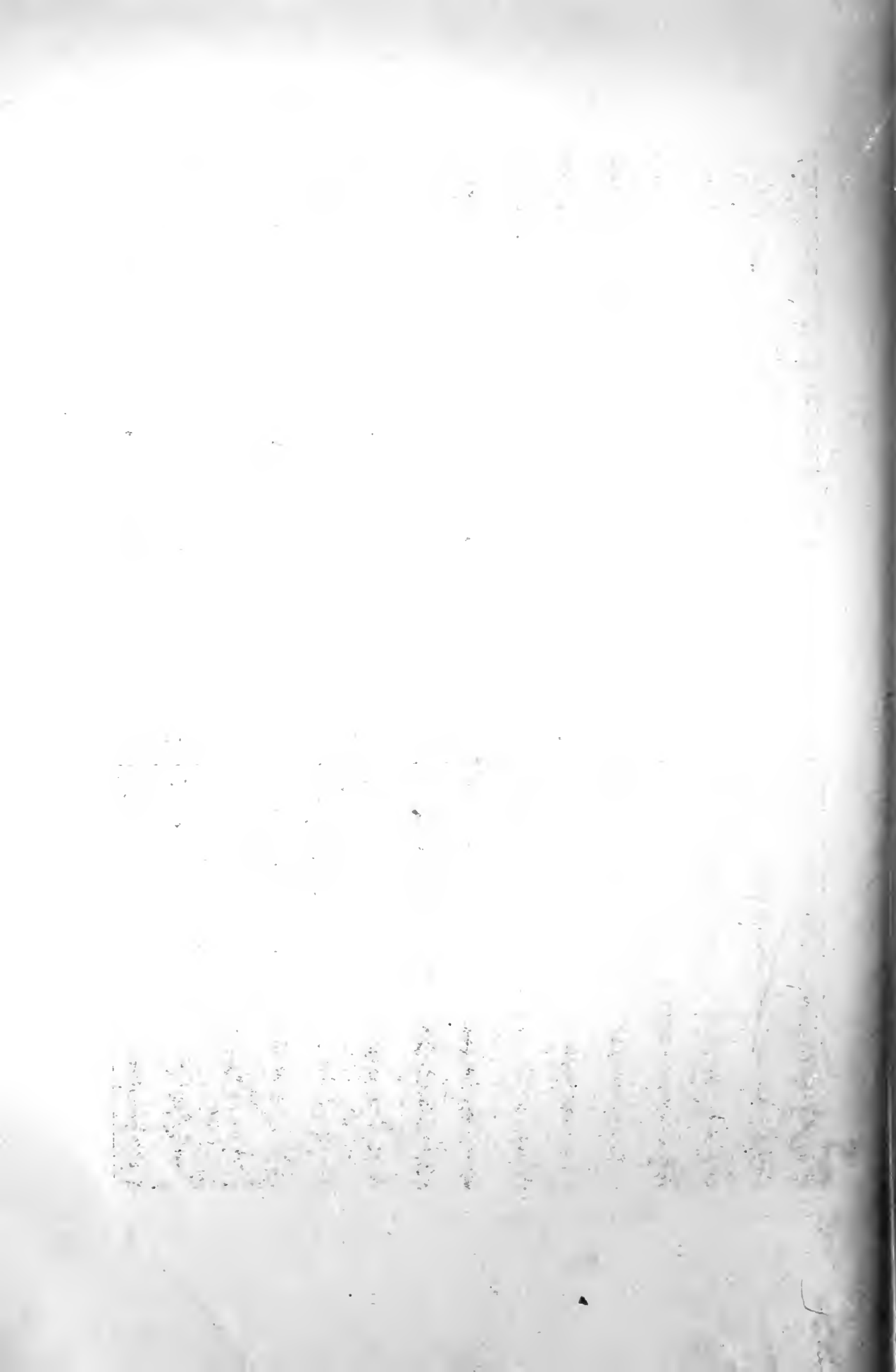


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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of Candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the Candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of one guinea, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1922—1923.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

This List includes members elected during the year 1922 only.

† *Life Members.*

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 Anderson, Prof. L. Francis, 364, *Boyer Avenue, Walla Walla, Wash., U.S.A.*
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 Lomer, Colonel Sydney, 41, *St. John's Wood Road, N.W. 1.*
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Elected 1922 (*continued*)

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 Smith, H. R. W., *St. Francis Xavier's University, Antigonish, N.S., Canada.*
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 Solon, Paul H., *16 East 41st Street, New York City, U.S.A.*
 Solon, L. V., *16 East 41st Street, New York City, U.S.A.*
 Totten, Major Geo. Oakley, jun., *2633, 16th Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.*
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SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

Elected 1922.

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Holborn, Public Library, *198, High Holborn, W.C. 1.*
Lutterworth Grammar School, *Leicestershire.*
Swansea, The Library of the University College, *Swansea.*

AUSTRALIA.

Melbourne, The Library of the High School, *Spring Street, Melbourne, Australia.*

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1921-1922

DURING the past Session the following Meetings were held :—

- (1) November 8th, 1921. Mr. H. I. Bell : *Hellenism in Egypt* (see below, p. xviii).
- (2) December 16th, 1921. Hasluck Memorial Meeting : Mr. N. H. Baynes, Prof. Lethaby and the Librarian (see below, p. xviii).
- (3) February 14th, 1922. Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith : *The frieze from Aphrodisias in the British Museum* (see below, p. xix).
- (4) March 21st, 1922 (Students' Meeting). Mr. E. J. Forsdyke : *The decorative art of Prehistoric Greek Pottery* (see below, p. xix).
- (5) May 9th, 1922. Symposium in honour of the publication by Sir Arthur Evans of the *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. Mr. Th. Fyfe, Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. D. G. Hogarth (see below, p. xx).
- (6) The ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 13th, 1922, Sir Frederic Kenyon, President of the Society, occupying the chair.

Mr. George A Macmillan, Treasurer of the Society, presented the following Report for the Session 1921-22.

The Council would be failing in their duty if they did not state in the forefront of their report that the Society's income does not yet keep pace with its activities.

Account of these is given below. The *Journal* is, as it was, the best thing of its kind : meetings are better attended : the Library grows increasingly useful : and there are nearly twice as many members as before the war. Yet the devastating fact remains that, after not unsuccessful attempts to do double work on half rations, normal expenditure exceeds normal income at the rate of £300 a year. How is this to be countered ? Appeals for large sums of money are at once unbecoming the time and unproductive in themselves. On the other hand, the public will still support with guinea subscriptions a Society which gives good value for the money—provided that they know of its existence. Here the endeavour of our present members to make our work known is our best asset. Perhaps these are the hardest years. But the Society is not, nor ever should be, a paying proposition : it is a mission, and should be served as such.

Obituary.—The Society has sustained the loss by death of two Vice-Presidents, Viscount Bryce and Professor Henry Jackson ; an original member of the Council, Mr. Ernest Myers ; and three hon. members, Monseigneur Duchesne, Dr. K. F. Kinch and Professor Carl Robert. Special mention should also be made of the death of the following :—Dr. Henry Boyd, Mr. H. T. Gerrans, the Earl of Halsbury, Mr. Walter Morrison, F. W. Sanderson, Prof. F. B. Tarbell and the Rev. A. W. Upcott.

TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF PADUA
FROM THE
SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION
OF HELLENIC STUDIES, LONDON



THE Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies desires to offer its most sincere congratulations to the University of Padua on the occasion of the celebration of its seven hundredth anniversary. In common with all English scholars, it recognises the debt which England in the Middle Ages owed to the famous Universities of Italy. In particular it recalls that it was at Padua, and within the first generation after the foundation of the University, that the first translation of the Problems of Aristotle was made by Pietro d'Abano, and that for a long period Padua was the home of Aristotelian philosophy. When the study of Greek was reviving in England in the sixteenth century, it was to Padua that many Englishmen went in order to acquire the new learning.

To Italy, as the land of the Renaissance, all lovers of Greek Studies are for ever bound in affectionate remembrance. Italy, the home of classical tradition and the fountain-head of modern art, has always held a peculiar place in the heart of England: and the political events of the nineteenth, and again of the twentieth century have drawn yet closer those bonds of sentiment, which are more powerful than the bonds of interest. It is therefore with warm sympathy that the Society greets your ancient and honourable home of learning on this auspicious occasion, and wishes you a future no less distinguished than the glorious past which you now commemorate.

On behalf of the Council,

Fredens G. Høyer

April 1922.

President.

Changes on the Council.—The Council have recently nominated Miss Jane Harrison, Prof. J. L. Myres and Mrs. S. Arthur Strong for election as Vice-Presidents of the Society, and Mr. S. Casson, Mr. M. Holroyd and Prof. A. C. Pearson as members of the Council.

Relations with other Bodies.—The Society has renewed its financial grants to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. It views with pleasure the revival of the activities of both Schools after the war. Interesting publications are expected from them both, the long promised *Excavations at Palaikastro* from the School at Athens, and the reproduction in facsimile of a seventeenth-century artist's sketches of the pictures of his day, from the School in Rome.

The friendliest relations continue with the sister Society for the promotion of Roman studies. It is not always realised that the resources of both Societies at Bloomsbury Square are open to any member of either. A small restriction, framed in the interest of both bodies, is that a member of one Society is entitled to borrow three books only at a time, while members of both are allowed six and upwards.

The Council has recently addressed to the University of Padua on the occasion of its 700th birthday an expression of the Society's congratulations and goodwill. (A reduced facsimile of this address appears on the opposite page.)

Messrs. Baynes, Beazley, Bell, Forsdyke, Gardiner, Last, Livingstone, Sheppard and Ure have been appointed by the Council as a sub-Committee to deal with the question of the further popularisation of the classics. They are working with a similar Committee appointed by the Roman Society.

- (1) **Meetings.**—On Tuesday, Nov. 8th, at the first General Meeting of the Society for the session, Mr. H. I. Bell read a paper on 'Hellenism in Egypt.'

Taking as his text the earliest extant non-literary Greek papyrus, dated in 311-10 B.C., which, he showed, was typical of the conditions of that period, he propounded the problem: given a minority of Greek settlers, not organised in *poleis*, but scattered among an alien majority and subjects of a monarchy which, however much coloured by Hellenic culture, was Egyptian and absolute in character, what would be the fate of Hellenism in such surroundings? On the one side he illustrated the Hellenism of the settlers, on the other their Egyptian environment and the syncretism of religion and culture which was already beginning in the third century B.C., and traced the gradual strengthening of the Egyptian elements and the simultaneous weakening of the distinctively Greek elements throughout the Ptolemaic period. The Roman conquest brought some advantage to Hellenism, since the Romans differentiated sharply between Greeks and Egyptians and gave the former a privileged position. In particular the status of the *metropoleis* tended to rise and to be assimilated in fact, though not in law, to that of the Greek *poleis* or Roman *municipia*, until at the beginning of the third century they actually received senates. But the Hellenism of Roman Egypt was largely superficial; the population was much mixed, the culture did not go very deep, and a steady economic decay was threatening the position of the middle classes, and with that the existence of Hellenism. The general adoption of Christianity in the fourth century was a further blow to Hellenism, which to the Christian Copts was, on the one hand, pagan, on the other the expression of an alien culture, the representative of the Byzantine Government; on both grounds detested. Relics of Hellenic culture survived all through the Byzantine Age, but grew ever slighter, and the Greek language was maintained largely because it was the instrument of administration. Hence, after the Arab conquest it soon perished, and Egypt became once more merged in the Oriental world from which the genius of Alexander had separated it.

- The proceedings closed after observations by the President and Mr. N. H. Baynes.
- (2) On Tuesday, Dec. 16th, was held the first Students' Meeting of the Session. This was devoted to the memory of the late F. W. Hasluck, sometime Assistant

Director of the British School at Athens, and a frequent contributor to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

After Mr. Penoyre had given particulars of Mr. Hasluck's posthumous works and sundry personal recollections of their author, Mr. N. H. Baynes contributed a short address on the development of East Roman asceticism. He accentuated the importance of the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius as the great classic of Christian monasticism, and sketched the rise of the cœnobitic ideal with Pachomius and its full development with S. Basil. He traced the strength of the eremitic conception of asceticism in Palestine, and from the legislation of Justinian on monasticism turned to the period of the Iconoclast Controversy and to the rise of Athos as the centre of the ascetic devotion of the Eastern Church. He sketched the constitutional changes in the government of the monastic republic and attempted in a few words to characterise the contemplative spirit of orthodox asceticism—its supreme goal the beatific vision of God.

From such a paper there emerged the real need for a general study of monasticism in the East Roman Empire. The works (*inter alios*) of Leclercq, Holl, Clarke, Tougaard, Dobroklonsky, Nissen, Lake and Meyer had laid the foundations, the publication of Byzantine typika by Dmitrievsky, Petit and Delehayé and of hagiographical documents especially by Kurtz and Clugnet had provided new material: the time seemed ripe for a comprehensive treatment. Was there no British scholar to attempt the task?

Prof. Lethaby then showed by means of the lantern the long and beautiful series of photographs taken by Mr. Hasluck of the monasteries of Mount Athos. He emphasised throughout the natural, homely and unacademic character of these buildings, in contrast with the mechanical productions of the later Russianising period.

The communications were listened to by a large audience, and the whole meeting was a not unworthy memorial of a fine scholar and loved personality.

- (3) The second General Meeting was held on Tuesday, Feb. 14th, 1922, when Mr. Arthur Smith described the frieze from Aphrodisias in the British Museum.

The recently acquired friezes from the Gymnasium at Aphrodisias (and other sculptures from Aphrodisias now at Constantinople) showed the climax of the decorative system which is based on the running scroll of acanthus. This could be traced from its first origin in the fifth century B.C., when the acanthus leaf was added to the palmette. During the two following centuries the scroll form was increasingly used, especially in architectural decorations, and on Hellenistic vases. At the beginning of the Roman Empire the pure acanthus scroll was fully developed. The addition of half figures to the flowers belongs to the Augustan period (Vitruvius, VII. 5, 'Coliculi dimidiata habentes sigilla'). In the first and second centuries the half figures became whole figures, and groups, surrounded by acanthus scrolls, from which they tended to free themselves. In its various forms, especially the acanthus scroll pure and simple, and the acanthus combined with figures, the decorative motive could be traced in many later arts, *e. g.* Coptic, Early Christian, Byzantine, Buddhist, and Celtic.

The President, Prof. Lethaby, and Sir Henry Howorth offered observations after the paper.

- (4) On Tuesday, March 21st, 1922, at the second Students' Meeting, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke showed the lantern slides in the Society's collection illustrating the Decorative Art of Prehistoric Greek Pottery. Besides the better-known Cycladic and Minoan vases, the subjects chosen represented the art of the newly identified Helladic culture of the Greek Mainland and the neolithic pottery of Thessaly and Macedonia. The principles of decoration and their development were followed in each case, and particular attention was given to the influence of material upon the shape and ornamentation of the vessel.

This communication, like others given at previous Students' Meetings, was based on the Society's existing resources for illustration. It is proposed that at the

next Students' Meeting Mr. Forsdyke's paper should be followed by a similar exhibition of the slides which the Society has accumulated covering the black-figured period of vase-painting. Some of these are very good and seldom used.

- (5) The third General Meeting of the Session was held on May 9th, 1922. This was convened to celebrate the publication of the first volume of the long expected work on the Palace of Minos by Sir Arthur Evans.

Mr. Arthur Smith (V.P.) having taken the chair, Prof. J. P. Droop gave a general summary of the contents of the book, illustrated by lantern slides. These included all the plates in colour, the beauty and interest of which were highly appreciated by a crowded audience.

Mr. Th. Fyfe then offered some observations on Minoan architectural mouldings in stucco. Starting with the remarkable libation table from Psychro, which he characterised as not merely a table but an architectonic motive adapted to a table, he proceeded to illustrate and discuss the stone slabs and rosettes from Knossos. A peculiar feature of these was the careful finish given to back as well as front. In a stone seat from Phaestos he saw a direct suggestion of the triglyph and metope of the Greek Doric frieze. Perhaps the highest achievement of the Minoan architect, in the treatment of detail, was to be found in a tiny mould, apparently for casting a series of juxtaposed brackets, showing double or ogee curves. Mr. Fyfe concluded by showing various slides illustrating architectonic motives in frescoes from Knossos.

Dr. H. R. Hall contributed observations on the relations between the Minoan civilisation and ancient Egypt. He said he should confine himself on this occasion to an appreciation of what Sir Arthur Evans had done in this book to make plain to all the fact of the early cultural connexion between Crete and Egypt, and the history of its development up to the time of the Hyksos king whose inscribed alabaster lid had been found at Knossos. Dr. Hall said that Sir Arthur's volume stopped short just at a most interesting time, for the most recent discoveries had thrown new light upon the history of the ancient world of the Near East, and we now had not only Egyptian civilisation impinging from the beginning on that of Greece, but the Hittite and the Babylonian were now apparently preparing to invade the Aegean sphere, and even the Assyrian, if we could trust the asserted results of certain recent researches, was at a quite early period so active in Asia Minor as to alter our ideas of the early history of that part of the world and open up various new, if still vague, possibilities. However this last novelty might eventually turn out, there are certainly now possibilities of an artistic and cultural connexion between the Aegean area and Babylonia in the third millennium B.C. which will have to be reckoned with seriously, though it may be found to confine itself to the realm of relief sculpture and glyptic: Babylonian influence in the fact of the use of the clay tablet possibly had always been apparent, and if one idea could come from Mesopotamia to the Aegean, so could others. Egypt, therefore, though not challenged in her pride of place as the most potent overseas influence on prehistoric Greek culture, would seem to have been not the only influence of the kind.

One could not be too sufficiently grateful to Sir Arthur Evans for the illuminating way in which he had presented the facts of this Egyptian connexion and influence, even if perhaps we were inclined to doubt whether he was not inclined occasionally to be *aegyptiis ipsis aegyptior*. His unqualified acceptance of M. Weill's view of M. Jondet's stated discovery of ancient moles and other now submarine works in the harbour of Alexandria as relics of a prehistoric Aegean monumental harbour might seem to be a case in point: one would like to have some confirmation of these works and definite assurance of their date before treating them as proof positive of a great and flourishing commerce between Greece and Egypt in early days which demanded harbour-works for its accommodation, whether built by Egyptians or Aegeans, of gigantic size. The connexion is a fact; but is the date of these works certain?

One thing Sir Arthur had done for the first time. He had brought Minoan Greece to the assistance of Egypt in the matter of disputed chronology. His work on the Middle Minoan period showed very clearly the difficulty in accepting Professor Petrie's view of an enormously long period of time between the XIIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasty; the Cretan evidence was all in favour of the shorter chronology. So Cretan discovery repaid the help which in the past Egyptian research had given in the task of establishing the approximate chronology of prehistoric Greek civilisation.

After further remarks by Mr. D. G. Hogarth the chairman summed up the debt which the Society, and archaeologists generally, owed to Sir Arthur Evans for his long and successful labour, and offered him warmest congratulations on the fine instalment now published.

The Joint Library and Photographic Collections.—The following figures indicate the scope of the Society's work in this department for this session and its predecessor.

	1920-21	1921-22
• Books taken out	1,382	1,520
*Books added to the Library	315	311
Slides hired	6,125	8,343
Slides sold to members	621	1,299
Photographs sold to members	127	555
Slides added to the collection	213	820

The Council acknowledge with thanks recently published books from H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the British Academy, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the Carnegie Institution at Washington, the Catholic University of America, the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, Bryn Mawr College, the University Presses of California, Cambridge, Chicago, Illinois, Manchester, Oxford, Princeton, and Wisconsin, C. H. Beck, G. Bell & Sons, B. H. Blackwell, E. de Boccard, Chatto & Windus, Jacob Dybwad, Fontemoing et Cie., P. Geuthner, Walter de Gruyter & Co., S. Hirzel, A. Holder, Henry Holt & Co., C. Klincksieck, E. Leroux, Macmillan & Co., Marcus & Weber, F. Meiner, Methuen & Co., J. Murray, P. Noordhoff, Töpelmann, H. Vaillant-Carmanne, Weidmann, Williams & Norgate, and Zanichelli.

The following have also kindly given books: Prof. A. Andreades, Signor G. Bagnani, Rev. J. E. Barton, G. Bernadakes, E. M. Blake, Dr. A. Boëthius, R. C. Bosanquet, W. H. Buckler, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Prof. E. Drerup, J. Ebersolt, Sir Arthur Evans, E. J. Forsdyke, W. S. George, D. A. Glenos, H. R. Hall, G. F. Hill, Sir Frederic Kenyon, B. Lavagnini, Dr. T. S. Lea, J. F. Leutz-Spitta, M. Montgomery, Prof. H. J. Rose, C. T. Seltman, J. Sölch, Prof. F. Studniczka, Prof. J. Svoronos, W. W. Tarn, F. J. Tausend, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, Dr. Wiegand, Dr. A. Wilhelm, and Dr. Paul Wolters.

Accessions of special interest are: the complete publication of the *Excavations at Assos* (one of many donations from the Library's most generous helper, Mr. W. H. Buckler), the first instalment of Dr. Wiegand's monumental *Baalbek*, Bieber's *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, and Sir Arthur Evans's *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. The Loeb classical texts are now complete to date.

One of the most valuable assets of the Library is the large number of periodicals which it receives. Of these there are now over 100 in working order and up to date. The last fascicules of the more important are conveniently arranged for consultation.

Attention is also drawn to the Society's collection of nearly 3000 pamphlets, containing material difficult to find elsewhere. They are catalogued, both under author and subject, in the General catalogues.

* Exclusive of periodicals.

The combined detailed index of the Volumes of the *Journal* subsequent to Volume XVI, 1896, is in progress and will, it is hoped, be ready to appear in an early issue of the *Journal*. The Society owes this important index to the protracted labours of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Smith. The outline index of the whole *Journal* (articles and authors) maintained in the Library has been brought up to date. The promised index of the separate articles in the *in honorem* collections is far advanced.

The whole of the collection of negatives has been checked, and put into new envelopes and boxes on a plan which makes every individual negative readily accessible. As this collection consists of upwards of 10,000 items, ranging from tiny films to glasses two feet square, the work involved has been considerable. Practically the whole of this has been carried out by Members of the 'Association of Friends of the Library.' This body, recently formed with the Hon. Librarian as Chairman, is, as the name implies, a band of voluntary helpers coming for the most part of one day a week. The members are: Miss G. Ainslie, Mr. and Mrs. E. P. Baily, Mrs. Barge, Miss A. Bruce, Miss C. Chapin, Miss J. E. Chitty, Mrs. Culley, Miss Geare, Miss E. M. Marriage, Mrs. Grafton Milne, and Miss G. Nash. Miss K. M. Horsfall, Miss C. M. Knight and Mr. Paul Hopkinson have given occasional valued help.

The Society at large is probably unaware of how much it owes to this association. Year by year the scale of operations grows at Bloomsbury Square, and it is not too much to say that no section of the work could be adequately maintained and developed without the help given by its members. Their presence also makes it possible for the Librarian to get away occasionally.

By far the most notable addition to the collections during the year has been a munificent donation of over 1000 topographical negatives from Mr. Shirley C. Atchley, of Athens. The larger part of these were taken in Northern Greece and the Peloponnesus, and they embrace several little known sites. The President transmitted to Mr. Atchley the sincere thanks of the Council and the Society for this important gift. Prints of all the negatives have now been added to the collections.

Donations are also acknowledged from Miss G. Ainslie (the donor of a valuable collection formed by her father, the late Mr. R. S. Ainslie, a life member of the Society), Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, the British School at Athens, Prof. H. E. Butler, the Colchester Museum, Mr. Talfourd Ely, Messrs. E. S. Forster, R. H. Forster, C. R. Haines, P. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, M. Holroyd, and Mr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne.

Considerable additions have been made to the Sets of Slides for popular lectures. The Societies owe a debt to Mr. G. H. Hallam, who has organised the preparation of six sets, mainly on Roman subjects. These are: *The Roman Forum*, *The Campagna*, *Horace*, *Pompeii*, *Sicily*, and *Roman Britain*. They have the distinctive feature of being accompanied by a typed lecture written by a recognised authority on the subject. The Hellenic Society proposes to add similar lectures to its existing Sets on *Athens*, *Olympia*, *The Prehellenic Age*, *Architecture*, *Sculpture*, and *The Ancient Theatre*.

The Council approves of this departure and begs Mr. Hallam to accept their thanks for the successful pains he has given to starting the movement.

The quarto collection of pictures and photographs is now at last accessible (in the Librarian's room on the top floor). In any collection of this kind the first need is a good framework. The essentials are that any one photograph must be immediately accessible, the subject order must be strictly observed and the framework must be susceptible of indefinite expansion. These conditions are now fulfilled.

The Society greatly misses the skilled and generous help of the late F. W. Hasluck in this department. Year by year on his travels he maintained the habit of buying up photographs of interest and presenting them for this collection. We shall be grateful if members on their travels will bear this point in mind. Good topographical views and photographs of works of art in local museums are specially

asked for. Members presenting photographs will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are intelligently treated and properly cared for.

The collection of larger drawings will be proceeded with as soon as the negatives at present occupying the space can be moved to their permanent home.

Finance.—The Statement of Accounts for the financial year ending December 31st, 1921, apart from the sum of £100 written off for depreciation of stock of the *Journal*, shows a deficit of £42. Considering the difficulties of the times, this must be considered a satisfactory result. The outstanding feature on the expenditure side is, of course, the cost of production of the *Journal*, and it seems improbable that the cost can be appreciably reduced in the near future. The special sales of back volumes to members amounted to a considerable sum (hence the depreciation above referred to), which, *while materially reducing the deficit balance this year, will not be forthcoming again*. In order to compare the present financial position with pre-war days the following tables showing the principal items of expenditure and ordinary sources of revenue have been prepared :—

(a) The years 1913 and 1914 (normal conditions in pre-war days). (b) The year 1919 (when costs were highest and income at its lowest. In this year the *Journal* was issued in one part only, and hardly anything spent on the Library). (c) The years 1920 and 1921 (showing the results to date of the efforts made, beginning in December 1919, to overcome the difficulties caused by the war).

EXPENDITURE.

	(a)		(b)	(c)	
	1913	1914	1919	1920	1921
Journal.....	563	662	685	992	1,172
Slides and Photographs....	71	63	42	71	93
Rent	205	205	205	205	205
Salaries	267	279	272	376	417
Grants	150	150	100	110	120
Various Expenses	239	213	204	506	389
Library	84	90	21	142	138
	<u>£1,579</u>	<u>£1,662</u>	<u>£1,529</u>	<u>£2,402</u>	<u>£2,534</u>

INCOME.

	1913	1914	1919	1920	1921
Journal (Sales and Advertisements)	160	154	111	172	462
Slides and Photographs....	74	75	38	73	110
Subscriptions (Members and Libraries).....	1,223	1,156	923	1,542	1,593
Rents	75	85	201	110	180
Dividends	62	68	91	81	100
Interest.....	9	12	—	45	41
	<u>£1,603</u>	<u>£1,550</u>	<u>£1,364</u>	<u>£2,023</u>	<u>£2,486</u>

(The above figures do not include donations to the War Emergency Fund or to the Endowment Fund.)

The total amount of Investments of Receipts for Life Compositions and Donations to the Endowment Fund was :—

1913	1914	1919	1920	1921
£1763	£1954	£2054	£2054	£2554

During the session a generous donation of £100 was received for the Endowment Fund from a member who prefers to remain anonymous.

The number of members and subscribing Libraries now on the books shows an increase of nearly 500 as compared with 1913, and this in spite of the heavy loss caused by the war.

For the last two years it must be remembered that the policy has not been to give less and charge more, but to revert to pre-war standards without increasing the Annual Subscription. So far this has been justified by the results; donations to the War Emergency Fund, increase of membership and increased subscriptions by some of the old members have made it financially possible to carry on, and funds already in hand are sufficient to meet this year's requirements, although the deficit will no doubt be heavier than last year.

It is obvious that, if the Society is to be successfully carried on, much will have to be done in the near future to secure additional income. It is desirable to increase rather than restrict its activities, and to this end the assistance of all members is earnestly invited either by the introduction of new members, increasing subscriptions wherever possible, or by sending donations to the Endowment Fund.

The President in the course of his address laid stress on the loss to the Society occasioned by the death of two of its Honorary Members, Monseigneur F. Duchesne and Dr. Hermann Diels. He concluded by moving the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by Mr. J. M. Paton, and, being put to the Meeting, carried unanimously.

The President then announced the following elections and re-elections:—

ELECTIONS.

As Vice-Presidents : Miss Jane Harrison, Prof. John Linton Myres, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong.

As Members of the Council : Mr. Stanley Casson, Mr. Michael Holroyd, Prof. A. C. Pearson.

RE-ELECTIONS.

The Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The following Members of Council : Rev. Prof. H. Browne, Mr. A. M. Daniel, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Prof. J. P. Droop, Mr. Talfourd Ely, Mr. Th. Fyfe, Prof. P. Ure.

Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, Assistant-Director of the British School at Rome, then gave to the Meeting Professor Amelung's account of his recovery in the *magazzini*, or basement, of the Vatican of a number of sculptures which included several dating from the finest period of Greek art. Mrs. Strong's letter to *The Times*, giving particulars of this discovery, is, by courtesy of the paper, here reproduced.

' This notable find is the result of researches undertaken by Professor Amelung, who has resumed his work on the third volume of the great official catalogue of the Vatican sculptures, and it is thanks to his liberality and to that of the Director-General of the Pontifical Galleries, Professor B. Nogara, that I received permission to make the best pieces known in England.

' Though the majority are only fragments, they are all remarkable for the freshness of their surface, and owing to the absence of all restoration are especially valuable to artists and archaeologists desirous to study Greek technique. They include the head of a Lapith from a metope of the Parthenon, which doubtless found its way from Athens to Rome by way of Venice; the best replica so far known of the head of the Pheidias Anacreon, a famous work that once stood on the Athenian Acropolis; the replica, on a colossal scale, of the head of the Hermes *propylaios* of Alcamenes. The Hermes stood "at the gates" of the Acropolis, and there is much to commend Professor Amelung's view that the original was probably itself on this large

scale, so as not to be dwarfed by its monumental surroundings. A fourth fragment connected with the Acropolis is the fresh and delicately carved head of Athena from a copy of Myron's "Athena and Marsyas."

' Besides these four pieces, all representative of the best Attic art in Athens, there is much else from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. I may note a fine fragment of a head which, from its close likeness to the Nike of Olympia, must be attributed to Paionios of Mende; further, there are excellent replicas of the heads of the "Apollo on the Omphalos"; of one of the Charites from the group of the sculptor Socrates; of the Sappho, corresponding to the "portrait" of the poetess on the coins of Lesbos. Of the so-called "Phaon" in Madrid, we have among the new Vatican fragments a replica of such beauty that it is difficult not to believe it to be an original of Pheidias date.

' Of great interest is a new variant of the Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles, in which the vase stands on the ground, and the drapery is treated in long straight, almost archaic folds. Among examples of the later Greek schools are a replica of the head of the "Silenus carrying the infant Dionysus"; a life-like rendering of the "baby with the goose," the original of which stood in the Temple of Cos and was described by the poet Herodas; a charming head of Eros (?), of the Hellenistic period, another example of which exists at Petworth; a fragment of quite peculiar interest representing a composite divinity armed with sword, trident, and thunderbolt, while an eagle perched on a huge cornucopia fills up the composition on the left.

' Among the reliefs are two of fourth-century date: one a well-preserved *stele* of a lady with her maid (more probably Demeter and Persephone); the other a better and earlier replica (it might be a fragment of the original) of the left-hand portion of the relief of the Muses in the Chigi Palace at Siena.

' A number of Greek and Roman portrait heads are mostly of types so far unknown. Among the numerous Roman portraits one of the time of Tiberius representing a middle-aged man deserves special attention for the amazing freshness of the technique and the great beauty of modelling and silhouette.

' The preservation of these antiques is certainly due to the fact that when the Vatican collections were formed only statues and busts that could be used in a decorative manner were appreciated and selected for exhibition, while the examples now described, being of too fragmentary a character to attract the restorer, were tossed aside and left for more than a century buried under veritable rubbish heaps.

' I should like, in conclusion, to mention likewise the finds recently made under the auspices of the Italian Government at Formia, where six statues of early Imperial date, all admirably preserved, were recently unearthed. One with the head of a young Julio-Claudian prince of singular beauty, who resembles Augustus in his prime, reproduces the body of the famous Lansdowne Hermes; another—a togate statue—is, again, of an unknown Imperial personage; the pose and every detail of costume and drapery are those of the Augustus from the Via Labicana. At Ostia, among a number of fragments which had evidently been destined to the lime-kiln, there was found this winter an admirable statue of a young girl, figured as Diana, with individual and characteristic features. According to its discoverer, Dr. Calza, it may be of the Flavian period; whatever its date, it is certainly one of the most beautiful works of art found in recent excavations.

' Altogether it is many years since our knowledge of classical art has been so enriched as by the Roman and other Italian finds of the last twelve months.'

The warm thanks of the Meeting were accorded to Mrs. Strong for her communication, and to Professor Amelung and Professor Nogara for the materials, including the admirable slides, generously placed at her disposal.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1921, TO DECEMBER 31, 1921.

Expenditure.		Income.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Rent	205 5 0	By Members' Subscriptions—	
" Salaries—		Arrears	39 14 6
Librarian and Secretary	180 0 0	1921	1206 5 0
Assistant Treasurer	50 0 0		
" Librarian	187 17 3	Members' Entrance Fees	1245 19 6
Typist, &c.		" Libraries' Subscriptions—	37 16 0
Insurance	417 17 3	Arrears	28 6 0
" Miscellaneous Expenses	5 6 5	1921	239 7 0
" Stationery	64 18 2		
" Postage	90 18 7	" Life Compositions brought into Revenue	267 13 0
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members,	80 16 10½	Account	42 0 0
Notices, &c.	86 14 11	" Dividends on Investments	100 7 1
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library	60 15 0	" Interest on Deposit Account	40 19 5
Premises		" Contributed towards Rent by British School	
Grants—		at Athens and British School at Rome for	
British School at Athens	100 0 0	use of Society's room	20 0 0
" Rome	10 10 0	" Rent of room occupied by the Royal Archaeo-	
Excavations in Beotia	10 0 0	logical Institute	10 0 0
		" Rent received from Lady Roberts' Field	
Balance from Library Account	120 10 0	Glass Fund	60 0 0
" Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies'	137 15 2	Contributed by the Society for Promotion	
Account		of Roman Studies	40 0 0
Depreciation of Stocks of publications	709 12 6	" Rent from English Jersey Cattle Society ...	50 0 0
	100 12 0	" Donations to War Emergency Fund	4 10 0
		" Sale of 'Excavations at Phylakopi'	2 0 0
		" Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo-	
		graphs Account	17 11 5
		" Balance	142 5 5½
			<u>£2081 1 10½</u>

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1921.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable	777 0 8	By Cash in Hand—Bank	838 17 7
" Subscriptions paid in advance	45 17 0	Assistant Treasurer	18 5 10
" Endowment Fund	907 11 0	Petty Cash	24 11 11½
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)			881 15 4½
" Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture)	394 18 6	" Debts Receivable	285 15 1
Total Received		" Investments (Life Compositions)	1854 3 11
" Life Compositions and Donations—		" (Endowment Fund)	800 0 0
Total at Jan. 1, 1921	2261 14 0		2654 3 11
Received during year	31 10 0	Less Reserved against Depreciation	100 0 0
	2293 4 0		2554 3 11
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Ac- count—Members deceased	42 0 0	" Emergency Fund—Total Expended	426 0 0
	653 15 6	" Valuations of Stocks of Publications	346 12 0
Surplus Balance at Jan. 1, 1921	2251 4 0	" " Library	350 0 0
Less Deficit Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	142 5 5½	" Expenses 'Strabo' carried forward	1 1 10
	511 10 0½	" Paper in hand for printing Journal	42 13 0
Surplus Balance at December 31, 1921			
	£4888 1 2½		£4888 1 2½

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

NINETEENTH LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY
SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.

1921—1922

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by R.S.

NOTE.—The supply of the original Catalogues (1903) is now exhausted, but copies may be had on loan. The accession lists can still be purchased on application.

Adam (R.) De Herodoti ratione historica, quaestiones selectae sive de pugna Salaminia atque Plataeensi.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. Berlin. 1890.

Aeschylus. Four plays of Aeschylus, rendered into English verse by G. M. Cookson.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5. Oxford. 1922.

Alexandria. Rapport sur la marche du service du musée pendant l'exercice, 1919–1920.

11 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. Alexandria. 1921.

Allinson (F. G.) *Translator.* See Menander.

Alviella (G. d') Une initiation aux Mystères d'Eleusis dans les premiers siècles de notre ère.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. Brussels. 1902.

Ameringer (T. E.) A Study in Greek Rhetoric: the stylistic influence of the second sophistic on the panegyric sermons of St. John Chrysostom.

9 × 6. Washington. 1921.

Andersen (I.) *Translator.* See Poulsen (F.).

Andler (C.) Le pessimisme esthétique de Nietzsche, sa philosophie à l'époque Wagnérienne.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. Paris. 1921.

Andréadès (A.) Henry Monnier. [Byz.—Neugriech. Jahrb. 2.]

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Berlin. 1921.

Andréadès (A.) Le montant du budget de l'empire byzantin.

10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Paris. 1922.

Andréadès (A.) La vénalité des offices, est-elle d'origine byzantine?

9 × 6. Paris. 1921.

Apollodorus, The Library. With English translation by J. G. Frazer. [Loeb Class. Libr.] 2 vols.

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. 1921.

Aratus. See Callimachus.

Aristotle. *περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς.* Ed. H. H. Joachim.

9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6. Oxford. 1922.

Aristotle. The works of Aristotle translated into English.

De caelo: de generatione et corruptione. Ed. J. L. Stocks.

9 × 6. Oxford. 1922.

- Aristotle.** Lehre vom Beweis. (German translation of the *Analytica Posteriora*. By E. Rolfes.)
 $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$. Leipsic. 1922.
- Aristotle.** Lehre vom Schluss (German translation by E. Rolfes.)
 $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$. Leipsic. 1922.
- Aristotle.** Politik. (German translation by E. Rolfes.)
 $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$. Leipsic. 1922.
- Assos.** Investigations at Assos: drawings and photographs of the buildings and objects discovered during the excavations of 1881-3. By J. T. Clarke, F. H. Bacon, R. Koldewey. Edited by F. H. Bacon.
 $21\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$. London: Cambridge, Mass.: Leipsic. 1902-1921.
- Aufhauser (J. B.)** Das Drachenwunder des Heiligen Georg. See Byzantinisches Archiv. 5.
- Ausonius.** With an English translation by H. G. E. White. Vol. II. With the Eucharisticus of PAULINUS PELLAËUS. [Loeb Class. Lib.]
 $6\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$. 1921.
- Bacon (F. H.)** *Editor*. See Assos.
- Bailey (C.)** *Editor*. See Lucretius.
- Bang (W.)** Ueber die Herkunft des Codex Cumanicus. [Preuss. phil.-hist. Sitzber. Feb., 1913.]
 $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Berlin. 1913.
- Barber (E. A.)** See Powell (J. V.).
- Barton (J. E.)** A short guide to reading and notes on works of art.
 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Wakefield. 1915.
- Bauer (P. V. C.)** *Editor*. See Stoddard Collection.
- Baumeister (A.)** Bilder aus dem griechischen und römischen Altertum für Schüler.
 $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Munich. 1889.
- Baumgarten (F.) Poland (F.) and Wagner (R.)** Die Hellenische Kultur, 3rd edition.
 10×7 . Leipsic. 1913.
- Baumstark (A.)** Geschichte der syrischen Literatur.
 $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$. Bonn. 1922.
- Beaman (A. G. Hulme-)** Twenty years in the Near East.
 9×6 . 1898.
- Berlin.** Archaeological Institute. Jahresbericht über die Thätigkeit des K. Deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
 $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Berlin. 1895-1904, 1907-08, 1911-12.
- Berlin.** Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der antiken Münzen, I, II, III (1).
 $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Berlin. 1888-9.
- Berlin.** Handbücher d. Königl. Mus. zu Berlin. Museum für Völkerkunde. Buddhistische Kunst in Indien. Von A. Grünwedel.
 $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$. Berlin. 1900.
- Berlin.** Handbücher d. staatl. Mus. zu Berlin. Die griechische Skulptur, von R. Kekule von Stradonitz. Dritte Auflage bearbeitet von B. Schroeder.
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TOPOGRAPHY EXCAVATIONS AND MONUMENTS IN SITU.

- c 187 Map of the Aegean basin to illustrate the Bronze Age (Hall, *Ancient history of the nearer East*, p. 32).
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- c 96 " plan and section of latrine (*B.S.A.*, 8, p. 85).
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- c1890 **Omalo**, view towards the gorge of H. Rumeli.

- 2618 **Corfu**, the harbour and castle.
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- c 253 **Patmos**, Convent of the Apocalypse, S.W. angle.
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- c1896 **Thera**, ancient temple, now church.

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- c2023 **Alyzia** (Ac.), Kastri near gate in wall.
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 C 94 Mycenaean pottery from Rhodes (Marshall, *Discovery in Gk. Lands*, fig. 7).
 A 103 „ sherd with plant forms (Perrot and Chipiez, 6, pl. 21), coloured slide.
 C 352 „ vases from tomb 502 (B.S.A. excavations, 1921).

FRESQUES.

- A 54 **Cnossus**, 'the saffron gatherer,' M.M. II (Evans, *Palace*, I. pl. 4), coloured slide.
 A 56 „ Painted plaster with lily sprays, M.M. III (*id.*, pl. 6), coloured slide.
 C 212 „ Painted stucco band spiraliform design (*id.*, fig. 269).
 C 216 „ fresco pillar shrine with double axes (*id.*, fig. 319).
 C 220 „ fresco (restored): the 'ladies in blue' (*id.*, fig. 397).
 A104-7 (4 slides), coloured adaptations of Cnossian frescoes.
 A 102 **H. Triada**, Sarcophagus (Dussaud, *Les civ. préhell.*², pl. D), coloured slide.
 A 101 **Tiryns**, a boar hunt (Dussaud, *id.*, pl. C), coloured slide.

SCULPTURE MODELLING, &c.

- A 108 Statuette of snake goddess, Cnossus (Hall, *Aeg. Arch.*, frontispiece), coloured slide.
 A 58 „ „ „ 2 views (Evans, *Palace*, I. frontispiece), coloured slide.
 C 98 Gesso relief of an arm holding a horn [?] (Spearing, *Childhood of Art*, fig. 283).
 C 219 faience plaque: cow and calf (Evans, *Palace*, I. fig. 367).
 C 215 „ 'sacral knots' Mycenae (*id.*, fig. 309).
 C 214 „ 'sacral knot' of ivory, Cnossus (*id.*, fig. 308).
 C 157 „ miniature votive dress with panels of crocus on skirt (cf. *B.S.A.*, 9, p. 82).
 C 218 „ chalices, Cnossus (Evans, *Palace*, I. fig. 357).
 C 156 Steatite vase from Hagia Triada, a warrior chief (cf. Dussaud, *Les civ. préhell.*², p. 69).
 C 97 „ head of a bull from Cnossus (Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, fig. 87a).
 C 211 Columnar lamp of purple gypsum (Evans, *Palace*, I. fig. 249).
 A 55 Inlaid gaming board (Evans, *Palace*, I. pl. 5), coloured slide.
 C 217 „ „ „ detail (*id.*, fig. 338).
 C 95 'Boxer vase' from H. Triada (Hall, *Aeg. Arch.*, pl. 16).
 C 350 Psychro libation table restored (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I. fig. 465).
 C 356 Terra-cottas from Mycenae tomb 513: grotesque animals.

 C 232 Gold cups from Vaphio: bull-taming scenes in relief.
 C 87 „ earring (Schuchhardt, *Schliemann*, fig. 171).
 C 88 „ work from Phaestus (Baikie, *Seakings*, pl. 32).
 C 89 „ 'garter-holder' (Schuchhardt, *Schliemann*, fig. 266).
 C 90 „ hair pin (*id.*, fig. 172).

ENGRAVED GEMS, SIGNET RINGS, &c.

- C 213 Bull captured while drinking at tank, Cnossus (Evans, *Palace*, I. fig. 274).
 C 359 The snake goddess with double axe between lions, Mycenae.
 5926 The snake goddess, (a) from Crete, (b) and (c) from Mycenae.
 C 208 'Mourning scene for divine youthful hero,' Mycenae (Evans, *Palace*, I. fig. 116).
 3303 'The goddess in sacred ship arriving at her shrine,' Mochlos (Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 52).

- c 361 Athlete and bull, Mycenae.
 c 360 Animal forms, Mycenae.
 c 209 Cretan script : a sealing of M.M. II period with portrait head (Evans, *Palace*, I. fig. 206).

ARCHITECTURAL MISCELLANEA.

- c 426 Reconstruction of an Etruscan temple (outline drawing only).
 c 383 Early forms of palmette (Meurer, *Formenlehre*, p. 56)
 c 384 Later forms of palmette (*id.*, p. 303).
 c 391 Relief from house of Eumachia (*id.*, p. 210).
 c 392 Scroll from Forum of Trajan in Lateran (*id.*, p. 414).
 c 394 Acanthus frieze from Bouyes, 12th century (*id.*, p. 415, fig. 14).
 c 393 Scroll from Baalbek (Wiegand, *Alt. Denk. aus Syria*, pl. 76).
 c 396 Frieze with acanthus and animals from Pompeii.
 c 414 Coptic frieze animal forms in scrolls (Wulff, *Alt. chr. Bildw.*, 211).
 c 419 Christian panel from Porto (Marucchi, *Mon. d. Mus. Crist. Lat.*, pl. 4).
 6365 The Radcliffe Library, Oxford. From a drawing (Fergusson, *Mod. Arch.*, p. 290).
 6366 St. George's Hall, Liverpool. From a drawing (*id.*, p. 307).

SCULPTURE, &c.

* = taken from original or adequate reproduction.

- c 227 Archaic Medusa,* from pediment at Corfu.
 6699 Archaic male torso,* B.M.
 c 225 Relief (Athens, 1922) group of athletes * (*J.H.S.*, 42, pl. 6a).
 c 224 „ „ wrestling* (*id.*, pl. 6b).
 c 226 „ „ ephedoi with animals * (*id.*, pl. 6c).
 c 223 „ „ chariot scene * (*id.*, pl. 7a).
 c 222 „ „ playing hockey * (*id.*, pl. 7b).
 c 221 „ „ chariot scene * (*id.*, pl. 7c).
 5569 Thasos, archaic relief * from : Hermes and a nymph.
 5570 „ „ „ „ three nymphs.*
 1009 The Elgin Marbles in Park Lane, 1810. Sketch by Cockerell (*J.H.S.*, 36, p. 299)
 1220 „ „ „ The temporary Elgin room. Drawing by Prior (*id.*, p. 350).
 1017 „ „ „ „ „ By Archer, circ. 1817 (*id.*, p. 352).
 5984 Draped female torso * from Claudos (Crete). B.M.
 c 163 Diadumenos from Delos,* head of.
 5565 Lycian monument * : the tomb of Payava. B.M.
 6700 Standing discobolos.* B.M.
 c 233 **Aphrodite** * (Medici type). Rockfeller Coll.
 1021 **Athena**, head by Euboulides.* Ath. Nat. Mus. 234 (Dickins, *Hell. Sculpt.*, fig. 44).
 5921 **Eros** with the bow.* B.M.
 1043 **Nike** of Euboulides.* Ath. Nat. Mus. 233 (Dickins, *Hell. Sculpt.*, fig. 43).
 6197 **Zeus**, head of * : Otricoli collection.
 B9959 Relief from tomb of Haterii : detail showing workmen on crane (from a drawing).
 5713 „ „ Arch of the Goldsmiths, Rome.* Severus and Julia Domna sacrificing.
 B9628 „ of C. Julius Saecularis.* Mus. Terme (Altman, *Röm. Grab-altäre*, fig. 179).
 B9911 „ of a warrior leading a horse.* Corstopitum (*Report*, 1908, p. 40, fig. 11).
 B9931 „ Mithraic relief found at Hulme, 1821 * (*Roman Fort*, pl. 12).
 B9966 „ Capture of a daughter of Leucippus.* Basilica near Porta Maggiore, Rome.
 c 380 Aphrodisias frieze, B.M. Siren and Seasons.*
 c 381 „ „ „ Hunting, etc.*
 c 382 „ „ „ Cock fight : Birdcage.*

- c 373-6 (4 slides). Pilasters from *Thermae of Aphrodisias* * (cf. Constant. *Mus. Cat.* 493).
 c 400 'Tomb of Theodorus.' * S. Apollinare in Classe.
 c 418 Pierced decorative panel; cross between birds: scroll work.*
 c 412 Early Christian Tomb in Lateran * (Marucchi, *Mon. d. Mus. Crist. Lat.*, pl. 32).
- c 170 Porphyry group of four knights.* St. Mark's, Venice.
 c 171 " " " " " "
 c 166 Byzantine relief of a bull.* Acrop., Athens.
- 6200 **Augustus**,* head of.
 c 164 **Demosthenes**,* head of.
 6364 **Harpocrates**, head of. B.M.
 1063 **Plato**,* bust (*J.H.S.*, 40, p. 191). Vat. Mus.
- 7185 Bronze statuette of Apollo * dedicated by Ganyaridas. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 29, p. 156. fig. 7b).
 c 86 " Etruscan statue. The 'Orator,' * Florence.
 c2014 " Hermes from Anticythera,* head of.
 c 229 " statue of a boy,* Met. Mus., New York.
 c 237 " horses *: St. Mark's, Venice.
- 7886 Terra-cotta Etruscan funerary group.* B.M.
 c 238 " Apollo (6th century) from Veii.* Front view.
 c 239 " " " " " * Back view.
 7119 " Tanagra figurines *: three ladies in outdoor dress.
 c 423 " Etruscan masks * (B.M., *Cat. Vases*, I. (2), pl. 18).
 7189 " foodwarmer in the form of a shrine * (*J.H.S.*, 29, p. 164).

VASES.

* Denotes a photographic view of the whole vase from the original.

- c 150 Interior of B.F. dish: a vineyard (drawing only).
- 2187 Crater in Louvre: above, the Argonauts: below, the Niobids (outline drawings).
 c 141 Cantharos *: a lady spinning. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, pl. 5).
 c 143 Oinochoe *: children playing with dog and hoop. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, p. 148).
 c 144 Lehythos *: garden scene. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, pl. 3).
 c 146 Oinochoe *: children with cart. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, pl. 5).
 c 149 Lid of Pyxis *: ladies at play. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, pl. 3).
- B9915 'Samian' bowl. *Colchester.
 B9937 " " *Manchester (*Roman Fort at Manchester*, pl. 99).
 B9938 " " *Manchester (*id.*, pl. 26).
 B9949 " " *Castleshaw.
 B9953 " " *
 B9936 " pottery. *Ellesmere Collection (*Roman Fort at Manchester*, pl. 99).
 B9954 Grey ware * (*Roman Fort*, pl. 98, 1).

PAINTING AND MOSAIC.

- c 234 **Beit Jibrin** (Samaria). Greek painted tomb. Interior of main chamber.
 B9963 **Boscotrescase** fresco, garden scene.
 B9967 **Rome**, Tomb near Porta Maggiore, fresco 'the Twelve Apostles.'
- 5930 **Naples**: Mosaic of fine style: priestess, or votary, holding offering.

THE MINOR ARTS.

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| C 159 | Tetradrachm of Thurium with head of Athena in fine style. |
| B9968 | Bronze mooring-ring from Lake Nemi. |
| 3560 | „ prow of Roman galley : Actium. B.M. |
| B9932 | „ and silver objects (<i>Roman Fort at Manchester</i> , pl. 43). |
| B9935 | „ flagon (<i>id.</i> , pl. 95). |
| B9934 | „ fibulae, etc. Ellesmere Collection (<i>id.</i> , pl. 89). |
| C 421 | „ mask of Roman parade helmet from Ain Tab. B.M. |
| C 422 | „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ (B.M., <i>Cat. Bronzes</i> , 877). |
| C 151 | Iron helmet with vizor mask from Newstead (Curle, <i>Roman Frontier Fort</i> , pl. 29). |
| C 152 | Brass vizor mask (<i>id.</i> , pl. 30). |
| C 378 | Lead coffins from Sidon. B.M. |
| B9608 | „ „ „ „ Colchester. |
| 3381 | Silver armlet from Sierra Morena (<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1912, p. 65). |
| 3382 | „ torc from Sierra Nevada (<i>id.</i> , p. 66). |
| C 413 | Ivory diptych of Areobindus (Molinier, <i>Ivories</i> , pl. 3). |
| C 415 | Coptic ivories (Wulff, <i>Alt. chr. Bildw.</i> , pl. 27). |
| C 420 | Bookcover : the legend of S. Gall. (Molinier, <i>Ivories</i> , pl. 11). |

MISCELLANEA.

- C 228 California University; stage of Greek theatre.
C 424 The hoplite race (drawing).
C 425 A stadion race (drawing).
- B9933 Phalera (soldier's clasp) (*Roman Fort at Manchester*, pl. 88).
B9951 Pila muralia. Castleshaw.
B9952 „ „ from Oberaden.
B9950 'Uppers' of Roman shoes, Castleshaw.
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- 7885 Modern Greek life : children with mule.



NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, *υ*, *αι*, *ου*, *ου*, by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ον* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-πος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-πος*, as *Λέαγρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Momonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus :

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Εφ. 'Αρχ. = 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Gollitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

- I.G.* I. = Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
 II. = „ „ aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
 III. = „ „ aetatis Romanae.
 IV. = „ Argolidis.
 VII. = „ Megaridis et Boeotiae.
 IX. = „ Graeciae Septentrionalis.
 XII. = „ insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
 XIV. = „ Italiae et Siciliae.

Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

() Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, Ᾱ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

() Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

THE END OF THE ODYSSEY

THE course of Homeric criticism during the last twenty years or so has not indeed given us any grounds for thinking that unanimity on fundamental questions is likely to be reached in the near future, but it has accomplished one thing. It is possible now to think and speak of Homer as a man who was born at a definite fortunate moment, ate, drank, and even slumbered, composed two long epics much in the same way as other men of genius have composed great works, had his joys and sorrows, triumphs and disappointments, and ultimately died—it is possible to think and speak of him thus without being considered absurdly simple or simply absurd. And so one can venture to approach the problem of the last section of the *Odyssey* in just the same way that one would approach a similar literary problem in a later age of the world, taking it for granted that the poet lived and worked under ordinary human conditions. In this paper I assume without discussion the truth of the unitarian view that Homer was the author of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey* (at least to ψ 296), and also that the *Odyssey* is the later of the two; I assume that in composing them he was aided by the art of writing; and I assume that he lived about 900–850 B.C. at latest.

The end of the *Odyssey*, suspected as unhomeric by two of the leading ancient critics—'Αριστοφάνης καὶ 'Αρίσταρχος πέρας τῆς 'Οδυσσεΐας τοῦτο [sc. ψ 296] ποιοῦνται—though not formally athetised, has in modern days been condemned by such an accomplished and discreet critic as Mr. Allen. The case against it is essentially literary, and therefore in some measure subjective, but it appears to me to be extraordinarily strong. Essentially literary, though some points in language and metre have been alleged in its support. They are not very numerous and they are not very serious. There are few considerable sections in either of the two epics in which a critic who is in quest of diasceuaasts cannot find 'marks of lateness,' and in some other sections such points are much more abundant than in this. As all these difficulties or similar ones recur elsewhere in the poems, they need not be discussed here.¹

¹ For instance, the impossible form *μαχεόμενοι* in ω 113 meets us in λ 403 *μαχεόμενον*, where the same passage occurs. The right reading is clearly *μαχεόμενον*, which was changed to suit posthomeric metrical canons. The incorrect *ῆην* (twice in this section ψ 316, ω 343) should be amended to *ῆεν*, as also in τ 283; in each of these three cases it occurs as the first foot of a verse and at the end of a clause followed by ἀλλά or δέ, and the emphatic position enables the trochee to do duty for a spondee (in Δ 808

there is no metrical 'necessity' for *ῆην*, and Mr. Monro pointed out that *ῆεν* should be read there). A contracted genitive from a nominative in -εύς ('Οδυσσεύς ω 398) happens to be unique; but here the only question which really arises is whether it is a case of contraction or of synizesis, a particular case of a general question which pervades the poems. I should be inclined to read 'Οδυσεύς. In the same way 'Ερμείας might well be restored in ω 1, ε 54 and elsewhere; the form is preserved in Ε 390.

Language and metre, then, furnish no good evidence even for suspecting that ψ 297 to the end of ω could not have come directly from Homer's hand. It is the literary art that must decide, and it seems to me to be decisive. (1) We have, in the first place, ψ 310-343, the story of his wanderings which Odysseus relates to Penelope, and which reads like a table of contents to Books ϵ - μ ; and then ω 125-185, Amphimedon's recapitulation of the story of the wooing of Penelope and all that had happened since the landing of Odysseus in Ithaca. Mr. Allen is very properly severe on both these passages.² I do not know that I should go as far as he does in urging against them the generalisation that Homer nowhere epitomises himself. I do not see why he might not have epitomised once or twice if an artistic effect was to be gained. And has he not epitomised himself in η where Odysseus (244-296) recapitulates the narrative of ϵ and ζ ? And in ρ (108-147) where Telemachus epitomises for his mother the events of his journey which was told in γ and δ ? Homer may deprecate the practice

αὐτὶς ἀριζήλως εἰρημένα μυθολογεῖν,

but this means that he does not propose to repeat a recapitulation for the benefit of the *same audience*. Odysseus will not repeat in μ for Alcinous and his court the story he had already told them in η . Homer's art does not exclude recapitulations as such, but he knows how to make them interesting. The tale of Amphimedon is intolerably tedious, while it is impossible to see that such a conscientious ἀνακεφαλαίωσις as ψ 310 κ.τ.λ. is useful or requisite in the economy of the poem. This summary is a smooth and fluent exercise in hexameters, with one redeeming feature, the vividness of ν. 342,

*τοῦτ' ἄρα δεύτερον εἶπε ἔπος ὅτε οἱ γλυκὺς ὕπνος
λυσιμελὴς ἐπόρουσε.*

(2) The epitome of Amphimedon is part of the Psychostasia, which was athetised by Aristarchus and is certainly the weakest part of the ending of the *Odyssey*. The talk between Agamemnon and Achilles, before the souls of the suitors arrive, is irrelevant, if not insufferable.³ These two heroes had been together in the under-world for many years; Odysseus had spoken with them in λ ; and now they are made to meet as if it were for the first time. Mr. Allen, like others, has rightly insisted on this incongruity, which cannot be defended by a parallel like the Teichoscopia. I cannot agree with him, however, that a 'second Nekyia' is in itself unhomeric on the ground that 'Homer does not repeat himself in this way; there is no case of such a repetition of a motive once used.' After all, in the *Iliad* there is a *μονομαχία* in Γ and another in H . A great deal depends on the precise significance of a 'motive.' I cannot see why Homer might not have taken his audience with him on two different occasions into the world of ghosts for two completely different purposes. He had described that world in λ and made it known; and if, for some reason

² *The Canonicity of Homer*, in *Cl. Q.* vii. 4, Oct. 1913.

it (*Die Odyssee als Dichtung*, p. 187) is quite unconvincing.

³ The attempt of Mr. Rothe to defend

connected with his argument, it was convenient for him to revisit it afterwards, is it quite fair to call this a repetition of a motive once used? If he had taken Odysseus there a second time, the criticism would be unexceptionable. But the place of ghosts beyond the Ocean stream was a geographical fact; the ghosts of the suitors inevitably went there; and if something for the purpose of his theme was to be gained by following them for a few minutes, was there anything inartistic in taking us there although we had, for a totally different purpose, spent an hour there before? The objection to this second visit to the shades lies for me not in the visit itself but in the clumsiness of the execution, the uselessness as well as the tediousness of a great part of it. If Homer wrote it, his hand had lost its craft.

There is another argument against the psychostasia which can hardly be esteemed very strong. It is urged that it contains conceptions about the world of the dead which are inconsistent with the beliefs that can be traced in Homer elsewhere. To this it may be said in general that beliefs about ghosts and the other world did not form a definite body of doctrine, that inconsistencies, reflecting the vagueness of the conceptions, are rather to be expected, and that a poet was at liberty to select from the popular beliefs whatever was useful for his immediate purpose, without concerning himself whether the various intimations in all parts of his poems could be wrought into a perfectly consistent picture.⁴ And, as a matter of fact, the other passages bearing on Hades—Ψ 65-107, κ 490-540, λ, Θ 366-369—do not present a clear consistent conception contrasted with that of ω; in them too there are incongruities which it is not easy to harmonise. To the particular objection raised by Aristarchus, that Homer did not elsewhere introduce Hermes performing the function of a conductor of souls,⁵ the answer might be made that it did not happen to suit Homer to do so. It does not prove that Hermes ψυχοπομπός is posthomeric. And offices of Hermes in connexion with death are implied in the attributes of his wand, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει κ.τ.λ. Ω 343, ε 47.

(3) As to the rest of ω more will be said below; it is enough to say now that taken as a whole it is not unhomeric, but it is, in parts at least, perfunctory and gives the impression that if Homer wrote it he was impatient to get to the end of his task and was not feeling the joy of creation. Altogether it must, I think, be admitted that 'the end of the *Odyssey*, to put it bluntly, is bungled,' in the words of Mr. Mackail,⁶ though the bungling begins not, in my opinion, where he puts it, at the end of τ, but near the point where Aristophanes and Aristarchus thought that Homer's own work terminated.

How then did this last canto of the *Odyssey*, containing some parts which

⁴ I observe that Mr. Rothe has made much the same remark; *op. cit.* p. 180.

⁵ I cannot agree with Mr. Monro (in his note *ad loc.*) that 'the passing away of life is so often described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that this argument is as strong as any argument *ex silentio* can be.' For since in none of these cases, except in that

of Elpenor in λ, would a description of the soul's journey to Hades have been in the least relevant, the amplitude claimed for the argument *ex silentio* really disappears. In the case of Elpenor a mention of Hermes would have been relevant, but it was not necessary.

⁶ *Lectures on Greek Poetry*, p. 59.

it seems impossible to ascribe to the author of the rest of the poem—for there are limits to the ‘bungling’ of a Homer—along with others which a unitarian might not be inclined to suspect if they stood alone, come to be there? The latest answer to the question is that of Mr. Allen, and it deserves careful consideration, coming from one who has such an intimate knowledge of Homer and all Homeric problems. His view is that the end of the *Odyssey* was the work of a diasceuaist who derived the ‘retrospective scenes’ in ψ and the *nekya* from the *Thesprotis* of Musaeus, and himself composed the ‘country scenes’ (ω 205 to end). The theory is definite and attractive.

Of the *Thesprotis*, attributed to Musaeus, who is only a name, we know very little. The title we get from Pausanias (viii. 12, 5), and Clement of Alexandria states that it was copied, in fact appropriated, by Eugammon in his *Telegonia*. Clement’s words are :

αὐτοτελῶς γὰρ τὰ ἐτέρων ὑφελόμενοι ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν καθάπερ Εὐγάμμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον.⁷

From this it is a legitimate inference that the subject of the poem of Musaeus was, or included, a visit of Odysseus to Thesprotia, where there was an entrance to the under-world at the river Acheron. Mr. Allen assumes that it began with a *précis* of the *Odyssey* which supplied the diasceuaist with his material for the recapitulations, and he finds the significant point of connexion between the *Thesprotis* and the diasceuaist in ω 11 :

παρ δ’ ἴσαν Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην,

where he takes $\Lambda.\pi.$ to be the terrestrial Cape Leucas in Dulichium (I accept unreservedly Mr. Allen’s convincing defence of Bunbury’s equation Dulichium = Leucas), and supposes that the poet conceived the ghosts flying north from Ithaca over Leucas and along the Albanian coast to the Thesprotian river.

This interesting conjecture appears to me to be beset by two particular difficulties. (1) The *Thesprotis* must have been a very short poem. For it was incorporated *whole* in the *Telegonia* (if we make use of Clement’s statement we cannot neglect his emphatic ὀλόκληρον), and the *Telegonia* was itself a short epic consisting of only two Books,⁸ while its main subject was the slaying of Odysseus by his son, which we have no reason to suppose was part of the *Thesprotis*. These being the data, it seems somewhat hazardous to suppose that a short poem contained an epitome of the *Odyssey*, running to a good many verses. This is not, of course, a decisive objection—we know so little of the *Thesprotis*—but it is at least a difficulty. (2) The interpretation of Λευκάδα πέτρην as a reference to the island of Leucas implies that Ὠκεανοῦ is used in a posthomeric sense, equivalent to θάλασσα, and this, of course, is possible, though I do not know of an early parallel for Ὠκεανοῦ ῥοαί referring to a small portion of the sea like that between Leucas and Ithaca. Mr. Allen says that while in this verse the indications of the route are terrestrial, in the next verse (ἥδὲ παρ’ ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων) we are taken beyond

⁷ *Strom.* VI Chap. II. 25, 1 (p. 442, ed. Stählin).

⁸ Proclus, *Chrest.*, p. 109 in Allen’s ed. of the Cycle.

the sphere of earth, presumably into the neighbourhood or suburbs of the place of ghosts. But the theory is that the entry to that place is near the Acheron in Thesprotia, apparently by a subterranean passage, and, if so, it is difficult to explain what the gates of the sun mean in this connexion. The passage seems to me much simpler if we take Ocean in its Homeric sense and assume that the ghost-world is in the same locality in which it is conceived in λ , that is in the east, beyond the circumambient stream. Hermes and the ghosts flying eastward across land and sea reached Ocean before the poet begins to describe their route $\kappa\alpha\tau' \epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\nu\theta\alpha$. The Leucadian rock must then be a legendary landmark, by the river Ocean. That the topographical indications here are not the same as in λ (where we are told of the Cimmerians, but the Leucadian rock and the deme of dreams are not mentioned) is no disproof of the identity of the general conception of the whereabouts of Hades in ω and λ ; because the ghosts need not have reached their habitation by the same road by which Odysseus reached it from Aeaea.⁹ On the whole, the Leucas-Thesprotic interpretation of ω 10-12 seems to involve more serious difficulties than any which arise from understanding $\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\upsilon \rho\acute{\omicron}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in the same sense as $\rho\acute{\omicron}\omicron\nu \acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\iota$ in λ 21.

But passing over these particular objections, we are met by a general difficulty when we consider what the addition of the diasceuaast's work to the epic of Homer implies. We know nothing definite about Musaeus, but I suppose that the *Thesprotis* cannot with any probability be placed prior to 750 B.C., when the earliest cyclic poets may have been living. As Eugammon's date falls in the last thirty years of the seventh century, the limits for Musaeus would be roughly 750 and 650, and I suppose Mr. Allen would hardly choose a date earlier than 700 for his diasceuaast. I find it, then, hard to believe that if the Homeric *Odyssey* (ending at ψ 296) had been recited for 150 or 100 years, and its compass was perfectly well known to the Greeks, a new canto could have suddenly been attached to it and gained universal acceptance as Homeric. Such an addition is not like single verses or short passages which were intruded from time to time into the body of the two poems, such, for instance, as the $\theta\rho\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma \text{ Μουσάων}$, if, as Aristarchus judged and as may well be the case, that was a later insertion in ω itself (60-62).

To any one who holds, as I do, that Homer could not have designed ψ 296 as the termination of his epic, the theory of a diasceuaast, whether in the eighth or in the seventh century, adding a new section to the *Odyssey* and foisting upon it a new ending, will be still more difficult. That the poet could have contemplated the reunion of Odysseus with Penelope as an artistic or even tolerable ending to his poem appears to me almost incredible.

⁹ The island of Circe was in the east (μ 4), and north of the land of the Cimmerians (κ 507). Therefore the land of the Cimmerians and the ghost-world were imagined by Homer as in the east or south-east, not in the north, much less in the west. The return journey northward to Aeaea was facilitated by the current of the Ocean,

so that this stream in Homer's conception flowed in the opposite direction to the movement of the hands of a clock. Mr. Berger (*Mythische Kosmographie der Griechen*, p. 32) placed the world of the dead in the west, but his idea of the routes is not lucidly expressed, and I am not sure that I understand his view.

For (1)¹⁰ it was necessary, for the satisfaction of those who listened to the recitation, to tell how the inevitable feud between Odysseus and the men of Ithaca whose kinsmen he had slain was composed, and this necessity was stronger in a work addressed to Greek ears than it would be in the case of a story-teller writing for modern readers. Odysseus and his son were in a serious predicament, as the Homeric Odysseus so fully realised that, always 'most provident in peril,' he took corresponding precautions (ψ 118 κ.τ.λ.), and if the outcome was not to be related in the *Odyssey*, those precautions (in fact the whole passage ψ 117-152) should have been omitted. They are irrelevant and inartistic if the poem was to close at v. 296; their meaning and justification are furnished by the sequel told in ψ 361-372 and ω 412 κ.τ.λ.

(2) No less requisite was a meeting between the son and the father. The interest in Laertes, the fact that he was living in the country neglected and sorrowful, never coming to the city, is insisted on not once but repeatedly, at intervals throughout the poem. At the beginning, Athene in the form of Mentes speaks of him to Telemachus as

ἐρπύζοντ' ἀνὰ γουνὸν ἄλωϊς οἶνοπέδοιο (α 189).

The web that Penelope was weaving was to be a ταφήϊον for Laertes (β 99). When she and Telemachus are mentioned as pining for the wanderer's return, Laertes is never forgotten (δ 111, ξ 173). When she is anxious about the absence of Telemachus, she thinks of sending a messenger to Laertes to ask for his advice (δ 738). Anticleia tells her son of his father's forlorn life in the country (λ 187-194), and Eumaeus repeats the description when Odysseus inquires for his father and mother (ο 353). When Telemachus returns safe, the thought of Eumaeus is to send the news at once to his grandfather (π 138). When Odysseus enjoins on Telemachus to keep his own return a secret from every one, he thinks of Laertes first (π 302). Laertes is never passed over in any context where it was relevant to mention him, and in my view Homer would have shirked his work most unhomerically if he had thought of concluding the epic without showing the meeting of the father and son.

The σπονδαί and the ἀναγνώρισις were simply indispensable. The ψυχοστασία was not. But (3) it is to be observed that the psychostasia had a use and a meaning in the economy of the poem. It served to strike finally a note which had been struck at the very beginning, and afterwards recurrently,¹¹ the contrast between the tragedy of the return of Agamemnon and the tragic-comedy of the return of Odysseus. The story of the tragedy is told three times, —by Nestor, by Menelaus, by Agamemnon himself,—and it is skilfully used both to stimulate Telemachus by the example of Orestes¹² and to suggest the contrast between the good and the bad queen. The emphasis which the

¹⁰ The substance of this and the following considerations has of course been urged often by those who hold ω genuine, and recently, I see, by Mr. Rothe in *Die Odyssee als Dichtung*, pp. 181 sqq. They were well put by Miss Stawell, in *Homer and the Iliad*.

¹¹ α 29-30, 35 κ.τ.λ., 298-300; γ 193-198, 248 κ.τ.λ.; δ 512 κ.τ.λ.; λ 409 κ.τ.λ., cp. 445.

¹² This has been well brought out by Mr. Sheppard in his interesting article *J.H.S.*, xxxvii. 47 sqq.

poet laid on this motive is shown by his selection of it in the first scene of the poem as the topic with which Zeus opens the conversation in the Olympian palace and gives Athene her opportunity for intervening on behalf of Odysseus (a 28 κ.τ.λ.); and again by its introduction at the first convenient point in the second part of the poem, when Odysseus says to Athene (ν 383) :

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαο
φθίσεσθαι κακὸν οἶπον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔμελλον
εἰ μή μοι σὺ ἕκαστα, θεύ, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.

To recur to it again after the *dénouement*, after Odysseus had escaped such a fate as that of Agamemnon and Penelope's fidelity had been established, was not indeed a necessity of the story, but was it not almost a necessity of Homer's treatment? The poet who made such insistent use of the motive would not have been likely to let it fall out of mind at the end. And a psychostasia was an ingenious and simple invention for reintroducing it in an effective way. The ghosts of the suitors went to the ghost-world and the poet takes us with them in order that we may witness Agamemnon hearing the news and pronouncing the praise of Penelope. That is a dramatic incident, and if it were well executed would be much more effective than it would be, for instance, to place some comment on the Agamemnonian tragedy in the mouth of Odysseus himself or any one at Ithaca.

(4) There is yet another reason for hesitating to believe that ψ 296 could have been the end contemplated by Homer. We might expect an intimation that Odysseus told his story to Penelope. For that Homer had this in his mind is shown by λ 223, where Anticleia says :

ταῦτα δὲ πάντα
ἴσθ' ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τεῇ εἵπησθα γυναικί.

And that he had not forgotten, is proved by ψ 241-246. For it is in order to give the husband and wife time to recount to each other their experiences that Athene prolongs the night, and any one who believes that Homer fixed ψ 296 as his termination must omit those six lines as an interpolation of the diasceuaust who was responsible for the last section. As a matter of fact, we have the conversation of the king and queen described as Homer might have described it in the unexceptionable passage ψ 297-309. The only reason for placing the end of Homer's work at 296 instead of 309 was that it seemed to make a better conclusion.

On these grounds Mr. Allen's theory involves for me the additional difficulty that I should have to suppose that the present ending of the *Odyssey* replaced, in the eighth or seventh century, a genuine Homeric ending, and that although the general argument and incidents in the new ending were virtually the same as in the old. And this difficulty is for me insuperable.

The problem, as I conceive it, may be stated thus. The actual ending of the poem, as it has come down, was not composed by Homer, but its contents represent partly what Homer must have designed and partly what he might well have designed as the conclusion of the *Odyssey*. The meeting of the father and son, and the σπονδαί, were absolutely necessary. The psychostasia was

an incident, invented with Homeric skill for an artistic purpose, and spoiled by a less cunning hand than Homer's own. But this ending cannot have been attached to the poem after it had been constantly recited for more than a hundred years and was well known to have been complete at ψ 296; and it is inconceivable that a genuine conclusion should have been ejected to make way for inferior work of similar argument.

If this statement of the problem is admitted, a solution is clear. The poet died before he completed the *Odyssey*, but he knew exactly what the conclusion should be. His two epics were valuable property. Now in the case of works left by their authors in an unfinished state, in later times, and addressed to a reading public, the literary executors usually issue them in their incomplete condition. That was the case with the *Aeneid*. Varius and Tucca published it after Virgil's death, *sub ea lege ut nihil adderent*. In the case of the *Odyssey* that could not have been done. An unfinished epic was of little use for solemn and regular recitations at feasts. Audiences did not want a story without its proper termination. It was therefore a practical necessity that as Homer could not do the conclusion it should be done at once by another hand. Homer realised this himself and provided for it, by communicating to a disciple the plot of the final section. These two assumptions, that Homer died before the poem was finished and that he entrusted to a successor the general argument of the last canto, form the hypothesis which explains the data. We may speculate whether the rhapsode who played the part of literary executor was also Homer's heir, we may wonder whether his name was Stasinus, who, a tradition recorded, married Homer's daughter;¹³ but these are questions we cannot answer. Whoever the disciple was, he knew the poems thoroughly and was versed in the master's technique. The important thing is that the end of the *Odyssey* dates from Homer's own age, and was in the possession of the Homerids of Chios (on whom Mr. Allen's criticism¹⁴ has shed new light) from the very beginning.

We may perhaps go further. Homer worked 'by wit and not by witchcraft.' There is no reason whatever to suppose that he composed either of his epics continuously from beginning to end in the order of the argument, as it were *stans pede in uno*, and never wrote a later before an earlier scene. On the contrary, it appears highly probable that in the *Iliad* later parts were composed before earlier parts and afterwards changed to conform to the earlier parts which had been composed in the meantime. The theory of the expansion of the *Iliad* is true, only Homer himself was the expander. There need be no question of expansion in the *Odyssey*, but the evidence of the *Iliad* justifies the view that Homer, like other creators, may have often worked out scenes when he had conceived them without waiting until he actually came to them and had completed all that went before. I suggest that this was the case with ω 205-412. The whole scene of the meeting of Odysseus and Laertes is not unworthy of Homer, and the passage (336-348) in which the son recalls an incident of his boyhood, in order to convince his father that he is indeed Odysseus, shows

¹³ Cp. Suidas sub ω *Οὔνιος* (p. 258 in Allen's ed. of the *Vitae*). ¹⁴ *Cl. Q.* i. 3, July 1907.

the same mastery of pathetic effect—though here the pathos is in the tragicomic, not in the tragic tone—as Homer displayed in the Astyanax episode in the *Iliad*. It is easier to be confident that a passage could not, than that it could only, have been written by Homer, and the authorship of this episode cannot be argued. One can only have an opinion.

One is naturally shy of introducing into a philological argument an opinion or impression,—the ‘subjective element’ which depends on personal reaction. But it is impossible to exclude it altogether from an investigation like the present. Let me illustrate by a minor instance. The Alexandrian critics, Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus, athetised M 175–181, and many modern scholars have endorsed their judgment. The passage is :

- ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδὲ Διὸς πείθε φρένα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύων.
 "Ἐκτορι γάρ οἱ θυμὸς ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι.
 175 ἄλλοι δ' ἀμφ' ἄλλησι μάχην ἐμάχοντο πύλῃσιν.
 ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὥς πάντ' ἀγορεύσαι.
 πάντῃ γὰρ περὶ τείχος ὀρώρει θεσπιδαῆς πῦρ
 λαῖνον· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκη
 νηῶν ἡμύνοντο· θεοὶ δ' ἀκαχέατο θυμὸν
 180 πάντες ὅσοι Δαναῶισι μάχης ἐπιτάρροθοι ἦσαν.
 σὺν δ' ἔβαλον Λαπίθαι πόλεμον καὶ δηϊοτήτα.

There cannot indeed be much hesitation in rejecting 177–181 as an interpolation, and a bad one. But I am not less convinced that 175–176 are genuine. 176 has for me the Homeric touch, and I cannot believe that it was written by an interpolator or by any other poet than Homer himself. In this case, as it happens, I can find an ‘objective’ confirmation of this opinion. On the usual assumption that the work of the alien hand began at 175, no motive for the interpolation is apparent. But given 175–176 as genuine, the motive at once appears. The interpolator asked himself, ‘Why ἀργαλέον?’ and vv. 177–181 are his infelicitous answer.

In considering a question of this kind, account must be taken of the general scheme of the composition of the poem. Mr. Drerup’s investigations have brought this subject to the front, and in his interesting study of the *aristeia* of Diomedes he has proposed schemes for both the epics.¹⁵ I fully agree with Mr. Drerup that Homer did not compose formless narratives, but built up his poems on definite plans, carefully thought out, and that the symmetrical disposition of the parts was a consideration which affected the design; and I agree that as the poems were intended not for reading but for reciting, those plans must have had some regard to the practical conditions of public recitation. But of those conditions we know nothing, and I do not see how we can determine the powers of endurance of an Ionian audience. Obvious of course it is that the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* cannot have been recited from beginning to end without intervals; the audience must have dispersed and returned more than once; but we cannot know *a priori* how often. It appears to me that Mr.

¹⁵ *Das fünfte Buch der Ilias*, 1913.

Drerup has started from the wrong end. He argues for the assumption that the length of the single recitation or *ῥαψωδία* varied from about 600 to 1000 verses, because he finds a number of parts which seem to be, relatively, self-contained (like E, I, K, Ψ, Ω), varying roughly between these limits. On this assumption he bases his schemes, and divides the *Odyssey* into fifteen and the *Iliad* into eighteen such *ῥαψωδίαι*, which he then proceeds to combine into larger unities and arrange symmetrically. In a great many cases the divisions which he has thus determined correspond to natural pauses in the story, points at which the reciter might conveniently stop for a few minutes to give himself and his audience a rest. But these pauses differ greatly in value: while some mark important stages in the development of the plot, some have little significance and might easily be replaced by others, if it were not for numerical considerations. Nor do all Mr. Drerup's rhapsodies correspond to the definition of a rhapsody with which he sets out, as an *ἀπόκομμα* of an epic, ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὀλίγην καὶ μικρὰν καὶ λεπτήν τινα περιπέτειαν.¹⁶ This definition, given by a scholiast, and the similar definition of Dionysius Thrax, do not mean that an epic poem was composed throughout of such rhapsodies, but only that any part of an epic which was a more or less self-contained story and had its own *περιπέτεια* was called a rhapsody, evidently because it could be taken out and recited separately. The last Book of the *Iliad* and the *Doloneia* are obvious examples of the rhapsody. But it does not follow that the *Iliad* was built up of rhapsodies, or the *Odyssey*; and it does not follow that Mr. Drerup's sections are the basic units in the composition of the poems. They may mean something as subdivisions, and some of them no doubt do.

The only method by which we have some chance of reaching a probable result seems to be quite different. We must start from the argument of the poem as a whole, and find the divisions into which it naturally falls. In the case of the *Odyssey*, of which the construction is simpler than that of the *Iliad*, the first step is plain. Nothing can well be clearer than that it falls into two Parts, and that Part I. ends at ν 92. The poet emphatically marks the close by echoing the lines of the opening:

ὥς ἡ ῥίμφα θεούσα θαλάσσης κύματ' ἔταμνεν
 ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκια μῆδε' ἔχοντα
 ὃς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πάθ' ἄλγεα δὲν κατὰ θυμόν
 κ.τ.λ.

ν 92 is, as a matter of course, the ending of one of Mr. Drerup's 'rhapsodies,'—the eighth, which his scheme designates as the central piece of the poem, on either side of which six others are symmetrically grouped. But in point of contents it has no special title to a central position. It is not a connecting link in any more eminent sense than is implied in the obvious facts that the conclusion of the first part of any composition must immediately precede the second, and that when the second part is a little shorter than the first, the conclusion of the first must occupy the middle. The *Odyssey* falls into two

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 57.

Parts, and Part I. (6255 vv.) is longer than Part II. (5742 vv.); ¹⁷ that is the fact from which we must start.

In Part I. we have a well-defined, unmistakable division at the end of δ , where the continuity is broken by the transition from Ithaca to the island of Calypso, from the adventures of Telemachus to the adventures of Odysseus. Again, we have a well-defined section in the long tale of his wanderings which Odysseus tells the Phaeacians. As there is no change of scene (as at ν 93 or the beginning of ϵ) for the persons of the story, though there is for the audience, the beginning of this section is not so sharply marked. We may possibly find it at θ 469-470 (where one of Mr. Drerup's rhapsodies begins) or at the beginning of ι . Thus we should obtain three large sections in Part I. :

(1) α - δ = 2207 vv. (2) ϵ - θ 469 = 1633 vv. (3) θ 470- ν 92 = 2415 vv.

In Part II. the story is continuous, and the sections do not fall apart of themselves as in Part I. But there are two important points in the story, the points that mark the most distinct stages in the development of the plot, namely, at the beginning of π , where Telemachus reaches the hut of Eumaeus, and at the beginning of ϕ , where Penelope, at the inspiration of Athene, proposes the $\tau\acute{o}\xi\omicron\nu\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ which leads up to the *dénouement*. If the story of Part II. were dramatised, these appear to me to be the points at which divisions between Acts would most naturally fall. If I am right, we have three main sections in Part II. :

(1) ν 93- σ , 1512 vv. (2) π - ν 2493 vv. (3) ϕ - ω 1838 vv.

The whole poem thus falls into two Parts, and each Part into three sections; and in point of length these six sections may be divided into two classes : one, which we may denote by A, ranging above 2100 lines, and the other B, between 1500 and 1840 (taking ψ and ω as they stand in the text). From this point of view the result is symmetrical :

ABA BAB.

This result has been reached by considerations which are entirely independent of any presuppositions as to the conditions of the rhapsodic performances. It is now legitimate to ask, was there a relation between these sections and the actual performances, as designed by Homer? It may be conjectured that the section was designed to correspond to a sitting, and that the *Odyssey* was meant by the poet to be recited at six sittings, the audience dispersing at the end of each. These sittings were not all of the same length; some might last, say, for three hours more or less, others for four hours more or less, and in the case of the *Odyssey* Homer made the longer and shorter alternate. Pauses

¹⁷ The length of Part II. in the common text is 5805 vv. I have omitted 63 as interpolations—generally recognised as such. In regard to the two passages about the removal of the arms into the *θάλασσαν*, I have not followed Zenodotus in athetising π 281-298, nor Kirchhoff in rejecting τ 4-52, nor Monro in rejecting

both passages. My view is that the second passage is entirely genuine, and that in the first some verses have been interpolated, viz. 281-283 and 286-296. But I have not included them in the list of interpolations I have allowed for in counting the verses of the *Odyssey*. In Part I. I have omitted forty-eight verses.

in the course of each performance would be a matter of course, and such pauses may in many cases correspond to the breaks between Mr. Drerup's 'rhapsodies.' But it is not necessary, for the present purpose, to enter into the question of subdivisions.¹⁸

The *Iliad* is more difficult. It does not fall of itself into two Parts, like the *Odyssey*; its construction, obviously, is quite different. I may consider it briefly, as it is relevant to see whether the two types A and B can be found in it, but the following suggestions are made with considerable hesitation.¹⁹ Two points stand out conspicuously as marking stages in the development of the plot. One is where Patroclus persuades Achilles to let him lead the Myrmidons into battle, at the beginning of Book XVI. This is the definite beginning of the *dénouement*. The other is the repulse of the overtures of Agamemnon by Achilles, Book IX. It is not till Book VIII. that Zeus begins seriously to perform his promise to Thetis by commanding the gods not to intervene. The situation in this Book is that the Greeks, who have fenced themselves in with wall and trench, are thoroughly alarmed and Hector is confident. It ends with the picture of the camp-fires of the Trojans lighting up the plain, like stars, in the night. ὥς οἱ μὲν Τρῶες φυλακὰς ἔχον (I. 1). After the vain effort to conciliate Achilles, the consequences of the μῆνις are slowly developed through the following Books, till at the end of Book XV. it is not the camp-fires in the distance that the Achaeans see, but fire in the hands of Hector and his army for the burning of their ships. That these fires correspond—that the πυρὰ πολλὰ of Θ portend the threat which at the end of O is about to be realised—is indicated by Homer by a remarkable device. In Θ 555 the camp-fires are likened to stars in a striking simile :

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην
φαίνεται ἄριπρεπέα ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ
556 ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι
καὶ νάπαι· οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,
πάντα δὲ εἶδεται ἄστρα γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν.

When the fire which is catching the ships is extinguished by the efforts of Patroclus, the relief of the Greeks is illustrated by another simile, II. 297, in which two of these verses are repeated :

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ὄρεος μέγαλοι
κινήσῃ πυκινὴν νεφέλην στεροπηγερέτα Ζεὺς,
299 ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι
καὶ νάπαι· οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ.

It is perverse to follow the Alexandrian critics in supposing that these two lines were gratuitously introduced into Θ from II by some foolish interpolator.

¹⁸ I may say that Mr. Drerup's 'rhapsodies' (which were independently determined by Mr. Adcock) seem to be satisfactory as subdivisions in Part I. If I were seeking for convenient intervals of five minutes in Part II., I think I should divide thus :
ν 93-ξ; ο; π-ρ 327; ρ 328-τ 50; τ 50-υ;

φχ; ψω. I have not seen Mr. Stürmer's book, *Die Rhapsodien der Odyssee*, 1921.

¹⁹ Mr. Sheppard has just put forward a very different arrangement, in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society (*Cambridge University Reporter*, May 23, 1922, p. 1005).

The repetition was designed by the poet as a pointer to the parallel between the later and the earlier situation. In both crises recourse was had to Achilles. In the first case, when the peril of the Achaeans was only grave, he refused; in the second, when it was desperate, he gave way so far as to save the situation.

The *Iliad* therefore appears to fall into three Parts, of which the lengths are: Part I., 4946 (4977) vv.; Part II., 4596 (4622) vv.; Part III., 5947 (5999) vv.

The sections into which Part III. naturally falls are three, and can hardly be mistaken:

(1) ΠΠ, (2) Σ-X, (3) ΨΩ.

In Part I. there seems to be one pretty clear division at the beginning of Γ where the fighting begins, and a second might be found at Z 237, where the scene, which had twice shifted for a few minutes from the plain to Troy in Γ, is now removed again to the city for a much longer time.

In Part II., the *τειχομαχία* in M seems to be the central scene of the long battle, and suggests a division into two sections. We might find the line of division between Λ and M, or else within M, perhaps at 194 just before the portent of the eagle and snake and Hector's disastrous rejection of the advice of Polydamas. The precise point does not matter much for the present purpose.

The whole scheme would then be:

Part I. (1) AB,²⁰ 1480 vv. (2) Γ-Z 236, 2142 vv. (2) Z 237-Θ 1320 vv.

Part II. (1) I-Λ 2135 vv. (2) M-O 2555 vv.

or (1) I-M 194 2229 vv. (2) M 195-O 2361 vv.

Part III. (1) ΠΠ 1623 vv. (2) Σ-X 2638 vv. (3) ΨΩ 1694 vv.

These eight sections correspond in point of length to the two types we found in the *Odyssey*, the longer varying here between 2640 and 2140, the shorter between 1700 and 1320, and the arrangement is symmetrical, though different from that of the *Odyssey*:

BAB AA BAB

The average length of the As is to that of the Bs about as 3 to 2; but the difference between the longest and the shortest B (518 vv.) is greater than the difference between the longest and the shortest A (496 vv.).

Now the longest of all the B sections is that which includes the end of the *Odyssey*, and the excessive length (1838, 144 lines above the next longest) might raise a certain presumption that the end of the poem is not right as it stands. But on the view that it ends at ψ 296, omitting, as we must, the six lines ψ 241-246, the length of the section would be 1208 lines, diverging far in the opposite direction. Thus so far as numerical considerations may be allowed to have any weight, they confirm on the one hand the conclusion that ψ 296 was not the

²⁰ Mr. Drerup's idea that the latter part of B (484 to end) was not a part of the poem, but a sort of excursus or appendix, is to

me unintelligible. Mr. Sheppard (*loc. cit.*) regards the Catalogue, the Doloneia, and the Shield (in Σ) as "interludes."

end of the poem as Homer designed it, and on the other hand suggest that the present conclusion ψ 297- ω 548 may be too long. By the omission of the unnecessary and indubitably unhomeric passage ψ 310-343, the 1838 vv. of the last section are reduced to 1804, and if we assume 1700 as the limit for B sections, the inference is that Homer would himself have done the psychostasia in not more than 100 verses. It would have been ample.

Little stress, however, can be laid on this argument. The penultimate section in the *Iliad* is considerably longer than all the other A sections, and the same kind of reasoning might be employed to prove that it contains a considerable interpolation. The whole question of the composition and structure of the epics, as affected by the conditions of recitation, is too speculative to justify any one in building much on a particular scheme. On the scheme which I have hazarded, the numerical facts are rather adverse to the theory that the poem ended at ψ 296, while they rather favour a theory which would curtail the ending by 140 lines or more. The result is not of much importance; so far as it goes, it suggests that the theory advocated here is not inconsistent with the construction of the poem.

It would not be surprising to find that the balance of the poem, resulting from a symmetrical arrangement of the parts, was reinforced by harmonies and correspondences, parallelisms and contrasts. Now, with the exception of the excursion to the Peloponnesus and the brief scenes in Ogygia and on the waters of the high seas, the action of the *Odyssey* passes in two lands, Ithaca and Phaeacia. The purpose of the Phaeacian episode (which occupies about a third of the poem) is to provide the scene for telling the story of the earlier adventures of the hero; that is its purpose in the construction of the plot; but it is remarkable how long the poet lingers over the tranquil life of the Phaeacians. Nearly 1400 verses are devoted to the experiences of Odysseus in their land. I suggest that besides its function in the plot, Phaeacia has another value, in presenting a parallel and contrast with Ithaca. The country of the Phaeacians is a sort of 'earthly paradise,' and this privileged people, who though not divine yet are near to the gods (*σφισιν ἐγγύθεν εἰμέν, ἦ* 202), lead a life of unbroken enjoyment which resembles, but in a sublimated form, the life which the suitors, those idle men of pleasure, lead in Ithaca. And Homer makes us feel what a restful and happy life Odysseus might have enjoyed in Phaeacia, where he had at last reached safety, if he had married Nausicaa and been able to dismiss Ithaca from his thoughts. He could not forget Ithaca, he was wild for home, though it was to mean toil and care and weariness in a land in which, however good, men did not live easily like gods. Laertes seems to have been a successful gardener, but his garden did not grow like the garden of Alcinous. In Phaeacia Odysseus arrived naked, and was clad in fair raiment by a king's daughter and feasted sumptuously in a royal palace. In Ithaca he arrives in this goodly apparel, but the first thing he has to do is to change into the guise and rags of an old beggar and his first meal is the fare of slaves in a poor hut.

Such a contrast was, I think, in the mind of Homer, and I think he devised minor incidents to call attention to it. One of the Phaeacian chieftains,

Euryalus, is so ill-mannered as to attempt to 'rag' the guest. Odysseus is provoked and rebukes him sharply :

ξεῖν', οὐ καλὸν ἔειπες· ἀτασθαλῶ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.

Euryalus has just a little of the spirit of the suitors, for whose conduct *ἀτασθαλίας* is the word that is repeatedly used. But when Odysseus has given an exhibition of his power, at which Athene assists (*θ* 193), and established his prowess as an athlete, Euryalus makes amends and presents him with his sword. Now one of the incidents which display the *ἀτασθαλίας* of the suitors is when Antinous refuses to give a dole of meat to Odysseus and then hurls a stool at him. But when Odysseus smashes Irus, Athene again assisting (*σ* 69), Antinous, in recognition of his victory, makes some amends by giving him a large *γαστήρ*. And it is to be noticed that when the incident in Phaeacia gives Odysseus occasion to describe his athletic accomplishments, it is on his skill in archery (*θ* 215-228) that he enlarges. This is, no doubt, intended to be remembered when we come to the ordeal of the bow in *φ*. Again, the exciting moment when Odysseus discloses his identity to the Phaeacians, who do not suspect that they are entertaining such a far-famed hero (*ι* 19), corresponds to the great moment when he reveals who he is to the unsuspecting suitors (*χ* 35).

If these incidents, signalling across the intermediate reaches of the poem, are not accidents, but a feature of Homeric technique, the conclusion, arrived at above on other grounds, that a visit to the world of shades in the final section was a part of Homer's design would be supported. A *nekyia* in the last section of Part II. would be the counterpoise to the *nekyia* in the last section of Part I.²¹

J. B. BURY.

²¹ It is obvious in any theory that the author of the second *nekyia* had the first *nekyia* in his mind. *E. g.* *ψ* 20-22 = *λ* 387-9,

a repetition which is quite Homeric and illustrates, in my view, the disciple's knowledge of Homer's method.

A GREEK MANUSCRIPT DESCRIBING THE SIEGE OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS IN 1683

I THINK that those who take an interest in the history of the modern Greek language may possibly welcome a short note on a manuscript in the British Museum, which appears to me to be worth some attention, chiefly perhaps from the point of view of the part played by Greek culture in Roumania in the seventeenth century.

The manuscript in question is Add. MS. 38890 in the Department of Manuscripts,¹ British Museum. It was acquired at Hodgson's sale, June 25, 1914, Lot 413, and is from the collection of the Hon. Frederic North, but was later in the possession of Richard Taylor. It is well written and presents but few difficulties of decipherment, and the number of errors is comparatively small. At the end the date of completion is given, viz. December 1686, and the place of writing—Bucharest.

I think the general character of the MS. will be best explained by the reproduction of the short preface prefixed to it. I give it here, together with a translation. The pages and lines are those of the MS., and spelling, punctuation and abbreviations are reproduced as they stand, though I have not adhered to the very fluctuating use of the acute and grave accents.

2

Γαλυνώτατε, εὐσεβέστατε, καὶ κράτιστε ἡγεμῶν, πάσης
οὐγκροβλαχίας, κύριε, κύριε, ἰωάννη, σερβάνε βοηδόνδα,
καντακουζηνέ, ἔντεινε καὶ κατ' εὐοδοῦ, ἔνεκεν τῆς τῶν
χυνῶν πίστεως.

Ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου σας ἀνεψιοῦ, καὶ πρωτοσπα- 5
θαρίου, κυρίου κωνσταντίνου μπρακοβάνου, τὸ παρὸν βιβλιάριον
ἀπὸ τὴν ἰταλικήν, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν τῶν γραικῶν ἀπλὴν διάλεκτον
πιστὰ ἐμεταγλώττησα, τὸ ὅποιον ἄλλον δὲν περιέχει, παρὰ μίαν ἀν-
καὶ σύντομον, ἀλλὰ ἀληθεστάτην καὶ καθαρὰν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ἀπό-
κλεισμοῦ τῆς περιφήμου πόλεως βιένας, ἀπὸ τοὺς κατὰ πάντα ἀπίστους 10
καὶ ἀθέους μουσουλμάνους, συλλογιζόμενος τὸ λοιπόν, τίνας νὰ ἀφιε-
ρώσω τοῦτον μου τὸν κόπον, διὰ νὰ ἔχει περισσοτέραν τιμὴν, σιμὰ
εἰς τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἄλλο δὲν ἐδιάλεξα παρὰ τὸ σεβαστὸν σας ὄνομα,
τὸ ὅποιον ἡ χριστιανικὴ καὶ βασιλικὴ σας διαγωγὴ, τόσον λάμπρὸν
καὶ χαριτωμένον τὸ ἐκήρυξεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὅπου ὅλοι σχεδὸν τὸ εὐ- 15
φημίζουν, καὶ σέβονται.

¹ I have to express my thanks to Mr. J. P. Gilson and Mr. H. I. Bell of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

Πολλὰ παραδείγματα ἄξια στοχασμοῦ, καὶ μυμήσεως διαλαμβάνει
 ἡ ἱστορία, καὶ ἀφήνωντας τὴν ἀήττητον ἀνδρείαν τῶν στρατάρχων ἰω-
 ἀννου ῥηγὸς τῆς λεχίας, καὶ τοῦ δουκὸς λωρένας τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ
 καὶ ἄξιοπρεπεστάτου λοταρύγκου, στοχάσου ἡ γαλυνότης σου, καὶ θαύ-
 μασε τὴν δεδοξασμένην πρόνοιαν τοῦ θυ', ἡ ὁποῖα μὴν ὑποφέρωντας 5
 πλέον τὴν σκληροτάτην, καὶ διαβολικὴν τυραννοῖαν, ὅπου κατὰ τῶν-
 εὔσεβων τόσους χρόνους ἔδειξεν, ἡ ἀπάνια τῶν ἀγαρηνῶν, ἔξαφνα, καὶ
 παρελπίδα ἐξύπνησε εἰς ταῖς καρδίαις ὁλονῶν τῶν χυῶν βασιλέων, πᾶ-
 τα ὀργῆς, διὰ τὰ συκωθοῦν ὅλοι συμφώνως μὲ τὴν δύναμιν στρῶς, τὰ
 συντρίψουν τὴν φαρμακερὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν τυραννοῦντων ἀγαρηνῶν, 10
 καὶ ἰδοὺ ὅπου βοηθεία, καὶ νεύσει τῆς αὐτῆς θείας προνοίας, κείτεται
 θέαμα ἐλεηνόν, ὁ ὑπερίφανος, ἀπὸ κάτω ἀπὸ τὰ ὀνύχια τῶν εὔσεβων,
 καὶ κινδυνεύει τὰ ψωφῆσαι παντάπασιν· ἀλλὰ, παρακαλῶ, δὲν εἶναι καὶ
 ὁ σερβάνος βοηθόνδας, καὶ υἱὸς βασιλέων, καὶ ἂν εἰς παρὰ μικρὰν ἐπαρ-
 χείαν αὐθέντης, καὶ βασιλεύς; ναὶ βέβαια μὲ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θυ'· ἄς μυ- 15
 μηθῇ τὸ λοιπόν, καὶ ἄς λάβῃ τὸν ζῆλον τῶν προγόνων τῆς, διὰ τὰ διαφεν-
 τεύσῃ ὅταν καλέσῃ ὁ καιρὸς, τὴν χριστιανωσύνην, ἄς μὴν δειλιάσῃ, ἄς μὴν
 φοβηθῇ, διατί, τοῦ θυ' εἶναι ἡ νεύσις, καὶ ἡ προτροπή, ὅπου μὲ φανερά
 σημεῖα φωνάζει, καθὼς ἐνὰν καιρὸν τοῦ μουσέως, τοῦ ἰησοῦ τοῦ ναυί',
 τοῦ γεδεῶν, τοῦ δαβίδ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐγείρεσθε ἰδοὺ γὰρ δέδωκα 20
 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν, εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν, μὴ φείσεσθε αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἐλπίζω
 καὶ ἐγώ, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ταλαίπωρον καὶ κατασκληρωμένον, γένος τῶν-
 ρωμαίων, τὰ ισχύσῃ ὁ θς ἕως τέλους τὴν γαλυνότητά σου, καὶ ὅλην
 τὴν χριστιανωσύνην, διὰ τὰ προσκυνῆται ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι, ὁ πῆρ,
 ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πᾶν, ἡ ἁγία καὶ προσκυνητὴ τριάς, εἰς τὴν ὁποῖαν 25
 δεόμενος ἐγώ, τῆς γαλυνότητός σου, εὐτυχεῖαν, μακρομέρευσιν, καὶ νί-
 κην κατὰ τῶν ὁρατῶν, καὶ ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν, ἀσπάζομαι τὴν-
 ἄκρην τῆς σεβαστῆς σας πορφύρας, καὶ ὑπογράφομαι
 δοῦλος εὐτελεῖς καὶ εὐχέτης θερμότατος
 Ἱερεμίας κακαβέλας ὁ ἱεροκέρυξ. 30

'Most Serene, Pious and Mighty Ruler of all Ugro-Wallachia, Lord John, Voivode, Servan Cantacuzenos, be strong and prosper in thy way on behalf of the Christian faith.

'At the instance of thy most illustrious nephew and protospatharios, Lord Constantine Bracovanos, I have translated the present little book from the Italian faithfully into our simple Greek dialect. It contains nothing but a brief, though perfectly true and clear account of the siege of the famous city of Vienna by the utterly treacherous and godless Mussulmans. So on considering to whom I should dedicate this work of mine that it may have the more honour in the eyes of the readers, I chose none other than your revered name, which your Christian and Royal bearing ² has proclaimed as so brilliant and gracious to the world, that nearly all acclaim and revere it.

² Cf. the description of Servan Cantacuzenos in MS. No. 886 in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna (quoted by Hammer, *Gesch. d. oem. Reiches*, vi. (1830), p. 403, n.): 'In

'History treats of many examples worthy of reflection and imitation, and leaving aside the invincible courage of the generals John, king of Poland, and the wonderful and brilliant Duke of Lorraine, your Serenity should reflect upon and marvel at the glorious providence of God, which, no longer suffering that most harsh and diabolic tyranny which the Hagarenes in their inhumanity showed for so many years against the god-fearing, suddenly and unexpectedly aroused in the hearts of all the Christian kings the spirit of anger, that they should all with one accord arise in the power of the Cross to crush the poisonous head of the tyrant Hagarenes, and lo! with the help and at the beck of the same divine Providence, the proud lies low, a piteous sight, beneath the talons of the pious, and seemeth ready to perish altogether. But, I ask, is not Servan also a Voivode and a son of kings, yea, and a king to boot, even though he be lord over but a very small province? Yes, verily, by the mercy of God. Let him imitate, therefore, and take up the zeal of his forefathers, that when the time summons he may champion Christendom; let him not shrink, let him not fear, for the bidding is the Lord's, and the exhortation, which calls with clear signs, even as once to Moses, Joshua the son of Nun, Gideon, David and the others: Rise up, for, lo! I have delivered our enemies into your hands, spare them not. Even so it is my hope, and the hope of all the hapless and enslaved race of the Romans, that God may strengthen your Serenity to the end and all Christendom, that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the holy and worshipful Trinity, may be adored in one Godhead. To which Trinity I pray on behalf of your Serenity for success, length of days and victory over your foes visible and invisible, and kiss the hem of your revered purple, and subscribe myself

'Your humble servant and fervent well-wisher

'JEREMIAS CACAVELAS THE PREACHER.'

I think we may be confident that this translation made by Cacavelas was never printed. It is nowhere mentioned in the accounts of Jeremias Cacavelas and his work, to which I now pass.

Jeremias Cacavelas,³ the translator of this monograph, was born in Crete.⁴ He became a monk, and in his zeal for learning travelled widely. He visited Asia Minor, and afterwards went to Leipzig, where he became acquainted with the teachers, and in particular with John Olearios, Professor of Greek. From Leipzig he went to Vienna, and from there wrote in 1670 a letter to Olearios signed 'Ιερεμίας ὁ Ἑλλήν διδάσκαλος τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. This letter was printed by Olearios in his notes to the Chronicle of Philip of Cyprus. The present MS. shows that Cacavelas was at Bucharest in 1686.

Valachia il principe moderno Serbano e uomo di gran spirito, potente e ricco per se stesso, amato dai Bojari e Grandi, ha gran parentela, due fratelli . . . ha molti nepoti esperti, fra l'altri il Conte Brancovano che fu spesso Generale di queste provincie, persona di gran talenti.'

³ Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία*, 1868, p. 383 f.; Xénopol, *Hist. des Roumains*,

ii. 162, 173; Gröber, *Grundriss der rom. Philologie*, ii. 3, pp. 278, 283, 313, 393.

⁴ I may mention that Prof. R. M. Dawkins, who has been kind enough to go through my copy of the MS. with me, noted certain forms and turns of expression as Cretan before he knew that the translator came from that island.

Later he moved to Jassy, where he is mentioned as Professor in the *Αὐθεντικὴ Ἀκαδημία* in 1698.

His residence in Wallachia brought him into contact with its subject prince. The translation is dedicated to Servan Cantacuzenos, Voivode of Wallachia (1679–1688), who was compelled to serve with the Turks in the siege of Vienna in 1683. In that campaign the Wallachians and Moldavians were not trusted to fight, but were employed in cutting timber⁵ and in bridging-work, it may be said, which appears to have been done very unwillingly and ineffectually.⁶ Indeed the inefficiency of the Turkish bridges over the Danube seems to have contributed materially to the success of the relieving force. Servan Cantacuzenos left behind him a memorial of his devotion to Christianity in the form of an inscribed wooden cross.⁷

Constantine Brancovanos, called in our MS. Bracovanos, who succeeded his uncle Servan Cantacuzenos, is regarded as one of the most remarkable figures in Roumanian history. Something more will be said about him later on. Here it should be pointed out that one of his chief merits is to have reorganised and greatly enlarged the Greek school founded by his predecessor. I quote Xenopol on the subject of this school.⁸

'The first systematic organisation of public instruction in Greek was carried out in Wallachia by the Roumanian prince Scherban (Servan) Cantacuzenos. Though this prince scarcely had love for the Greeks and his policy towards them was even hostile, he nevertheless recognised the superiority of their culture, a thing which is the less surprising since then, as to-day, there was the same confusion between the modern Greeks and their celebrated ancestors. Del Chiaro tells us "that Scherban Cantacuzenos greatly favoured the development of teaching by giving splendid salaries to the Professors of the Greek language who taught grammar, rhetoric and philosophy to the children of the nobles." Scherban Cantacuzenos was the first to found a Greek school at Bucharest.'

We can thus understand why Cacavelas migrated from Vienna to Bucharest, and why Brancovanos prompted him to make the present translation. The appropriateness of its dedication to Servan also becomes clear. The fact is that Greek culture had been transferred from Greece proper to Wallachia and Moldavia. We know that Greek printing presses were set up both at Bucharest and Jassy.⁹

⁵ See a letter of Georg Chr. von Kunitz dated July 22, 1683: 'Der Fürst aus Walachei (Fürst Cantaeuzene) ist mit seiner Mannschaft beschäftigt, Hals über Kopf Bauholz zuzuführen, welches er alles in dem Wäldlein bei Schönbrunn schlagen und nach Wien ins Lager führen lässt; dieses, glaube ich, will man zu den Minen gebrauchen.' (Quoted by Camesina, *Wiens Bedrängnis im Jahre 1683*, p. 25, n. 6). Kunitz, who was Imperial Agent at Constantinople, was at the time a prisoner in the Turkish camp. See also Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, vi. (1830), p. 403, n.

⁶ Xénopol, p. 73: 'Si les princes roumains, qui sympathisaient avec les chrétiens, ne leur fussent venus en aide en diverses occasions, au péril de leurs têtes, il est très probable que la ville n'aurait pu attendre le secours que lui amenait le roi de Pologne.'

⁷ Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 237 ff.; Camesina, *op. cit.*, p. 134 f.

⁸ Xénopol, ii. 173 ff.

⁹ More will be found on the subject of Greek culture in Roumania in Xénopol's *Istoria Rumînilor din Dacia Traiană*, Vol. IV. p. 640 ff.

Besides the letter to Olearios mentioned above, the only work of Cacavelas previously printed is a translation of Platina's *De vita summorum pontificum* made by order of Brancovanos in 1689 and a few poems.¹⁰ He knew Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Italian, and was a noted preacher of the Gospel. This accounts for his present translation from the Italian, and also for his description of himself as *Ἱεροκλήρυξ*. His residence at Vienna will have made him specially interested in the siege, though I think it is clear that he himself was not present at it.

Later on Cacavelas migrated to the court of Constantine Cantemir in Moldavia, and taught Constantine's son Demetrios. In this connexion it is worth while to consider in somewhat greater detail the situation of these subject princes of Wallachia and Moldavia.

Their position was one of peculiar difficulty, since they formed as it were a buffer between the German and Turkish empires.¹¹ Even after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, Servan Cantacuzenos was not able to declare openly for the Emperor Leopold, in spite of the proofs of his leanings which he had given during the siege. After the great Imperial victory over the Turks at the battle of Harkány, near Mohács, in 1687, the Emperor sent a letter to Servan inviting him to join the Imperial side, and as a result the Voivode collected a considerable army with a view to adopting this policy. The Emperor held out various inducements, promising to recognise the right of the Cantacuzene family to the throne of Wallachia against an annual payment of 75,000 piastres, and even going so far as to offer to make Servan Emperor at Constantinople should the Turks be driven out of Europe. Despite the great skill which the Voivode showed in impressing the Austrians with a belief in his devotion to their cause, while at the same time lulling the suspicions of the Turks, the strong anti-German party at Bucharest (which included his nephew Constantine Brancovanos) brought his efforts to nought, and secured his removal by poison on October 29, 1688.

His successor, Constantine Brancovanos, reigned till 1714. He started as an anti-Imperialist, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrian General Haisler in 1690. But in the next year he reversed his policy. His long reign was a continual effort to placate both Turks and Austrians, and in doing this he showed extreme ability. But in the end he was unable to ward off the fate which constantly threatened him. He was deposed by the Turks, removed to Constantinople and there executed together with his family.

We may now take a brief glance at the careers of the Moldavian princes Constantine Cantemir and his son Demetrios, the latter a pupil of Jeremias Cacavelas. Constantine reigned as Voivode of Moldavia from 1685 to 1693. He showed Turkish leanings, and as a result came after 1691 into collision with Brancovanos. From 1693 to 1711, Nicholas Mavrocordato, a Phanariote Greek, reigned at Jassy and was on terms of intimate friendship with Branco-

¹⁰ Sathas, p. 384: *εὐρηγται καὶ ἡρωελεγεῖα αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράμματα εἰς τόμον Ἀγάπης Δοσιθέου, ἐπιστασίᾳ του ἐκδοθέντ(α).*

Cacavelas also translated the Greek

Liturgy into Roumanian (Gröber, *op. cit.*).

¹¹ For what follows I am indebted to Xénopol, ii. p. 73 ff.

vanos. He was replaced in 1711 by Demetrios Cantemir,¹² owing to the desire of the Turks to bring about the fall of Brancovanos. But though installed as a pro-Turk, Demetrios was firmly convinced that the power of Turkey was on the wane and went over to the Russians, whose defeat on the Pruth he shared in 1711. It was with great difficulty that Peter the Great secured the personal safety of Demetrios and gave him an asylum in Russia.

Though the historical value of the MS. is not a question which strictly concerns the *Hellenic Journal*, I may perhaps be allowed to say a few words on this subject, especially since I have devoted a good deal of time to reading the contemporary and later literature dealing with the siege.

The Italian original from which Cacavelas made his translation was printed and published, though I shall have something to say on the strange omission of all allusion to it by specialist writers on the history of the siege. I owe my information to the courtesy of Sig. P. Zorzanello of the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, to whom I sent extracts from the MS. His reply leaves no doubt that the original was the following book, a copy of which is in the library of San Marco at Venice.¹³ His description of it is as follows:—

‘Raggualio historico della Guerra tra l’Armi Cesaree e Ottomane dal principio della Ribellione degl’ Ungari fino l’Anno corrente 1683, e principalmente dell’ Assedio di Vienna e sua Liberazione, con gl’ incominciati progressi delle dette Armi Cesaree e Confederate. All’ Illustriss. & Eccell. Sig. Giulio Giustiniano cavaliere. . Venetia, MDCLXXXIII, Presso Gio. Giacomo Hertz’ (in 12°, pp. (xii), 215 e due tavole). These two plates are no doubt the illustrations from which Cacavelas made his two illuminations in the MS., viz. a portrait of the Emperor Leopold I. and a picture of the Turkish flag captured by John Sobieski and sent by him as a present to the Pope, Innocent XI. With regard to the author of the book Sig. Zorzanello supplies me with the following information from the Preface.

‘Due Amici, uno somministrando le migliori notizie, e l’altro impiegandovi l’ordine, l’ornamento e qualche picciola riflessione, hanno condotta al suo fine quest’ opera.’

Sig. Zorzanello then goes on to quote passages from the beginning and end of the book which correspond exactly to those in the MS.

The fact that the MS. is a translation of a published work certainly diminishes the interest of the document from the historical standpoint. Yet it seems to me a matter for surprise that an account, not merely of the details of the actual siege, but also of the general political circumstances from 1660 to October 1683, should, as far as I have been able to ascertain, have been entirely neglected by the specialist writers on the subject. The first edition of the book at all events is not included in Kábdebo’s Bibliography of the two sieges.¹⁴ Nor can I find any allusion to it in the exhaustive works of

¹² See also A. J. Evans in *Encyclopædia Britannica*⁹, Art. ‘Roumania.’ Demetrios in exile wrote a *Descriptio Moldaviae* in Latin.

¹³ The book does not appear in the British Museum Catalogue.

¹⁴ Kábdebo (Heinrich), *Bibliographie zur*

Geschichte der beiden Türkenbelagerungen Wiens. Vienna, 1876. It would seem, however, that the following work mentioned by Kábdebo in his Supplement (p. 130, No. 339) is a second edition of the book.

‘Ragguaglio della guerra tra l’armi

Camesina¹⁵ and Klopp.¹⁶ There are, however, many indications that early writers on the subject, such as C. Contarini in his *Istoria della guerra di Leopoldo I. contra il Turco* (Venice, 1710), and the author of *Theatrum Europaeum*, Vol. XII. (Frankfurt am Main, 1691), and several others of approximately the same period, used the same sources as the authors of this Italian account of the siege and the circumstances attending it.

In view of this, it may not be out of place briefly to give my impression of the value of the book from the historical standpoint. In the first place it appears rather a remarkable achievement that the work, in spite of its obvious shortcomings presently to be alluded to, should have been printed and published in the same year as the siege, which ended as late as September 12. It is much more than a mere diary of the siege, which is the form taken by most of the works relating to the siege published in 1683. It has the appearance of a political pamphlet put together somewhat hastily by writers who had access to good sources of information, but were so anxious to get the work out quickly that they were betrayed into a good many inaccuracies of detail. The general aim seems to be to foster harmony between the various elements of the Holy Roman Empire and the Poles with a view to the further prosecution of the war against the common enemy, the Turk and his Hungarian allies. Of the two policies open to the Emperor after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna—war with Louis XIV. or the crushing of the Turk—it is clearly the writers' business to recommend the latter. To this end the intrigues of Louis XIV. are almost ignored, as is the friction which existed between the various elements of the relieving force.

It is not surprising, in view of the shortness of the work, that its comprehensiveness is paid for by a good deal of superficiality. The attention given to detail is curiously unequal. One instance may be cited. The forces of the Elector of Saxony are described with considerable minuteness. Those of the Elector of Bavaria are practically ignored. In the case of the Poles the absence of such detail is compensated for by a general description of the elements of which the Polish army is composed.

The inaccuracies alluded to are chiefly those of dates. There is also a tendency to confuse minor military actions. In general, however, the work seems to me to give a clear picture of all the main features of interest (viewed, it is true, from the Imperial standpoint) belonging to the period with which the writers deal. I think that the specialist student would find the identification of the sources used for the work an interesting problem.

The Greek text, which includes many Turkish and other foreign words, should throw fresh light on the history of the Greek language in Roumania.

F. H. MARSHALL.

Cesaree et Ottomane da principio della ribellione degli Ungari sino l'anno corrente 1684, e principalmente dell' assedio di Vienna e sua liberatione con la vittoria di Barcan, aggiuntovi in quest' ultima impressione la presa di Strigonia, molt' altre curiosita. In Venetia, 1684. 4°.

¹⁵ Camesina (Albert), *Wiens Bedrängniss im Jahre 1683* (in *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Altertumsvereines zu Wien*, Vol. VIII., 1865).

¹⁶ Klopp (Onno), *Das Jahr 1683*. Graz, 1882.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Bound up with the MS. are two inscriptions. They are in Roumanian. The first, on p. i at the beginning of the volume, is in Cyrillic character. The following transcriptions have been kindly supplied me by the Museum authorities on the understanding that they are to be regarded as provisional, since there is no expert there in this branch.

'Alu Kostandin Brankovénu V(oda) Spa(tar), skoasa de Jeremija Kakavela dasculu(l) și egume(nul) Plavicénilo(r) dupe limba francésca pe limba grecésca și scrisa de popa nekula : l(una) noe(mvrie) a(nu)l αχτζ.'

The second inscription, on p. v at the end of the volume, is in both Roman and Cyrillic scripts and reads :

'Dic(emvrie) 15, 7195 arzintul de la steaesca (?) dramar(i) 1217.'

Though there is some uncertainty as to forms, there does not seem any doubt that the following are approximately correct translations :

1. 'To Constantine Brancovanó Voivode and Spatar. Translated by Jeremias Cacavelas, Teacher and Abbot at the monastery of Plavicenii, from Italian into Greek. Written by the Priest Nicholas, November 1687.'

2. 'December 15, 1687. Payment for the copying (?), Drachmae 1217.'

Mr. L. C. Wharton of the Department of Printed Books, British Museum, has very kindly helped me in the interpretation of these inscriptions.¹⁷

F. H. M.

¹⁷ I may add that Cacavelas must have been still living in 1714, for he was the author of a historical work on the wars between the Hungarians and the Turks, dedicated to Stephanos Cantacuzenos, who was Voivode of Wallachia, 1714-1716. É. Legrand in his *Épistolaire grecque (Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire, iv., p. xiii. (c))*, mentions the following as included in the Catalogue of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque

du Métoque du Saint-Sépulchre at Constantinople :

Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικὴ ὑπὸ Ἱερεμίου Κακαβέλα ἱεροκέρυκος ἀφιεροῦντος αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα Οὐγγροβλαχίας Στέφανον Καντακουζηνόν, ἥτις διαλαμβάνει ἱστορίαν πολέμων μεταξύ Οὐγγρων καὶ Τούρκων· ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ 1660 ἔτους.

M. Legrand was unable to obtain access to this and other MSS.

THE 'SERVILE INTERREGNUM' AT ARGOS

OUR evidence for events in Argos after her crushing defeat by Kleomenes at Sepeia (*circ.* 494 B.C.) is so scrappy, incoherent, and to a large extent so late, that accurate reconstruction is well-nigh impossible. But a fresh attempt may at least throw into relief certain points which deserve more consideration than they seem to have received.

If we except the passage in Aristotle, *Pol.* 1303A (the exact significance of which is disputed), our sole authority for the so-called Servile Interregnum is Herodotos, Bk. 6, 83. It is necessary to quote the passage in full.

Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχρηώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς δ' ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες. ἔπειτ' ἐσφασ οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἑὸν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότῃσι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, ἐς δ' ἡ μὲν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν·

Dr. Macan¹ infers from this chapter 'the admission of the "slaves" to the franchise.' The wording of the first sentence in the extract may seem to support this inference, but Dr. Macan himself considers the chapter to involve both 'exaggeration and misconception,' and we may later see some considerations that tell against his inference. For myself I can find in Herodotos' account no convincing evidence of the actual and formal enfranchisement of the slaves. On the contrary, they are throughout described as *δοῦλοι*, and the last episode in the narrative is an attack from Tiryns of these *slaves* against their *masters*. Another remarkable point is that until the outbreak of hostilities at the finish, we hear nothing of any actual conflict between the slaves and their Argive owners. The natural presumption is no doubt that the servile upheaval could not fail to be attended by intense friction and even actual fighting; but neither when the slaves first took charge, nor again when they were later expelled, does Herodotos mention any armed conflict. The first battle in which he says the slaves took part is against, not Argos, but rebellious Tiryns. After the expulsion, there is actual concord between masters and slaves; and the subsequent rupture is represented as due to external influences. These points in the story may prove significant.

Plutarch² took Herodotos to mean that the slaves were enfranchised,

¹ Vide Macan's *Hdt.*, 6, 92, note.

² Plut., *de Mul. Virt.*, 4: Ἐπανορθούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν, οὐχ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, τοῖς

δοῦλοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιόικων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους, συνήκισαν τὰς γυναῖκας.

and expressly contradicted his alleged statement. But we must repeat that Herodotos does not say that Argos rectified her *δλιγανδρία* by admitting slaves as citizens; his assertion is that Argos had to submit to an unwelcome slave-domination, of which she rid herself as soon as she was able. Plutarch's reference to the enfranchisement of *περίοικοι* will be considered below.

We may safely assume that this servile upheaval, whatever its actual form, occurred practically immediately after the battle of Sepeia, *i. e.* in 494. It will help to give perspective to the problem if we now consider when the slaves' domination was brought to an end by their expulsion from Argos. Busolt³ thinks that by 481 at least Argos was again in the possession of its former lords, since the embassy from the Panhellenic Congress at the Isthmos finds a king there and the *βουλή* in charge.⁴ Indeed, he believes that the slave-supremacy could not have lasted beyond 487, since 'only the old Dorian Argos could have demanded from the Aeginetans and Sikyonians the payment of the fine' imposed on them by Argos, apparently on religious grounds, after Sepeia.⁵ But it seems to me impossible to date the expulsion earlier than 478. There were troops from Mycenae and Tiryns at Plataea in 479, apparently a joint contingent of 400 men;⁶ these Tirynthians could not have been the expelled Argive slaves, with whom we can scarcely believe Mycenae would willingly co-operate, for while, of course, the Mycenaeans would welcome a close understanding with Tiryns when they both fell away from Argos in or soon after 494, they must have rather felt keen resentment against those *δοῦλοι* who subsequently defeated their Tirynthian friends in battle and seized their town. The slaves' seizure of Tiryns must accordingly be dated subsequent to 479. Again, the Tirynthians' presence at Plataea meant that they accepted Spartan leadership and acknowledged Spartan hegemony—a capital offence in Argos' eyes. There could have been no concord between the slaves at Tiryns and their late owners if the former had already thus openly sided with Argos' most deadly foe. Thirdly, Herodotos is explicit that the expulsion did not take place until the sons of the slain at Sepeia had reached manhood, a process not yet fully completed in 481.⁷ On all these grounds I think we cannot date the slaves' expulsion before 478. The considerations urged by Busolt do not meet the arguments just set out against his earlier date, but they do go to strengthen the impression that the aristocratic *βουλή* at Argos was never really dislodged from its position after Kleomenes' victory; in other words, that Sepeia was not followed by a period during which *enfranchised* slaves took absolute charge of the State.

Can we define with any clearness the position of slaves in Argos prior to 494? Unfortunately, our information on this point is of the scantiest. There were doubtless many slaves in the private houses of Argos; we hear of these *οικέται* in Thucydides 5, 82. But the lexicographer Pollux mentions also a class of *γυμνήτες*, whom he ranks alongside of the Lacedaimonian Helots

³ Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 2, p. 564, note 2.

⁴ Hdt., 7, 148-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6, 92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 9, 28.

⁷ Cp. the Argive reason for desiring a thirty-years' truce with Sparta. Hdt., 7, 149.

and the Thessalian *πενέσται*.⁸ Was there then in Argos, as in Lacedaimon, a class of land-serfs, owned by the State and allotted by it to individual citizens for the cultivation of their estates? Busolt suggests⁹ that these *γυμνήτες* may have been poorer citizens who served as light-armed troops, and whose economic and social position, like that of the Hektemoroi in Solonian Athens, was practically that of slaves.¹⁰ We cannot doubt that in a commercial city like Argos there were many poor unprivileged citizens, and that after the great loss of life at Sepeia, they would attain a new value and political importance in the life of their community. But there is no need to reject the valuable morsel of information as to the existence of land-serfs preserved for us by Pollux. Even if the name *γυμνήτες* points to the use of those bearing it as light-armed, that would not prove citizen-status; the Lacedaimonian use of the Helots in this capacity was notorious. I suspect indeed that the existence of these agricultural serfs throws considerable light on the nature of the 'servile interregnum.' Among them there must have been many who had gained their masters' confidence sufficiently to be appointed overseers on the estates, just as on Attic farms a slave might become an *ἐπίτροπος* or an *ἐπιστάτης*.¹¹ When thousands of these masters were suddenly cut off in battle, leaving only small children at home, who then remained competent to undertake the management of their properties except these slaves? Can we doubt that many estates at once fell practically into the hands of the slaves who lived on them to work them? Even in cases where the overseer or the serfs generally remained loyal to the house they served, the Argive authorities would know that their control over their vassals had now become highly precarious, and that they must walk warily if they wished to avoid open rebellion. The *δοῦλοι* must be placated, or worse might follow. No doubt a spirit of unrest spread rapidly, both in the rural districts and among the domestic slaves in the city itself. But the aristocrats apparently handled a desperate situation with great skill. They succeeded in avoiding an open rupture; and thus the old *βουλή* of the eighty remained at least in nominal charge. They even perhaps avoided any overt or formal act whereby the slaves became legally free or secured citizen status. But they allowed them to behave very much as if they were free; in much of the business of the farms and of the city the co-operation of the slaves had become suddenly indispensable. Some of them even forced their way into the subordinate offices;¹² and in the dangerous years that followed 494 they were no doubt left to believe that their new status would not be questioned. Thus for sixteen anxious years, the Argive aristocrats submitted to a degree of servile domination which, however galling, had to be endured until the boys became men; and Herodotos' chapter is but an exaggerated

⁸ Pollux, *Onomastikon*, 3, 83. Μεταξὺ δὲ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰλωτες καὶ Θετταλῶν πενέσται καὶ Κρητῶν κλαρώται καὶ μνωῖται καὶ Μαριανδύνων δωροφόροι καὶ Ἀργείων γυμνήτες καὶ Σικυννίων κορυνηφόροι.

⁹ Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 1, 211 note.

¹⁰ Cp. *Ath. Pol.*, chap. 2. καὶ ἐδούλευον οἱ πένητες τοῖς πλουσίοις κ.τ.λ.

¹¹ For slaves as 'overseers,' Cp. Xen.,

Mem., 2, 5, 2; 2, 8, 3; and Heitland's comments, *Agricola*, p. 59.

¹² Thus I suggest Herodotos' phrase *ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες* should be interpreted. Even so, the phrase probably overstates what actually occurred, the exaggeration being due either to Herodotos' source, or to his own misunderstanding of it.

account of this strained and abnormal situation. The aristocrats could not have been altogether bereft of power, or they could never have succeeded so well. They would certainly be much aided by disunion and lack of organisation among the slaves themselves; they would rally the poor and hitherto unprivileged burgesses to their side; and perhaps further strengthened their position by enfranchising members of some of the perioecic cities; probably, too, the Argive women, fearing the indignity of wedlock with their former slaves, gave the *βουλή* support far beyond woman's wont, for they seem to have been well able to assert themselves with vigour in times of crisis.¹³

We have only the most summary account of the expulsion in 478 or thereabouts. The boys, having now grown up, *σφεας ἐξέβαλον*, 'threw the slaves out.' There is no hint of any actual fighting between the two parties at this date, except what is implied in these words; and they do not necessarily imply that the matter came to actual blows. What follows in Herodotos rather suggests that the slaves left Argos after an understanding had been arrived at. For years probably the serfs had been pressing for the regularisation of their position, and they doubtless became most insistent and discontented as the heirs of their dead masters in increasing numbers reached manhood, and threatened to reassert the earlier servile status of their dependants. One thing the Argive councillors must have sought to avoid above all things during this period of humiliation and weakness was an outbreak of open hostilities with their own slaves; and by adroit means we can only guess at, they managed to evade the issue until well after Plataea. Then, because the *βουλή* judged the moment propitious or because the slaves themselves insisted, the matter came to a head. Actual strife was still avoided; but it was made clear to the slaves that the city would not yield their claim to citizenship and was now in a position to maintain that refusal; on the other hand, the disaffected *δοῦλοι* were too numerous and determined to be reduced without a ruinous intestine struggle. An agreement was arrived at. The slaves were to leave Argos, and make an attempt upon rebellious Tiryns. If they succeeded in reducing that fortress, the Argives undertook to recognise them as members of an allied perioecic city. Tiryns, like Mycenae, had been a thorn in Argos' side ever since it had thrown off its allegiance in 494. In concert with Mycenae, it had sent a contingent to Plataea; had recognised Spartan hegemony; and could be used by Sparta to hold Argive pretensions severely in check. Nothing would be more agreeable to Argos than its reduction by a body of slaves who were prepared to recognise Argive leadership; and we need not doubt that if some time between 487 and 481 Argos could spare 1000 volunteers to aid Aegina against Athens,¹⁴ there would be many Argives willing to serve in the same capacity with their expelled slaves against Tiryns. On the other hand, the slaves would gain a new home where they would enjoy all but complete freedom, and an entirely new and higher status relatively to their old masters. This compact was successfully carried out. The slaves fell upon the Tirynthians, defeated them in battle, and took possession of their

¹³ Cp. Plutarch, *de Mul. Virt.*, 4; and the women's help in building the Long Walls.

Thuc., 5, 82.

¹⁴ Hdt., 6, 92.

city. Thereafter for a term, probably till 473-2, they were at concord with Argos, until seduced from their loyalty by the intrigues of Sparta and the 'prophet' from Phigalia.

It remains to discuss Plutarch's statement, mentioned above, that after Sepeia Argos enfranchised 'the best' of the *περίοικοι*. Plutarch's statement does not stand alone. Aristotle¹⁵ also says that, following on the disaster, the Argives *ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς*. Pausanias¹⁶ again twice speaks of a *συνοικισμός* during this period, in one reference giving it so large a scale that Busolt¹⁷ thinks his narrative must be exaggerated. Obviously these *περίοικοι* were the members of the Argolid cities which had been reduced under Argive hegemony to the status of subject allies, though information as to the exact details of their condition is wanting. From Herodotos 8, 73, it would seem that they were also known as Orneatae, from the fact that Orneae having been among the first places reduced, its citizens gave their name to a political status; but Dr. Macan suspects that the phrase from which this inference can be made is a gloss. At all events, after Sepeia some of these perioecic cities, notably Mycenae and Tiryns and perhaps others, fell away from their allegiance. Some, however, remained loyal, particularly perhaps Cleonae; and as later in 418 and 415, so perhaps now Orneae was also a staunch centre of Argive influence.¹⁸ Many others no doubt were wavering; and in the circumstances it would have been no surprising thing for Argos to seek to strengthen their loyalty and at the same time to repair her own broken citizen ranks by enfranchising many of their members. This policy need not, and in fact, as I imagine, did not, imply the total dissolution of the favoured communities, and the transplanting of their whole citizen body to Argos. The rebellious towns, Mycenae and Tiryns, were indeed ultimately razed, and their existence as separate communities brought to an end; but in these cases we have evidence¹⁹ as against Pausanias that no enfranchisements took place, but rather only enslavement and expulsion; though we may see below that there were interesting exceptions to this rigorous vengeance in the case of Tiryns. For the other towns mentioned in Pausanias (Hysiae, Orneae, Midea, and the rest) we have no direct evidence that they rebelled at all; I suspect that any or all of these were communities whose loyalty was secured after Sepeia by the enfranchisement of some of their citizens, and a liberal revision of the terms of alliance between them and the hegemonic state of Argos.

¹⁵ Arist., *Pol.*, 1303A.

¹⁶ Paus. 8, 25, 8. 'Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Τίρυν-
θίους Ἀργεῖοι, συνοίκους προσλαβεῖν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος
ἐπαυξῆσαι θελήσαντες; and 8, 27, 1. 'The
Arcadians gathered together at Megalopolis
to increase their strength,' ἄτε καὶ Ἀργεῖους
ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνον οὐ κατὰ
μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην κινδυνεύοντας ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-
μονίων παραστῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπων
πλήθει τὸ Ἄργος ἐπὶ ἡγήσαντο καταλύσαντες,
τίρυνθα καὶ Ἰστιάς τε καὶ Ὀρνεὰς καὶ Μυκήνας καὶ
Μίδειαν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα οὐκ ἀξιόλογον
ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἦν, τὰ τε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων

ἀδεέστερα τοῖς Ἀργείοις ὑπάρξαντα καὶ ἕμα ἐς
τοὺς περιοίκους ἰσχύον γενομένην αὐτοῖς.

¹⁷ Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 3. p. 114 note.

¹⁸ For Cleonae as 'ally' of Argos against
(a) rebellious Mycenae (468?), (b) at
Tanagra (457), (c) at Mantinea (416), v.
Strabo 377; inscription quoted in Hill's
Sources, chap. iii. No. 95, and Thuc., 1, 107;
and Thuc., 5, 67. For Orneai, cp. Thuc.,
5, 67 and 6, 7.

¹⁹ Diod., XI. 65; Ephoros (*apud* Steph.
Byz.) *frag.* 98; Strabo, 372-3.

Certainly Orneae is met with later as a separate community²⁰ in alliance with Argos, and Hysiae²¹ seems also to have been in the same condition.

If the reconstruction suggested in this article recaptures at all the essential truth for this period, it involves a sharp distinction between the treatment accorded to the perioecic cities (whose free members would be themselves Dorians), and that dealt out by Argos to her own *γυμνήτες* or agricultural serfs (who would be mainly of pre-Dorian stock); and the racial difference would go far to explain the divergent treatment. We have taken Aristotle's reference in the *Politics* to be to the enfranchisement of members from the subject cities. This is very much the interpretation of Aristotle's passage given by Susemihl and Hicks; but Newman²² objects on the ground that the word *περίοικοι* in Aristotle never seems to bear a meaning analogous to that which it would bear in any technical discussion of, say, the Lacedaimonian constitution. Newman accordingly takes the Aristotelian *περίοικοι* to be here equivalent to Herodotos' *δοῦλοι*, and consequently infers, like Dr. Macan, that the slaves were actually enfranchised. But in the light of all the evidence, it seems to me far more probable that in this passage Aristotle has simply taken over the word *περίοικοι* which he found in his authority; and that in that authority, whatever it was, *περίοικοι* referred to the inhabitants of the subjected Argolid towns. In that case, the testimony of Aristotle tells rather against any enfranchisement of the *δοῦλοι*, and in favour of the views elaborated above.

Our last task must be to clear up, if we can, when this partial *συννοικισμός* took place. Plutarch's story necessitates the view that it occurred soon after Sepeia, as the enfranchised *περίοικοι* were wedded to the widows of those slain by the Spartan king. On the other hand, Pausanias' reference, to some extent corroborated by Strabo, seems to date it subsequently to the reduction of Tiryns and Mycenae, the former of which was perhaps besieged from 472 to 468, and the latter from 468 to a date after the Helot revolt (464). We can dismiss the date which depends upon the reduction of Mycenae, for the reason given, that other evidence shows that no Mycenaean was granted Argive citizenship. But apart from this, there is no necessary conflict between Plutarch and Pausanias. The policy of enfranchisement may have begun as early as 494 and need not have ceased until after the fall of Tiryns more than twenty years later. It was perhaps most vigorously pursued in the earlier years immediately after the disaster, when most of all it was urgent for Argos to confirm the allegiance of her wavering *περίοικοι*, and to increase her own citizen roll. There was then probably a lull, but the policy was resumed for a moment when Tiryns surrendered. But who were the Tirynthians that were accepted into the Argive register? We can hardly believe that they belonged to the slaves who had gone back on the compact of 478, and had treacherously assailed the city which had connived at their establishment at Tiryns. We have probably here the outcome of a pretty episode of conflicting passions and intrigue. Even in 494, when Tiryns first fell away, there may have been a party loyal to Argos. But the disloyalists prevailed, and placed themselves

²⁰ Thuc., 5, 67 and 6, 7.

²¹ Thuc., 5, 83.

²² Newman's edition of the *Politics*, Vol. IV. p. 304, note.

under the protection of Sparta, and served with her at Plataea. When the δούλοι seized their city in 478, they no doubt expected Spartan succour. But Sparta, preoccupied with other matters, allowed them to be shamefully subdued to a servile domination; and later, about 473, when faced by the formidable insurrection of Tegea and the Arcadians allied with Argos, Sparta even, in her anxiety to create a diversion against Argos and to detach her from the rebels, sent the Phigalian seer and made common cause with the slaves. This base betrayal rankled in the Dorian hearts of those who, having freed Tiryns from Argive control, and having fought alongside Sparta in defence of Greece, found that their only reward was to be abandoned beneath the heel of eject slaves. Many of them must have swung back to loyalty to Argos; and doubtless, during the long siege of the serfs to which Argos had to resort, they gave much aid to the besiegers. Argos, again, would have no mercy for the slaves who had played her false. Thus, when at last the gates of Tiryns were opened, those Dorian περίοικοι who had repented of their post-Sepeian rebellion, became citizens of victorious Argos; while the treacherous slaves were driven out, after the failure of their two great efforts for freedom—first in Argos itself and then in Tiryns—to find a precarious livelihood as fishermen in the mean coastal township of Halieis.²³

P. A. SEYMOUR.

²³ Strabo, 373; Ephoros, *frag.* 98.

ASKLEPIOS BY BRYAXIS

[Plate I.]

IN the Museum of Alexandria is to be seen a colossal head of fine workmanship which has its face curiously surrounded by rough planes where curly hair would be expected, and where this must have been added originally in coloured plaster¹ (Pl. I. *a*). It has been taken for a head of Sarapis or Zeus, and I must confess I have accepted the former name unsuspiciously, so great is the similitude in style to the various copies of the Sarapis of Bryaxis, of which the Egyptian museums possess several² by far exceeding in artistic merits the more generally known head of the Vatican. On the other hand, it reminded me so much of the famous Blacas Asklepios from Melos in the British Museum (Pl. I. *b*) that I did not doubt the likeness went so far as to prove the latter to be another work of Bryaxis.

On further investigation, however, I found that those parts of the hair and beard that have been executed in marble correspond neither lock by lock to the beginning of the curly beard, nor to the bases of the massy curls that overshadow the earnest face of the mysterious Alexandrian deity.

The moustaché especially is easy to compare, and is seen to be absolutely different. In the Alexandrian head, though drooping at the ends, it leaves the upper-lip entirely free. Among the copies of Sarapis, the largest and finest, I think, is that from Arsinoë at Caïro³ (Fig. 1). Here the moustache

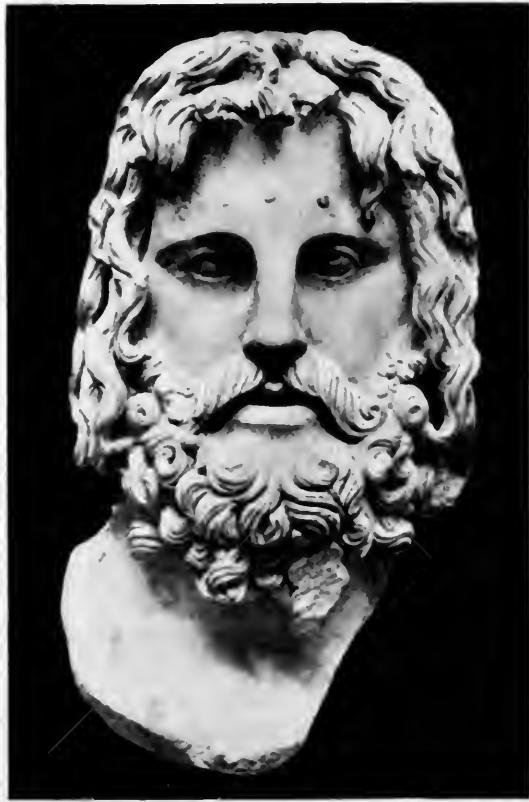


FIG. 1.—HEAD OF SARAPIS FROM ARSINOË, CAIRO.

¹ E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 203, Fig. 75; Brunn-Bruckmann, Fig. No. 605, p. 3, Abb. 6 (Sieveking); Hauser, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1906, p. 69; Rubensohn,

Arch. Anz., 1906, p. 134.

² Amelung, *Rev. Arch.*, 3, IV. ii. p. 177, Pl. XIV.; *Ausonia*, 1908, p. 115 ff.

³ *Cat. Général*, No. 27432 (Ht. 0.90 m.).

ends in a spiral and, by hiding the corners of the mouth, accentuates the expression of strength of the straight under-lip, so different from the goodness that speaks from the fuller form of the other.

Upon turning to a closer comparison of the Alexandrian and Melian heads, I was surprised to find the greatest similarity where I had failed to find it before. The way the hair borders the forehead is exactly the same, and the little that remains of the hair fits in very well. The half-open mouth particularly is very like, and the surrounding growth of hair on the Egyptian head differs only in so far that the forms are more sharply cut, in a more realistic contrast to the mellower surface of the flesh. On the whole the identity of the types is evident. It merely seems that the Egyptian fragment is everywhere far superior in artistic quality to the famous head from Melos



FIG. 2.—ASKLEPIOS.
STATUETTE FOUND AT
EPIDAUROS.

in the modelling of the forehead with its curious swelling at the right temple, and in the deep-laid eyes with their Praxitelean *hygrotes*. Though both works seem to render the same conception, they differ somewhat in the shape of the nose, which is a trifle broader, especially in the nostrils, at Alexandria, though not quite so much perhaps as it seems from the photograph which I have before me, the same as is reproduced in the *Museum Guide*, for it shows less under a different light in the one which Sieveking has reproduced as his Figure 6 in the commentary on a head of Zeus from the Villa Albani.

But on the whole the resemblance is such that we cannot doubt they go back to the same artist; and that this must be Bryaxis seems plain by the similarity of style in these works and the various replicas of his most famous Sarapis, which to my mind is even closer than that which Amelung has noted between the Zeus of Otricoli and the Alexandrian god.⁴

It seems worth while mentioning that this author compares another head (though he does not know where it is) with both the Zeus of Otricoli and the Asklepios from Melos.⁵ To me it appears to be nearer to the style of the Mausolos.

Wolters⁶ has shown, with ample evidence, that we may know the general form of the statue to which the Melian head belongs, by a series of statuettes found at Epidauros (Fig. 2). He has, however, left open the question by whose hand this was, and where it may have stood.

It seems possible to put forward an acceptable proposition about this locality, now that we feel sure about the artist. Epidauros itself is out of question, since the chryselephantine statue of Thrasymedes was seated, as we know from Pausanias, and we need not dwell on any further difference

⁴ *Ausonia*, l.c., p. 115.

⁵ l.c., p. 118, Fig. 18.

⁶ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1892, pp. 3 and 4, Pls. II. and III.

either in ikonography or style. Nor can we find the original which we are looking for in the Asklepios of Bryaxis mentioned by Pausanias, without further detail, at Megara with a Hygieia by the same hand. The coins⁷ that have preserved a memory of this work, be it ever so slight, suffice to prove that if it was analogous, it was certainly not the statue that we are looking for. That Pliny⁸ mentions an Aesculapius in his catalogue of bronze-workers as one of two works of our master, does not help us any further. And if we might be induced to connect with our Alexandrian find the notice of Pausanias about the statue in the temple which Antoninus built at Epidauros for the Egyptian Hygieia, Apollo and Asklepios, we should soon be corrected by the Alexandrian coins. These show a head that agrees wonderfully well (Fig. 3, 1),⁹



FIG. 3.—COINS OF ALEXANDRIA AND COS.

but have a very different body (Fig. 3, 2):¹⁰ not so much in the general pose, which is akin, as in the action—the right hand holding a phiale, the left arm wrapped in the mantle, whilst that which we are in search of leans on a long stick, with part of his garment propped under his left armpit, his right hand resting on his hip. This was, from the time of Mikon, a not unusual Attic scheme. The Egyptian deities whom the emperor introduced at Epidauros were, no doubt, Sarapis, Isis and Harpokrates.

Bryaxis, though Athenodoros calls him an Athenian, and though he may have developed his art in the Attic metropolis, bears a Carian name, and certainly worked in his native land, as the youngest, probably, amongst the famous sculptors of the Mausoleum in the middle of the fourth century, at

⁷ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Num. Comm. Megara*, vi. and vii.

⁸ *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 73

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⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Alexandria*, Pl. V., No. 1706 and specially 1782.

¹⁰ *l.c.*, No. 703, 705, 1315, 1613.

Rhodes and at Cnidos, where five colossal gods of bronze and a marble Dionysos respectively are mentioned by Pliny.¹¹

Now as Cos was one of the most renowned sanctuaries of Asklepios it seems worth while to inquire if there be any trace of his having made a statue of the god for this island. So it certainly is not unexpected that a unique Coan silver tetradrachm of the second century, with the magistrate's name of Nikostratos, in the Hunterian collection¹² (Fig. 3, 4), bears an Asklepios of grand style that corresponds in every detail to the Epidaurian statuettes, and differs only in its finer feeling for the great lines and the rhythm of the more svelt figure. Nor do the heads of Asklepios in profile, which occur in the same epoch on the smaller coins of Cos (Fig. 3, 3),¹³ present any objection to the supposition that the image of the god at the sanctuary had the aspect of the Asklepios Blacas. That the Asklepios on the bronze coins of Hadrian¹⁴ presents another type is no serious objection.

I need hardly recall the frequent intercourse of Alexandria with Cos (which after the death of Alexander fell to the share of Ptolemy, and of which Herondas left us such a lively scene in his visit of Kunno and Kokkale, the Alexandrian housewives, to the sanctuary) to support the theory that our fragmentary head may have been a copy of the Coan original, as well as the Epidaurian statuettes and the Munich torso which Wolters cites.¹⁵ However, I should prefer another solution. Close as we found the resemblance of the colossal head to the Melian, we yet had to observe a difference in the shape of the nose, which might easily be accounted for by the work of the copyist, but may not less well be due to the variations which an artist would make in using the same ideas of form and expression for different statues of the same god. And as we have found on the Alexandrian coins a type that stands no farther away from the Coan than the Megarian does, it looks as if Bryaxis might have made an Asklepios for Alexandria as well as a Sarapis.

The Alexandrian fragment even seems to be of such excellent quality that I venture to ask if it might not be an original, though I lack means to decide if the rather rare technique of plaster hair, surrounding a marble face, might be as early as Bryaxis and not beneath his standing as an artist.

If Bryaxis should thus have made an Asklepios for Megara, for Cos and for Alexandria, slightly varying in attitude though identical in type, one feels inclined to suggest that the Roman replica in the Pamfili collection,¹⁶ which Wolters mentions as differing from the Epidaurian statuettes by its action and by the overlap of the mantle falling in front, might be a copy of the Aesculapius mentioned by Pliny. It would therefore be a fourth work, intermediate between the Coan and the Alexandrian, holding a phiale like the latter, but leaning on a stick like the former. Not that there is any reason to assume that our artist had a special predilection for sculpturing the healing god, but that as he succeeded in creating a type that answered to the highest

¹¹ *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 42 and xxxvi. 22.

¹² *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Coll.*, II. Pl. 54, 18; *B. M. Cat. Caria*, Pl. XLV. 6.

¹³ *B. M. Cat.*, Pl. XXXII. 2-5.

¹⁴ *I.c.*, p. 218, No. 241. I owe the cast to the kind help of Mr. G. F. Hill.

¹⁵ *I.c.*, p. 10, Pl. IV.

¹⁶ *I.c.*, p. 6; *Clarac* iv. Taf. 551. 1160 c.

expectations of his age, he was called upon to repeat his success. If Petersen¹⁷ was right in suggesting that Bryaxis created his Sarapis on the analogy of the Asklepios of Thrasymedes at Epidauros, and Wilcken¹⁸ in accepting this view, it is probable that the advisers of Ptolemy advised the king to commission Bryaxis to make this statue, because his Asklepios had met with such success. It was their intention to resuscitate the Egyptian god Hesar-Hapi as a syncretic Hellenistic deity, whose character as a god of the dead was to be softened by qualities like those of the healing god.¹⁹

Be this as it may, it seems evident that the Alexandrian and the Melian head and the Coan coin go a long way to enlarge our knowledge of Bryaxis, the Carian artist who did so much to develop the Praxitelean style in the second half of the third century B.C., and who, attempting under the influence of Euphranor, to give a more earnest character to such gods as Zeus or Sarapis, solved this problem best in rendering the benignity of the god who heals the sufferings of the sick and ailing.

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¹⁷ *Arch. f. Relig.*, xiii. p. 72.

¹⁸ *Jahrb.* xxxii., 1917, p. 190.

¹⁹ Tacitus, *Hist.* IV. 84, deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin, antiquissimum

illis gentibus nunc, plerique Jovem, ut rerum omnium potentem, plurimi Ditem patrem, insignibus quae in ipso manifesta aut per ambages conjectant.

THE LAST ATHENIAN HISTORIAN : LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES

FROM the Roman to the Turkish conquest of Greece, a period of sixteen centuries, Athens produced only three historians : Dexippos, Praxagoras and Laonikos Chalkokondyles. Of the two first only meagre fragments have come down to us ; indeed, of the three treatises of Praxagoras, *The Kings of Athens*, composed when he was only nineteen, his *History of Constantine the Great*, written at the age of twenty-two, and his maturer study of *Alexander, King of Macedon*, only a summary of the second, amounting to two pages, has been preserved by that omnivorous reader, Photios, in his *Library*. Such juvenile histories cannot, however, have had much greater value than prize essays, conspicuous rather for their correctness of style than for any seasoned judgment. But we may regret that only thirty-five pages of the three works of Dexippos, *The Events after the Death of Alexander*, *The Historical Epitome*, which went as far as the time of Claudius II. in 268, and *The Scythian Affairs*, have survived.¹ For Dexippos was an author of a very different type, a man of affairs as well as of letters, the type of historian of which we have familiar examples in England in Grote and Macaulay, in Clarendon and Bryce. A worse writer, but a better general, than his model, Thucydides, he defeated the Goths when they invaded Athens, on which occasion a Gothic leader urged the sparing of the Athenian libraries, in order that the Athenians might unfit themselves for the arts of war by much study of books ! After these two historians, who flourished, Dexippos in the third, and Praxagoras in the fourth centuries, no Athenian took their place till, in the second half of the fifteenth, Laonikos Chalkokondyles composed the extant ten books of his history, one of the most interesting and valuable productions of the mediaeval Greek intellect.

Laonikos, or Nicholas, Chalkokondyles, was, as he tells us in a sentence imitated from Thucydides, 'an Athenian,' and a member of the leading Greek family in the Athens of his day. Unlike the modern diarist, he talks little about himself ; but on July 30 and August 2, 1447, the famous archaeologist and traveller, Cyriacus of Ancona, mentions meeting at Mistrâ, the mediaeval Sparta, then capital of the Greek principality in the South of the Morea, of which Constantine Palaiologos (subsequently the last Greek Emperor) was then ruler, the young Athenian, Nicholas Chalkokandyles, son of George, 'egregie latinis atque grecis litteris eruditum.'² This can have been none other than the future historian, of whose surname there were several forms : Chalkokandyles ('the man with the brazen candlestick'), Chalkokondyles ('the

¹ *Historici Graeci Minores*, i. 165-200, 438-40; Photios, *Bibliotheca*, codd. 62, 82.

² *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milano, 1910), pp. 203-4.

man with the brazen pen'), and an abbreviated version of the latter, Chalkondyles, corrupted in the vernacular into Charkondyles. His father, 'the Athenian optimiate,' was, as the historian informs us,³ a kinsman of Maria Melissené, the Duchess of Athens, wife of its Florentine Duke, Antonio I. Acciajuoli, and therefore connected with one of the most distinguished Greek families. For the Duchess' father, the lord of Astros and Kyparissia, both historic places in the Morea, was great-grandson of the Strategopoulos, who had recovered Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, and whose family had been mentioned as early as 1082. When, in 1435, the Duke of Athens died, the ambitious Duchess sent the elder Chalkokondyles on a mission to Murad II., asking that the government of Athens might be entrusted to herself and her relative, and offering a large sum as *bakshish*. But Greek leaders always have rivals, and in this case the normal rivalry was accentuated by racial antipathy. The Florentine party at Athens and the other Greek notables hostile to Chalkokondyles enticed the Duchess, during his absence, out of the Akropolis and proclaimed a young scion of the Acciajuoli family, Nerio II., as Duke of Athens. The expulsion of the family of Chalkokondyles from its native city and the marriage of the Dowager Duchess with the new Italian Duke restored peace to Athens. Meanwhile, George Chalkokondyles had fared badly at the Porte. The Sultan, despite the offer of 30,000 gold pieces, declined to accept the Greek envoy's proposal, cast him into prison and demanded the unconditional surrender of the Duchy. The envoy managed to escape to Constantinople, leaving his retinue, tents and beasts of burden behind him. But on the voyage from Constantinople to the Greek dominions in the Peloponnese, he was captured by an Athenian ship and taken back to the Sultan, who pardoned him. This was not his only experience of Greco-Turkish diplomacy. Eleven years later he went on a mission from the Despot Constantine to Murad, who imprisoned him at Serres.⁴ In that year, 1446, his son, the historian, was evidently an eye-witness of the Sultan's attack upon the Hexamilion, or Six-mile Rampart, which defended the Isthmus of Corinth.⁵ But a later writer, Theodore Spandounis,⁶ finds no confirmation in our text of Chalkokondyles, when he describes the latter as secretary of Murad II. and as present at the fatal battle of Varna in 1444. The date at which he composed his history can be approximately fixed. The latest event which he mentions is the capture of Lemnos by the Venetians early in 1464. As he speaks of the Venetians as still holding Euboea, which was captured by the Turks in 1470, he must have written between those two dates. We might perhaps infer from his mention of the Teutonic Knights as still occupying Prussia, that he wrote before 1466, when the second treaty of Thorn compelled them to cede West Prussia to Poland and to hold East Prussia as a Polish fief.⁷ The appendix, which exists in some editions, carrying the narrative down to 1565, is, of course, not his, nor is there any authority for the theory of Vossius, that he lived till 1490 or later. If we may believe the fragmentary *Life* by

³ P. 320 (ed. Bonn).

⁴ P. 343.

⁵ P. 344, *θεασάμεθα*.

⁶ *Apud* Sathas, *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, ix. 261.

⁷ Pp. 132, 208, 565.

the Greek doctor, Antonios Kalosynas,⁸ he, like his brother Demetrios, and most other Greek scholars, left Greece after the Turkish conquest, when Mistrâ was no longer the seat of a Greek court and an agreeable residence. He would probably in that case have settled in Italy, of which his history shows special knowledge, and where Demetrios, who was born in 1424, has left a name famous in the revival of learning. Invited by Lorenzo the Magnificent to fill the chair of Greek at Florence, he there brought out an edition of the *Iliad*, and exercised indirectly a profound influence upon English education, because Grocyn and Linacre were his pupils. In a letter written from the Villa Medici, Politian mentions him, but he died at Milan in 1511, after bringing out a volume of *Questions* there, the father of ten children. Even after the Turkish conquest, however, the family still resided at Athens. In 1545 a 'Demetris Charkantyles' is mentioned in an inscription in a convent-farm of the famous monastery of Kaisariane, which was traditionally connected with that family, and the, in Turkish times, far more prominent Benizeloi. Spon,⁹ who visited Athens in 1675, found it, however, 'of modest fortune.' 'Stamati Calcondili,' whom he describes as 'a descendant of the historian,' was a small tradesman, who 'had a house under the Castle,' but 'generally resided at Mistrâ.' Still, the Chalkokondylai were long reckoned among the twelve oldest Athenian families, and belonged to the *Archontes*—the first of the four classes into which the Athenians were divided in Turkish times. The French traveller, Linguet, visited three members of the family in their 'humble workshop' at Athens in 1729, and a Nicholas Chalkokondyles was living there in 1883, while a modern street preserves the surname of the last Athenian historian.¹⁰

Chalkokondyles differs from all other Byzantine historians in the choice of his theme. While they wrote of the Greek Empire, which in his day came to its end, he wrote of the rise and progress of the young and vigorous Turkish Empire which had taken its place. He is, in fact, the mediaeval Herodotus—the historian of that centuries-old duel between Europe and Asia—*Graecia Barbariae lento collisa duello*—which began at Troy, was checked at Marathon and Salamis, renewed on the field of Kossovo and on the ramparts of Constantinople, continued in our time at the battles of Sarantaporon, Kumanovo and Lülé Bourgas, and almost finished by the treaty of Sèvres. With an impartiality rare in a part of the world where racial hatred burns so fiercely, he describes the origin, organisation and triumph of his nation's great enemy, while he extends his narrative beyond the borders of the Greek Empire, to the Serbs, the Bosniaks, the Bulgarians and the Roumanians, with interesting and curious digressions, quite in the style of Herodotus, about the manners and customs of countries beyond South-Eastern Europe—Hungary, Germany, Italy, Spain, France and England. This great variety justifies the remark of a critic, that 'he has the gift of arousing our attention, by inspiring us with curiosity, and of not letting us fall asleep over his book.'

⁸ *Apud* Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 243.

⁹ *Voyage*, [Ital. trans.], p. 425.

¹⁰ Kampouroglos, *Μνημεία τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων* (ed. 2), i. 305–8; *Ἀθηναϊκὸν Ἀρχοντολόγιον*, 11.

Chalkokondyles remarks in his introduction, that the events which he is about to relate are inferior in importance to none. In that he was, indeed, a prophet, for the entry of the Turks into Europe, where they made their first permanent settlement in 1353, exactly one hundred years before the capture of Constantinople, not only completely revolutionised the Balkan peninsula, but created for Western Europe that terrible Eastern Question, which has set nation against nation, caused directly or indirectly most of our modern wars, and still, like a Sphinx, propounds its riddle to statesmen and diplomatists, which none can solve, because it is insoluble. Beginning his narrative with speculation upon the origin of the Turks, Chalkokondyles describes how, early in the thirteenth century, one of their tribes, named Oghuz, fleeing before the Mongols from its home in Central Asia, entered Armenia, and ultimately settled on the then frontier of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor, at Eski-shehr, the ancient Dorylaeum, where the Crusaders had won a famous victory in 1097 on their way to liberate Jerusalem, and where the Greek troops have now established their front against the Kemalists, and at Sugut ('the willow'), where Osman, the eponymous hero of the Osmanli race, was born. Thence the Turks spread over Asia Minor; Brûsa was taken in 1326 and became their capital; Nicaea, the seat of the famous Councils and the refuge of the Greek Emperors during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, became Turkish in 1330; and the quarrels of the Balkan Christians, Greeks against Greeks, Serbians against Bulgarians, Greeks against Serbians, invited and facilitated the expansion of the young and vigorous Turkish power into Europe.

The historian here dwells upon the prowess of the great Serbian Tsar, Stephen Dushan, the dominating personality of the Balkan peninsula in the middle of the fourteenth century, a legislator as well as a conqueror, whose people he pronounces to be 'the oldest and greatest of the nations of the earth,' but whose vast and heterogeneous empire, like all Balkan creations, made too rapidly and too forcibly to be assimilated, was the work of one man and died with him. There follow the transference of the Turkish capital to Adrianople and the two fatal Serbian defeats on the Maritza in 1371 and on the historic field of Kossovo in 1389, with which the first book appropriately ends. The last fragment of Bulgaria nine years later was completely annihilated and Bulgaria disappeared from the map for nearly five centuries, till the sword of Russia and the pen of Gladstone called it into existence again in 1878, only to demonstrate in the late war the truth of Bismarck's cynical saying, that 'liberated nations are not grateful but exacting.' A tributary Serbian principality lingered on for seventy years after Kossovo on the Danube by the sufferance of the Sultans; a divided Bosnian kingdom continued to exist, after the death of its great king, Tvrtko, combining, like Jugoslavia to-day, Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, Slavs of the interior and a Latin population in the coast towns, and undermined by the Bogomil heresy, which preferred the Turk to the Catholic, and by the Slavonic law of succession, which, by excluding primogeniture, created rival candidatures to the throne at every vacancy, and surrounded a weak monarch with a too powerful aristocracy.

Beyond the Danube the Turkish authority began to penetrate; in 1391 Wallachia became a tributary province of Turkey; five years later the first attempt of Europe to drive the Turk back to Asia ended, owing to the impetuosity of the French, in the overwhelming defeat of Sigismund of Hungary and his new Crusaders at Nikopolis, where the Serbian Prince, Stephen Lazarevich, struck the decisive blow for the Turks against his fellow-Christians. In vain the Greek Emperor, Manuel II., visited the French and English courts, for the speech which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Henry IV.,

‘As far as to the sepulchre of Christ
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy,’

remained a pious wish, like that of Henry V., that he and Katharine of France should ‘compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople [not yet Turkish] and take the Turk by the beard.’ For one cannot agree with Stubbs, that even had Henry V. lived, he could have succeeded in ‘staying the progress of the Ottomans.’ Manuel was treated with every honour, like Peter I. of Cyprus nearly forty years earlier, to whom, according to Froissart, Edward III. had regretted that he was ‘growing too old’ to put on the red cross, but must leave crusading to his children, like Leon VI., the last King of Cilician Armenia, to whom Richard II. had assigned an annuity of £1000. But the House of Lancaster was prevented by internal disputes and the French war from renewing the exploits of Richard I. and Prince Edward in the Holy Land.

The defeat and capture of Bayezid I. by Timûr-lenk at Angora and the ensuing civil war between his sons, to which events Chalkokondyles devotes much space, deferred the complete conquest of the Balkan peninsula and gave the Christians a respite of twenty years. But the accession of Murad II. was followed by the further expansion of the Turkish Empire. Salonika and Joannina became Turkish in 1430, and remained so till 1912 and 1913 respectively, and the tardy Greek reconquest of nearly all the Morea was at the expense not of the Turks but of the Franks, and was merely the swan-song of Hellenism in its classic home. The temporary success of that picturesque figure, Hunyad, ‘the white knight of Wallachia,’ was eclipsed by the great Turkish victory at Varna in 1444—a just retribution for the violated treaty which the perjured Christians had sworn to keep with the Infidel four months earlier. Another attempt by Hunyad four years later was wrecked on the fatal field of Kossovo by Roumanian desertion and Serbian treachery, for selfishness and mutual jealousy made it as easy for Murad II. as for Abdul Hamid II. to divide, and so rule over, the Balkan Christians.

We have now reached the events of which Chalkokondyles was a contemporary, and his narrative henceforth acquires additional value. With his aid and our later knowledge, derived from Western sources, let us see what was the position in the Near East in 1451, when Mohammed II. ascended the throne. Our author¹¹ has defined the extent of the Greek Empire on the

¹¹ P. 8.



THE NEAR EAST IN 1451.

eve of its fall. That once vast dominion then consisted of Constantinople and a small strip of adjacent territory extending as far as Mesembria on the Black Sea and Herakleia (the modern Ereğli) on the Sea of Marmara—a little more than that left to Turkey by the treaty of Sèvres. The two strategic islands of Imbros and Lemnos (the latter so familiar to our troops in the late war), which command the mouth of the Dardanelles, and the Northern Sporades, were all that remained to the Greek Empire of 'the isles of Greece'; and the most important portion was the Peloponnese, then wholly Greek, except for the four Venetian colonies of Modon and Coron (with the bay of Navarino) in the south-west and of Argos and Nauplia (with the outlying places of Kastri and Thermisi) in the east. The rest of the Greek world was either Turkish or still Frankish. Athens was the seat of a Florentine, and Naxos of a practically Venetian, Duchy—for even the 'non-Venetian dynasties' of the Cyclades 'were glad to be regarded as Venetians, whenever the Republic concluded a treaty of peace with the Turks,' while fresh Venetian families had latterly been acquiring insular baronies. Crete, Corfù (with its seven continental dependencies of Butrinto, Strovili, Saiada, La Bastia, Suboto, Parga and Phanari), Aegina (just acquired this very year), Tenos, Mykonos, and the continental outposts of Lepanto and Pteleon, strategically placed near the respective mouths of the Gulfs of Corinth and Volo, were direct Venetian colonies. Cerigo was partly a Venetian colony, partly a Marquisate hereditary in the Venetian family of Venier; Cerigotto was the still minuter Marquisate of the Venetian Viari; Paxo, reckoned as an integral part of Corfù, and placed under the supreme jurisdiction of the Venetian *provveditore* of the larger island, formed the barony of one of the great Italian families settled in the Ionian Islands; and Eubœa, still nominally divided into the three original fiefs instituted at the time of the Frankish conquest, was practically governed by the Venetian bailie at Chalkis, whom the triarchs recognised as the representative of their suzerain. The Genoese family of the Gattilusj ruled over Lesbos, Thasos, Samothrace, the Thracian town of Aenos and Foglia Vecchia (or Phocaea) in Asia Minor; the Genoese Chartered Company, the *maona*, administered Chios, Samos, Psará and Foglia Nuova with its alum mines; the Genoese Bank of St. George (whose palace at Genoa was chosen as the seat of the recent Genoa Conference) owned Famagosta in Cyprus; the Genoese house of Arangio governed Ikaria. The rest of Cyprus belonged to the French dynasty of Lusignan. The Neapolitan family of Tocco possessed the remaining Ionian islands with the three points of Vonitza, Varnazza and Angelokastron on the opposite continent; the King of Naples was lord of the island of Kastellorizon, or 'Castel Rosso,' as it was then called, recently bestowed upon him by the Pope, which the treaty of Sèvres has ceded to Italy. Of the thirteen Sporades occupied by Italy since 1912, three, viz., Astypalaia, Karpathos and Kasos, belonged to the two Venetian families of Quirini and Cornaro; Patmos and Leipso were practically the unmolested home of the monks of St. John's, while Rhodes and the other seven islands were ruled by the Knights, who held on the mainland of Asia one castle, S. Pietro, the ancient Halikarnassos, and the modern Budrum. One independent Greek state, the Empire of Trebizond,

famous for the beauty of its princesses, still survived on the southern shores of the Black Sea, where in our own time a movement is on foot for the creation of an autonomous Greek state of Pontus, and where Genoa still possessed colonies at Samsun and Samastri.

Such is a picture of the Greek-speaking world two years before the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Outside those limits a tributary Serbian principality, already once absorbed but allowed to re-exist till it pleased the Sultan to end it, lingered on the Danube, and still stretched as far as Podgoritz in Montenegro. But Belgrade had been ceded to Hungary, and Serbia no longer possessed an outlet on the Adriatic; the Serbian capital was the castle of Semendria, which still reminds the traveller down the Danube of old George Brankovich and the last days of mediaeval Serbia. Of the other Slav states, the Bosnian kingdom, in frequent strife with Serbia over the possession of the frontier towns, was divided against itself by the King's conversion to Catholicism and persecution of the Bogomils, who flocked into what had recently become 'the Duchy of St. Sava'—the modern Herzegovina, through the assumption of the ducal title by the powerful noble, Stephen Vukitchich, but what Chalkokondyles calls 'the land of Sandales,'¹² from Vukitchich's uncle and predecessor, Sandalj Hranich, and whose inhabitants he describes as *Koudougeroi*, or Bogomils. The latter half of this word (used also by the Patriarch Gennadios) is perhaps a translation of the Serbian *Staratz* ('old man')—the title of a Bogomil official. Montenegro was just beginning its glorious, but now ended, career under Stephen Crnojevich; Skanderbeg still held out in Albania, where Venice maintained colonies at Alessio, Drivasto, Dagno, Satti, Scutari, Durazzo, Antivari and Dulcigno. Practically all the Dalmatian coast was Venetian, broken only by the independent Republic of Ragusa, while the smaller Slavonic Republic of Poljica was under Venetian protection. Ragusa excited the admiration of the Athenian by its excellent aristocratic government and the fine buildings which adorned the city, 'obscure perhaps in glory, but a good nursing-mother of shrewd men.' Ragusa was, indeed, called 'the Slavonic Athens.'

Chalkokondyles gives us a long and graphic account of the capture of Constantinople, of the block at the gate of St. Romanos, of the massacre in St. Sophia; he is sufficiently superstitious to repeat the popular conviction that its fall was a punishment for that of Troy, and wonders that some people disbelieve the Sibylline oracle, which omitted from the list of Emperors and Patriarchs the last Constantine and Joseph II., who died during the Council of Florence and whom he erroneously calls Gregorios. He describes at great length, as is natural in one intimately acquainted with the country and the people, and who, as in the case of the massacre at Leondari, had his account from eye-witnesses, the final destruction of the Greek rule over the Morea and of the Florentine Duchy of Athens; he narrates the end of the Empire of Trebizond (the memory of which lingered on in Rabelais¹³ in the next century and in Pérez Galdós in the last) and of the domain of the Gattilusj,

¹² Pp. 248-49, 531, 533, 534, 540, 543.

¹³ Bk. i. ch. 33; Pérez Galdós, *Trafalgar*, p. 5.

the annihilation of all that remained of Serbia and of the kingdom of Bosnia. And he puts into the mouth of Capello a speech urging Venice to go to war against the Turks in 1463, in which he makes the Venetian statesman reproach the Republic for not having helped to defend Constantinople, and for not having assisted the Despots of the Morea and the King of Bosnia. 'Our abandonment of them one after the other,' Capello says, 'brings shame and disgrace to us among other European nations, as if we had abandoned races of the same religion as ourselves for the sake of trade and filthy lucre.'¹⁴ These words might have been addressed on several occasions during the last thirty years to certain Great Powers, whose abandonment of the Christian populations of Turkey may be traced to concessions and other lucrative 'affairs.' Such was the gloomy situation in the midst of which this patriotic Athenian closed his history. Yet he had a glorious vision of his nation's resurrection. Writing, probably in the bitter exile of a foreign land, he yet foresaw the day when a Greek king and kings that should spring from his loins should rule over 'no mean kingdom,' whither the children of the Greeks should gather together and govern themselves according to their own customs in a manner to secure happiness at home and respect abroad.'¹⁵ The modern Greek kingdom, established in 1832 with modest and impossible frontiers, but four times enlarged since then, might be regarded as a realisation of the last Athenian historian's remarkable forecast. A hundred years ago last April the massacre of Chios convinced Western Europe that the Greeks could no longer live under the Turks.

Chalkokondyles had carefully studied the arrangements which had helped the Turks to conquer their divided foes. He gives an elaborate account of the Turkish financial system and revenue in the reign of Mohammed II. He considers the Turks as the only people who looked properly after their commissariat in time of war; he mentions their excellent cannon, and remarks that a Roumanian was Mohammed's chief artillery officer at the siege of Constantinople; he shows no trace of bigotry in his sketch of the Moslem religion; he alludes to the fatalism which it engenders; and admires the great speed of the Sultan's messengers, who, thanks to relays of horses, could travel from the Morea to Adrianople in five, instead of the usual fifteen, days, and says that in the art of rope-walking the Turks excel all others.¹⁶ Nor does he show the least Chauvinism in treating of other races settled upon Greek soil. He mentions the Slavs of Taygetos and the Wallachs of Pindos;¹⁷ of the Roumanians beyond the Danube, people who were 'always changing their rulers,' he truly says that, though Roumanian resembles Italian, it is so corrupt that Italians would understand it with difficulty, and he has no idea of their origin. But he writes at length of their terrible but resolute prince, Vlad 'the Empaler,' who defeated the Turks in 1462 and aroused the admiration of Mohammed II. by the fear that he inspired in his subjects; and he celebrates the prowess of Skanderbeg, although Albanian ethnology baffled him as so many others.

In dealing, therefore, with the Balkan peninsula he is singularly fair.

¹⁴ P. 549.

¹⁵ P. 4.

¹⁶ Pp. 361, 383, 435, 504.

¹⁷ Pp. 35, 319.

There is in him none of that vehement hatred of the Latins which characterises the pages in which Niketas, with whom in point of interest he may be compared, displays his hatred for the Latin conquerors, masquerading as Crusaders, who seized and sacked Constantinople. This is all the more creditable, because his family had been expelled from Florentine Athens, just as Niketas had had to flee from Latin Constantinople. There is more objectivity in his narrative than in that of his contemporary, Phrantzes. He lacks the vanity of Anna Comnena, nor is his history an *apologia pro vitâ suâ*, like that of Cantacuzene. The lack of theological discussions and digressions marks him off from Nikephoros Gregoras and most of the other Byzantine historians. And the period in Balkan history of which he wrote was the most thrilling known except our own.

Like a modern Athenian, this fifteenth-century scholar was also keenly interested in 'Europe.' Before our author the only mediaeval Greek historian who had treated of our country was Procopius, nine centuries earlier, for whom the British isles were a mythical country, as unreal as the Isles of the Blest. He describes England as the abode of departed spirits, ferried over from the opposite coast by fishermen, who, instead of tribute, perform this melancholy office. Julian the Apostate, two centuries before Procopius, had described, from personal residence, a severe winter in Paris—the huge blocks of ice in the Seine, the lack of central heating, and the dampness of the walls which filled his head with fumes when a fire was lighted. Phrantzes, a contemporary of Chalkokondyles, whose daughter, 'Theodora Phranza,' in the curious novel of Neale, is represented as marrying an English knight, alludes to the British as practising polygamy.

The visit of the Emperor Manuel II. to France and England in 1400 and 1401, in the hope of obtaining aid against the Turks, gives the historian an excuse for digressions on the manners and customs of those countries, based upon information brought back by some one in the Emperor's retinue and handed down orally to the next generation. He describes our ancestors in the time of Henry IV. as 'a numerous and strong race,' inhabiting 'great and rich cities and very many villages.' He knows that London, 'a city excelling in power all the cities in this island, and in wealth and other good things second to no city of the West, and in courage and warlike spirit superior to its neighbours and to many other Western cities,' is the seat of the monarchy, to which 'not a few principalities are subject; for the king could not easily deprive any of these princes of his principality, nor do they think fit to obey the king contrariwise to their customs; and in this island there have been not a few disasters, when the princes came into disagreement with the king and with one another'—an accurate summary of the relations between the Crown and the feudal baronage during the Plantagenet and Lancastrian dynasties. England, he adds, produces no wine nor, indeed, much fruit, but wheat and barley and honey. Its wool is the best in the world, and is used in manufacturing large quantities of clothing; the language of its inhabitants resembles none other; their dress, manners and mode of living are the same as those of the French. There follows a passage about our family life which,

owing to a mistranslation in the detestable Latin version of Clauser, has scandalised English readers who took the account of Chalkokondyles second-hand from Burton or Gibbon. But a modern Greek, who was both a scholar and a gentleman, has shown ¹⁸ that this idea rests upon a misunderstanding of two verbs in the text, and has vindicated our ancestresses from the charges brought against them. According to him, the passage should be translated as follows: 'Their treatment of their wives and children is simpler (than in France), so that throughout the island, whenever any invited guest enters a friend's house, the lady of the house lets herself be kissed by the visitor as a mark of welcome. And in the streets the English everywhere introduce their wives to their friends. And it is no disgrace to them for their wives and daughters to be kissed.' That this was the historian's meaning is conclusively proved by two passages, one of the Corfiote traveller, Noukios,¹⁹ who visited England in 1545, and who wrote that the English 'display great simplicity and absence of jealousy in their usages towards females. For not only do those who are of the same family and household kiss them on the mouth with salutations and embraces, but even those too who have never seen them. And to themselves this appears by no means indecent.' Similarly Erasmus,²⁰ who first visited England in 1497, wrote of the English: 'They have one custom which cannot be too much admired. When you go anywhere on a visit the girls all kiss you. They kiss you when you arrive; they kiss you when you go away; and they kiss you again when you return. Go where you will, it is all kisses; and, my dear Faustus, if you had once tasted how soft and fragrant those lips are, you would wish to spend your life here.' This freedom of social life, even so innocent a custom as to introduce one's wife to a casual acquaintance met on a walk, would naturally strike a Greek as most extraordinary, owing to the complete seclusion in which, as we know from Doukas and others, Byzantine women were kept. Indeed, even to-day there are places in Greece where the women are not introduced to visitors, and it is not only in Greece that the independence and easy-going manners of the Anglo-Saxon girl arouse the occasional surprise of the foreigner.

The Athenian writer admits that the French are a great and rich race with a great opinion of themselves, for they think that they excel all other Western nations. They claim to be the first Western race wherever they may be; but have given up somewhat of that foolish idea since the English subdued their territory and besieged Paris. Of the Hundred Years' War between England and France he has something to say. He mentions the capture of Calais by Edward III. in 1347, and has heard of Joan of Arc, whom, however, he supposes to have died in war. Under the name of 'the plain of grief' he evidently conceals the battle of Azincourt, which he had heard pronounced and mistook for *Chagrin-court*.²¹ French diet he esteems as more refined than

¹⁸ Sp. Moraïtis in *Revue des études grecques* (1888), i. 94-98, who shows that *κύσαντα* is aorist participle of *κυεῖν* ('to kiss') and *κύεσθαι* passive infinitive of *κύειν* (also 'to kiss').

¹⁹ *The second book of the travels of Nicander*

Nucius of Corcyra (Ed. Cramer, J. A., London, 1841), p. 10.

²⁰ Epist. 65, To Anderlin (Ed. Froude, 1895).

²¹ P. 91, τῇ λύπῃς πεδίῳ.

Italian; he speaks of the wealth of Paris, and, like Ariosto, specially cites the wonderful bridge of Avignon.

Germany he considers the best governed of all Northern and Western countries, and invincible, if it were unanimous and directed by one ruler—a prophecy falsified by recent events. The Germans are very warlike and clever at mechanical work, and some think that they invented cannon. He has heard of the prevalence of duelling among them, and knows about the German Order of Knights in Prussia. Prussia, he has heard, is conspicuous for its 'very beautiful and well-ordered cities.' He praises the bravery of the Hungarians, whose language, he finds, 'resembles no other,' and whose kings are foreigners, as they, in fact, had been since the extinction of the male line of Arpád in 1301. About the Bohemians he thrice remarks that they had only recently ceased worshipping the sun and fire, attributing their conversion to Capistran, the famous Franciscan, who played such a prominent part in defending Belgrade against the Turks in 1456,²² just as a woman, St. Nina, had converted the Georgians. This may perhaps be the form in which the rising of the Bohemian Taborites, a Hussite sect, who encamped upon a mountain which they called Tabor, reached the Greek writer. The Czecho-Slovak Minister to the Quirinal, M. Kybal, himself a distinguished historian, informs me that there is no foundation for this strange legend of sun-worship among his countrymen.

Of all Western countries the author devotes most space to Italy, about which he had collected much information either first-hand or from his brother and others. Venice, whose constitution he describes, excels all Italian cities in the magnificence of the palaces and in their construction on the sea. After Venice the richest Italian city is Florence, being both a commercial and an agricultural centre; while its inhabitants are thought to surpass all other Italians in intelligence and its women in beauty. Bologna, even in those days, before the conflicts of Communists and *Fascisti*, had a reputation for turbulence, but also for learning. Genoa, whose name he derives not from *genu* (owing to the formation of the coast), but from *janua*, as being 'the door' of Italy, he defines as neither a democracy nor an aristocracy, but a mixture of the two. The two great local families are the Doria and Spinola, but the rulers are usually either an Adorno or a Fregoso. He realises the weakness of mediaeval Genoa—its division into rival parties, one French, one Italian. He was specially well-informed about Milan, although it requires some ingenuity to recognise in the dynasty of the *Mariangelo*i the Visconti, whose representative then bore the names of Filippo Maria, whereas we easily discover in the *Klimakio*i of Verona a Greek translation of the Scaligeri. His translation of Fortebraccio as Βραχύς ('short') is less successful. He has heard much about the Papacy. He believes the legend of Pope Joan, which one of his modern compatriots, Roïdes, has made the subject of perhaps the best-known Greek novel; and he alludes to the prophecies of a certain sage, named Joachim, about the Popes, meaning the Calabrian Abbot, Gioacchino de Flore, who lived in the thirteenth century. He gives a curious account of a Conclave: the

²² Pp. 133, 419, 425, 468. *English Historical Review* (1892), vii. 235-52.

'grand electors' to the Papacy are the two most powerful families, the Colonna and the Orsini, but the Cardinals generally agree in choosing some one who is an outsider and therefore a neutral. The practice of taking a new name upon election he regards as a sign of the transformation which comes over the elect. But he is baffled by the origin of the dispute between Guelphs and Ghibellines. Nor is he always accurate in his papal nomenclature, calling Calixtus III. 'Eusebios.' Of Cardinal Bessarion he remarks, that in natural intelligence he excelled all the Greeks, that his judgment was excellent, and that he was second to none in Greek and Roman learning. Thus, the Turkish history of Chalkokondyles is really a survey of Europe from the Greek standpoint shortly after the fall of Constantinople. Like all universal historians, the author was variously informed according to the nearness or remoteness of the country described. He is a first-hand authority for Greece, shows great knowledge of Serbian, Bosnian and Turkish affairs, and has a fair acquaintance with nations farther afield, especially with Italy.

Of his predecessor, Dexippos, it was remarked by Photios that he was 'a second, but a somewhat clearer, Thucydides'; of our author it may be said that he was a mediaeval Herodotus, although he does not write in the Ionic dialect. Like most Byzantine historians, he writes in the literary, not the vulgar, language, and has the tiresome and pedantic habit of calling mediaeval races by ancient names, the Bulgarians 'Moesians' and the Serbs 'Triballians'; but his reader must at times throw classical syntax to the winds. With that premise, his language is not difficult, but there is no writer in the Bonn edition of Byzantine historians who has suffered so much from the infamous Latin translation appended to the text. The Bonn edition of Chalkokondyles bears the great name of Immanuel Bekker, but the translator was not only ignorant of some of the easiest Greek words, but was totally devoid of any knowledge of Balkan history and, therefore, unable to identify many of the Slav proper names which lurk beneath the Greek declensions of the classically minded Athenian, just as in the modern Greek newspaper it requires some knowledge of foreign politics to make out the names of Western statesmen and publicists, like Mr. Bonar Law, or the late J. D. Bourchier, in their Greek dress, or to realise that the *Tribuna* is the Βῆμα and the *Morning Post* the Ἑωθινός Ταχυδρόμος. A new edition of Chalkokondyles with historical notes by some one familiar with Balkan history would throw much light upon a period of history which, if for the Greek Empire be substituted the Turkish, presents a striking similarity with our own. For the Greek and Slav states, of which Chalkokondyles witnessed the fall, have arisen to fresh life, while Turkey, whose triumph he described, has for most practical purposes retired to that continent whence she came to encamp—for it was only a long encampment—in the Balkan peninsula now since 1919, and the disappearance of Austria from Bosnia and the Herzegovina recognised as belonging exclusively 'to the Balkan peoples,' just as the Iberian to the Spanish and Portuguese, and the Italian to the Italians.

Following the practice of Herodotus and Thucydides, Chalkokondyles is fond of putting speeches, sometimes of considerable length, into the mouths

of historical characters. These orations, given textually, are like the *verbatim* reports of what passes within a papal conclave or a secret meeting of the Supreme Council by special correspondents; they are works of imagination, pleasing, no doubt, to the reader, who likes to hear the great talk in the first person, but not true. They have, however, the advantage, also not unknown to journalists, of enabling the author to put his own views on questions of policy through the medium of some important personage, whose name commands respect, just as it is usual to attribute good stories to eminent persons (in many cases incapable of having told them), whereas their real parentage is humbler.

For us to-day the last of the Athenian historians has a message, and it is this: that the discord of the Eastern Christians and the selfishness of the Great Powers brought the Turks into Europe and kept them there; and that, to use their own phraseology, it was 'fated' that one day they should quit it for their own continent. As the late Lord Salisbury once said, Christian territory, once emancipated from Turkey, cannot be restored to it, because the Turkish Government has shown that it cannot govern, as some others can govern, races of another religion. The history of every Balkan State tells that tale; and on every occasion when diplomacy with its half-measures and its stop-gap compromises which please no one, neglects the eternal processes of history, the latter has been proved to be right.

WILLIAM MILLER.

POET OR LAW-GIVER?

I

FEW Greek statues are so famous as the draped marble figure, somewhat larger than life, known under the name of 'Sophocles,' which has been for many years the chief attraction of the Lateran Museum (Figs. 1, 2). Indeed it was on account of this statue, and on the occasion of its discovery, that Pope Gregory XVI ordered a part of the Lateran Palace to be converted into a Museum, wishing to provide the gem with a worthy shrine of its own.



FIG. 1.—SO-CALLED SOPHOCLES. ROME, LATERAN.

Nor is such fame undeserved.

The calm and dignified attitude, the high-spirited head, the clever and harmonious arrangement of the drapery, the careful, broad and supple workmanship—everything combines to make our statue not only a masterpiece of Greek art, but the classical type of an Athenian gentleman shown in the bloom of full manhood, as he may have been met with sauntering about the theatre or agora in the fifth century B.C.

Though all do not agree that we have here, as has been often said, the finest life-size portrait which has come down to us from Hellenic sculpture, at any rate, since the first day of its appearance, artists and archaeologists have been unanimous in its praise. Their admiration was sometimes even expressed in dithyrambic style, hardly admitting a cautious criticism concerning the lack of individuality in the features and expression, a somewhat theatrical touch in the bearing, a rather

overdone elaboration in the head-dress and the folds of the mantle, a superficial rendering of the moral and intellectual character.

We shall see presently how far these strictures are justified. The purpose of this paper is not to put forward yet another aesthetic description and dis-

cussion of the statue. It is merely to test the accuracy of its identification. My inquiry bears only on this: Is this famous marble rightly called *Sophocles*? On what grounds is it usually given as a faithful copy of the portrait, the only portrait of the great poet which is historically certified—I mean the bronze statue set up between 340 and 330 B.C., on the motion of the orator Lysurgus, in the theatre of Athens, by the side of those of his great rivals, Aeschylus and Euripides? ¹

II

A certain amount of mystery still prevails around the date and circumstances of the discovery of the statue, nor is there any agreement as to who was the first to point out its merits, and, if I may say, to christen the child.

All that we know is that it comes from the ruins of Terracina, otherwise called Anxur, the old city of the Volsci, so picturesquely seated at the outlet of the Pomptine marshes, on a high white cliff overlooking the passes of the Via Appia. Every scholar remembers the line of Horace: *Impositum saxi late candentibus Anxur*.² Beneath the cliff, in the suburbs and neighbourhood of the old town, stood many villas of the Roman aristocracy; one belonged to the Emperor Domitian, in another one Galba was born.³ Our statue is said to have been dug up in the so-called 'sand district' (*arene*) south of the canal, about a hundred yards south-west from the amphitheatre of the Memmii.⁴ Did there stand formerly in this place some public building (such as a library or Court of Justice) or rather a private villa? We do not know, and it would be well worth while to make a fresh inquiry on the spot and dig the place more thoroughly.

The statue had been lying for some years—*non sono molti anni*—forsaken, face downwards, in the courtyard of a house of Terracina, when, in the spring of 1839, during an inspection tour of Pope Gregory XVI, the Counts Antonelli, on whose ground it had been unearthed, gave it as a present to the Pontiff. So we are reminded by the inscription engraved on the pedestal: *FAMILIA ANTONELLIA TERRACINENSIS DONAVIT ANNO MDCCCXXXIX*.

¹ I completely share the doubts expressed by Wieseler (*Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1848, p. 1220 sq.) concerning the usual interpretation of a corrupted passage in the anonymous *Vita Sophoclis* (Westermann's *Βιογράφοι*, p. 128 = Overbeck, 1413), from which archaeologists have inferred the existence of an older statue erected to Sophocles, soon after his death, by his son Iophon—of whom, by the way, the learned gossip knew little else than his sad quarrels with his father. Here is the text of the MSS. as corrected by Meineke: *ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀλκωνος* ('*Alkwnos* Meineke; but cf. E. Schmidt, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxviii. 73) *ἱερωσύνην, ὅς τις ἦν μετ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρὰ Χείρωνι* <τραπεζῆς? add. Mein. > . . . (*desunt quaedam*) *ἱδρυθῆς ὑπ' Ἰοφῶντος τοῦ υἱοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν*. This seems to point to a statue,

not of Sophocles, but of the hero Alcon, a statue vowed by Sophocles but set up, after his death, by his son (Comp. Lysurgus I. 147, 43: *ἡρώες κατὰ πόλιν—ἱδρύμενοι*). I have my doubts about the insertion of *τραπεζῆς*. The sense may be that the statue of Alcon, with that of Asclepius, were both set up near the statue of Chiron: so we would have here a group of three statues. In this case *αὐτοῦ* ought to be inserted before or after *τελευτήν*.

² *Sat.*, i. 5, 26.

³ Martial, v. 1; Suet. *Galba* 14. Cp. La Blanchère, *Terracine* (1884).

⁴ La Blanchère, p. 136 and Pl. II. He gives, however, for the discovery the wrong date 1846, and quotes no authority for the particulars above mentioned.

Now who had pointed out to the generous owners the uncommon beauty of this piece of work, lost, until then, in the mass of the ordinary *figurae palliatae*? Who was the first to suggest its being a portrait of Sophocles?

Here our authorities disagree.

At the Winckelmann birthday festival celebrated by the Archaeological Institute of Rome on December 9th, 1839, when Marchese Melchiorri revealed to the learned world the sensational discovery, the marquis claimed for himself the double praise of first appreciating and first naming the statue. Credit for this was also bestowed on him ten years later by Emil Braun, the German archaeologist: *Primo tra i dotti ad osservare ed apprezzare*. On the contrary, Father Garrucci, in his short notice of 1861, attributes the merit of having recognised Sophocles in the Lateran statue to an antiquary, or rather a dealer in antiques, called Luigi Vescovali. Finally, according to an oral tradition gathered in 1867 by Benndorf and Schöne, the sculptor Pietro Tenerani is said to have been the first to call attention to the beautiful workmanship of the statue.

We are not expressly told that Tenerani was also the first to *identify* the statue, but at any rate he accepted, without controversy, the proposed identification, and largely contributed to propagate it. In fact he was the artist entrusted with the task of restoring the 'Sophocles,' a task which he carried out with as much skill as taste. The restoration includes the nose, part of the brows, right cheek, moustache and hair, the right hand, the whole feet and a piece of the lower flap of the drapery. Tenerani also supplied the *scrinium* or volume-case placed at the foot of the statue: this last addition may have been suggested by the statue of Aeschines at Naples, the resemblance of which to our marble had been immediately noticed. However, by adding the volume-case to the Lateran statue upon his own authority, Tenerani stamped it implicitly as the portrait of a 'man of intellect,' and, strange to say, certain critics have been thoughtless enough to seek, in this entirely modern detail, an argument in favour of the traditional denomination.⁴

III

Be this as it may, these points of history offer but an anecdotic interest. The main issue is to ascertain on what arguments is based the identification, which, since the day when it was first publicly suggested (December 9th, 1839), has never, as far as I know, been seriously contradicted.⁵

If we go through the long series of articles and memoirs published about our statue, from the first and thorough study of Welcker (1846) to the most recent histories of Greek portraiture, not omitting the standard works of the Germans

⁴ Whether the *scrinium* was rightly restored is a difficult question. According to Birt (*die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, p. 292) this does not appear before the Hellenistic age. If, as shown later, the effigy is that of Solon, an *ἐξων* would have been the proper accessory.

⁵ See, however, Sal. Reinach on Clarac, *Répertoire*, I. p. lix, Pl. 510, No. 3: 'n'est pas Sophocle.' I remember also doubts expressed by Prof. Heuzey in his lessons on Greek costume at the École des Beaux-Arts.

Benndorf and Schöne (1867), and the Swiss Bernoulli (1901), we cannot but be struck by the astounding poverty and weakness of the foundations on which rests an identification so far-reaching in its consequences.

Let us first set aside such sentimental or purely rhetorical motives as the 'triumphal bearing' of the statue, the 'harmonious balance' of features and gesture, the 'serene beauty' of the face, the friendly expression, the joy and pride of life—all particulars which, in the prejudiced eyes of certain critics, clearly express the 'complete man,' the 'universally beloved man' that Sophocles is said to have been: whereas others have vainly searched this same face and this same attitude for any traces of the spiritual life and for the reflected glow of the great tragedian's supreme poetry.

What shall I say of the arguments drawn from the costume? So eager have some critics been to detect a distinctive Sophoclean feature in the careful and exquisite arrangement of the dress, that one of them, a German,⁶ insisted in his enthusiasm on the wonderful elegance of the *sandals*, which, as we have seen, are, as well as the feet themselves, entirely the work of the Italian Tenerani!

Finally, no greater stress is to be laid on the fillet, termed for the purpose *taenia*, which binds up the hair. Some have imagined to see therein the symbol of the many dramatic triumphs earned by Sophocles, or the sign of his literary kingship, of his pre-eminence over his two great rivals. True it is that on the authentic images of Sophocles which I shall discuss later on, as well as on the busts of Homer, the headband is never wanting. But it has been rightly pointed out long ago that, on the Lateran statue, the so-called *taenia* is nothing but a narrow ribbon, holding together the abundant locks, as was the fashion among Athenian noblemen until the general adoption of short cut hair. Moreover, for the spectator who looks at our statue in front and from below—and thus it was certainly meant to be viewed—the tiny stripe is utterly invisible!

What remains then in favour of the proposed identification? a single palpable argument, indefinitely repeated since the day when Melchiorri first stated it: that is, the resemblance which is *supposed* to exist between the head of our statue and a very small bust in the *Sala delle Muse* of the Vatican (No. 492), the *provenance* of which is the garden *dei Mendicanti*⁷ (Fig. 3). This Roman bust—for it is not properly a *herm*—ends in a sort of shelf, broken on the left side, on which one can still read the letters . . . ΟΚΛΗΣ, that is to say, considering the available space, most likely ΣΟΦ]ΟΚΛΗΣ.

Such is, as confessed by Welcker,⁸ the only material basis on which rests the traditional identification (*guidati dal solo busto Vaticano*). What is this basis worth? Exactly as much as the pretended likeness. Now this likeness appears to me, and will appear to every unprepossessed judge, quite faint and insignificant. It is nothing more than the family air which, of necessity, exists between all unrealistic representations of well-born Athenians, forty or fifty years of age, carved towards the end of the fifth century B.C. In the series of

⁶ Amelung, *Moderner Cicerone*, p. 341.

conti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, vi. Pl. 27.

⁷ Found 1778; first published by Vis-

⁸ *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1846, p. 129 foll.

the Attic funeral *stelae* of those times, it is easy to find a dozen male heads, belonging to the same type,⁹ and presenting, like the Lateran head and the Vatican head, regular features without any marked individuality, plentiful hair, and a full beard divided into thick locks.

To postulate a special connexion, whether of descent or kinship, between two specimens of such a widely multiplied type, a close comparison ought to reveal some really characteristic parallels. Now, what we find is exactly the contrary. Though small and of slovenly workmanship, the Vatican bust, when carefully examined, shows features far more individualised than the Lateran head. The loftier skull gives a more elongated outline; the folds of the forehead, more strongly stamped, are those of an older man; the middle

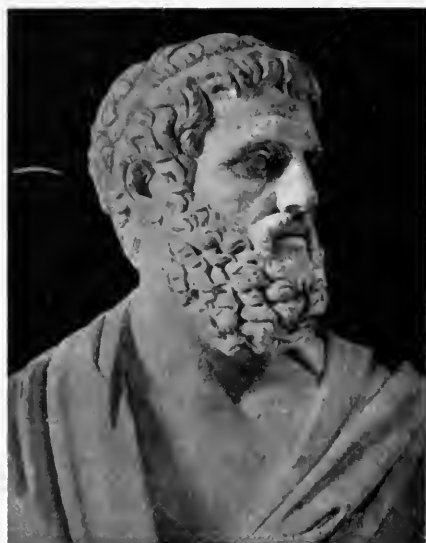


FIG. 2.—HEAD OF THE LATERAN
'SOPHOCLES.'



FIG. 3.—SOPHOCLES? BUST
IN THE VATICAN, SALA
DELLE MUSE.

locks of the beard are broader, the eyes more deeply sunk in their sockets, the arch of the brows somewhat higher and more pointed, and all this combines to give the Vatican head a distinctly thoughtful, almost sulky expression, sharply contrasting with the haughty serenity which pervades the Lateran head.

Several of these differences have already been noted with his usual fairness and not without disquiet by Bernoulli. However, he ended in conforming—though not without hesitation—to the common opinion, relying, as he says, 'upon the general character of the two heads and upon certain concordances in the arrangement of the hair and beard.' I, for my part, can only see, in such a conclusion, or rather capitulation, the mighty effect of routine, and an

⁹ See, for instance, the well-known stele of Prokles and Prokleides in Athens, with two heads of this style.

undue respect for German infallibility. My own conclusion, on the contrary, is that there is no reason whatever to suppose that both heads are derived from one and the same original, and several reasons to incline to the contrary. So that, even if the poor bust of the Vatican was the only certified portrait of Sophocles, we would be quite unwarranted in inscribing the same name under the Lateran statue. But, as we shall see, this is not the case. To these negative arguments I shall now add other reasons, of a positive character, that will help to make the traditional designation not only improbable, but impossible.

IV

If the Vatican bust is the pretended front-rank man of a series of anonymous heads grouped by Bernoulli under the heading 'Sophocles, Lateran type,' there exist, next to it, two other ancient marbles, equally certified as portraits of Sophocles by inscriptions of undoubted genuineness.

One is the medallion or marble shield (*imago clipeata*), found in a tomb near the Porta Aurelia, which, from the old collection of Fulvio Orsini, passed into the Farnese cabinet (Fig. 4). It is mentioned in an inventory of the Villa Farnesina dated 1775, and, E. Q. Visconti declares he still saw it there.¹⁰ Since then it has unfortunately disappeared, but it is known by two engravings, the latter of which, due to Galle, seems fairly trustworthy¹¹; here the shield bears in full the name ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ.



FIG. 4.—SOPHOCLES. LOST MARBLE MEDALLION OF THE FARNESE CABINET.

(After the Engraving by Galle.)

The other document is a small herm (Fig. 5), formerly placed in the gardens of the Vatican and since 1896 transferred to the Belvedere (Amelung, No. 69 B). Here the inscription ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ is still entirely legible; the head is much worn and damaged, but what remains is enough to show a close resemblance with the engraved medallion.

Thus, these two monuments have become in their turn the front-rank men of a series of anonymous replicas, christened by Bernoulli 'Sophocles of the Farnese type.'¹² Among them are specially to be noted: (1) two double herms, one in Dresden, the other in Bonn, in which the head of Euripides is associated with another head, most probably that of Sophocles¹²; and (2) the fine herm, almost perfectly preserved, coming from the vicinity of Albano,

¹⁰ *Iconogr. grecque*, i. 107.

¹¹ 1st publication: Ursinus, *Imagines* (1570), p. 25; 2nd publication: Ursinus, *Illustrium Imagines* (1598), Pl. 136. See Hülsen, *Die Hermeninschriften*, etc., in *Ath. Mith.* xvi. (1901), p. 123 foll; No. 40.

^{12a} To the list (21 numbers) given by Bernoulli (I. 129 foll.) Arndt adds now two

new instances in private collections at Jaffa and Munich.

¹² I say *probably*, because, strange to say, Euripides is also sometimes associated with Solon (his countryman from Salamis, and, like him, a Sage); for instance, in a herm of Velletri, now at Naples (Bernoulli. i. p. 38).

which we can admire in the British Museum (Fig. 6; No. 1831 of Smith's *Catalogue*).

The common characteristics of all these heads are, first of all, the very conspicuous 'Homeric' fillet, binding the hair; then, the long moustache with



FIG. 5.—SOPHOCLES. HERM IN THE BELVEDERE OF THE VATICAN.

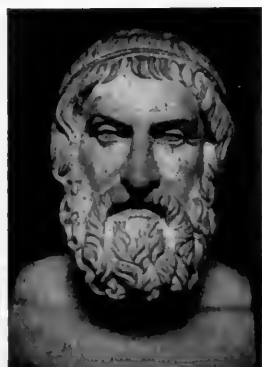


FIG. 6.—SOPHOCLES.
ALBANO BUST, BRITISH
MUSEUM.

its two branches falling down to the chin, the forehead furrowed with deep folds, the countenance of at least a sexagenary, the downcast glance, the meditative aspect; last and chiefly, the peculiar design of the eyebrows: first rising sharply, then dropping abruptly towards the temples, a stroke already hinted at in the Vatican bust, but here more forcibly marked and conferring upon the expression, to use the words of Friederichs and Wolters, a 'touch of grandeur.' All these details contrast strongly with the countenance of the Lateran head, whose low and softly rounded eyebrows contribute so much to the expression of benevolence and mildness, mixed with self-consciousness.

Of course, such and other characteristic differences did not escape the keen observation of Bernoulli. 'Height of the forehead, eyes, nose, mouth,' says he, 'everything differs between the two types.' How then was such an impassable gulf to be bridged over? In his fixed determination to reconcile all facts, Bernoulli is compelled to have recourse to a desperate hypothesis: namely, the existence of *two* original portraits of Sophocles, quite independent of each other, which are supposed to have become respectively the fountain-heads of the Farnese and the

Lateran type. The former portrait, representing an *aged* Sophocles, may have originated at the beginning of the fourth century, when the remembrance of the poet's outward appearance was still vivid. The later portrait, more strongly idealised, showing a *youthful* Sophocles, is supposed to have sprung up about fifty years later, as an original creation inspired not by any iconographic tradition, but by the literary image of the poet as it impressed itself upon the minds of a younger generation. Other archaeologists, going still further in their preciseness,¹³ give us as the ancestor of the Farnese type the statue of Sophocles erected by his son Iophon, and as the ancestor of the Lateran type, either the Lycurgus statue or a supposed work of Silanion.¹⁴

It is useless to dwell on the arbitrary and improbable character of all these suppositions. That is romance, not history. The statue of Iophon, as we have seen, is a myth; that of Silanion, a dream; as to the statue of Lycurgus, the only one duly testified, we have no reason to believe that the artist tried to idealise in it more than usual, and specially to dip Sophocles in a bath of youth, when we see how faithfully the contemporary statue of Euripides reproduces the worn-out countenance of the philosopher-poet, when we know that nothing was deeper engraved in the memory of the later Athenians than the splendid old age reached by Sophocles in which he had still reaped so many triumphs. All in all, it would have seemed as unfitting to represent in the theatre of Dionysos a *youthful* Sophocles as, in our own days, to set up in the Théâtre Français at Paris a Victor Hugo aged thirty or thereabouts.

The only thing to be gathered from Bernoulli's intricate discussion is this candid confession, which I quote in his own words: 'The Lateran Sophocles gives the idea, not only of a younger man but of *quite another person altogether* than the Farnese Sophocles.' And again: 'It is almost against my will that I have come to this conclusion. Elsewhere, I have disputed, as a thing beyond analogy or probability, the hypothesis of several distinct types for one and the same person. If also in the present case such a theory were to be disposed of as inadmissible, *the mistake ought to be looked for, not in the Farnese, but in the Lateran type.*'

Here at last we are touching the truth. Bernoulli, as one sees, was on the way to it; he only lacked courage and independence from his German masters to grasp it. We need surely not show the same scruples. Having proved, on the one hand, that the Farnese type (Orsini medallion, Belvedere herm) *certainly* represents Sophocles, on the other hand, that this type is practically irreducible to that of the Lateran statue, we shall simply draw the inference that this last represents *another person than Sophocles*. Or, to put it in other words, having tested all the foundation stones of the traditional denomination and found them all unsound, we may conclude that it is nothing more than one of the most remarkable instances of literary *psittacism* in the story of classical scholarship.¹⁵

¹³ Delbruck, *Antike Porträts* (1912).

¹⁴ Winter.

¹⁵ If any one still insists on the distant analogy of the Vatican bust, we shall answer that such a trivial work, which

must have been ordered from some cheap figure carver, by a Roman amateur, eager to get a set of literary busts with more or less arbitrary inscriptions, cannot seriously be taken into account in an *iconographic*

V

So far we have pulled down the old fabric : the question is now to rebuild. If the Lateran statue is not Sophocles, whom, then, does it represent ?

In approaching this new problem, I shall not begin with considerations of likeness, which are often fallacious, especially when we have to deal with effigies designed a long time *post mortem*. Let us remember the words of the elder Pliny : *pariunt desideria non traditos voltus*.¹⁶ The right method, when we have the rare luck to deal with a full-size statue, is to endeavour to determine first of all from the general attitude to what group, to what social or intellectual class the person represented belonged. Everybody knows what high importance and subtle significance the Greek artist laid on the general aspect, the garb, the gait and the gesture of a figure, as means to express the class, profession, *ethos* and *pathos* of a man.

That we have before us a public monument, a statue set up for a remarkable citizen, cannot be doubted. But to what social category of public men did this great citizen belong ? He cannot be a general—for then he would wear military cloak and helmet—nor a philosopher, who would dress and pose with far less ostentation. Neither can he be a poet, be it Sophocles or any other, and it is incredible that so many have made the mistake.

Let us review the rather numerous figures of Greek poets represented in ancient art, which have been collected by Otto Jahn, Sieveking and others. Most of them are shown seated.¹⁷ If the poet is standing he is usually playing the lyre, like Sappho and Alcaeus on vases, unless the artist wanted to show him staggering in drunkenness, like Anacreon.

As a rule, he is characterised by some accessory, indicative of his calling : thus the *barbitos* of the Lesbian poets, or the mask which the Euripides of Naples holds in his hands. The head has a thoughtful expression, the look turned towards the inner world, as in the portraits of Euripides and Aeschylus, or raised towards the world above, as in the face of the blind seer Homer, that admirable creation of the Rhodian school.

Do we find the slightest analogy between all these figures and the personage of the Lateran statue, with his solemn pose, his slight corpulence, his arched chest, his arms wrapped up in the folds of the *himation*, and, above all, with that proud head, slightly thrown back, and that glance neither downcast nor upraised, still less dreaming, as my countryman, Collignon, fancied, but looking straight before him with an air of authority, almost of command ? No, this man is facing an audience, which we must fancy standing in the distance or seated on several tiers of benches : hence the direction of the glance rises somewhat above the horizontal, in order to reach the spectators perched on the

problem. Moreover, under its slovenly workmanship, in which all distinctive features are blurred, we have nevertheless noticed above several details, especially the design of the eyebrows, showing characters more akin to the Farnese series than to the Lateran statue.

¹⁶ *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 9.

¹⁷ Reliefs of Euripides in Constantinople, of Menander in the Lateran ; statues of Poseidippos (Vatican), Moschion (Naples), Sappho (Constantinople, mentioned by Christodorus), etc.

upper seats. Such an attitude does not suit a meditative person, a solitary thinker, a poet absorbed by his mental vision, nor is it the bearing of a prophet (*uomo chi profetizza*), as Welcker once thought. It is, simply and distinctly, the attitude of an orator, conjured up in his characteristic gesture, addressing or about to address the crowd gathered in the Pnyx or in the theatre, which is listening to him, breathless, attentive and already conquered.

VI

Here then we have the first word of the riddle, for such an evident truth needs only utterance in order to convince. We have certainly before us an orator, and, let us add immediately, an orator of the good old time, as is proved by the costume, or rather by the fashion of wearing it.

True it is that the posture and the style of dress—both arms wrapped up in the mantle, the left arm bent back behind the hip, the right hand laid on the chest and supported by the broad folds from which emerge only the finger tips—this *ensemble* is not by itself characteristic of a calling: such was, to quote Welcker again, the normal deportment of a well-bred Athenian in the fifth century B.C.,¹⁸ who, once properly wrapped in his mantle, would have made a case of conscience of disturbing a single fold.¹⁹

But such a manner of wearing the dress, customary in the fifth century B.C., was thoroughly antiquated in the next century. It continued in use only in the case of boys, for whom it remained a mark of decency and good bearing,²⁰ as may be illustrated, for instance, by the fine ephebic statue from Eretria (Fig. 7). Not so with the grown-up. People were surprised when they saw a man like Phocion clinging to the old custom and for ever keeping his arm wrapped in his *himation*.²¹

In particular, as far as parliamentary manners are concerned, that attitude, which had been the fashion or even the rule, of orators in the fifth century, was in the fourth discarded as an affectation of archaism. Says Aeschines in his speech against Timarchus (343 B.C.)²²: 'The older orators, Pericles,



FIG. 7.—EPHEBE, FROM
ERETRIA.
ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM.

¹⁸ By imitation this attitude was perpetuated in works of art until Roman times (see, for instance, the statue of Epidauros, Collignon, *Rev. arch.* 1915, i. p. 40). On the 'motif' in general compare Bulle in his commentary of the statue of Eretria (Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 519), who goes, however, quite astray in the dating of the Lateran statue.

¹⁹ Robert, *Archäol. Hermeneutik*, p. 131.

²⁰ Dio Chrysostom. xxxvi. 7, and other passages quoted by Sittl, *Gebärden*, p. 7.

²¹ Plut. *Phoc.* 4. Here and elsewhere, as is shown by Quintilian (below), *χεῖρ* means *arm*, not *hand*.

²² *Orat. At.* ii. 34, § 25 Did.

Themistocles, Aristides the Just, were so careful of propriety,²³ that to speak with the arm outside the mantle, *as we all do nowadays*,²⁴ seemed to them an ill-mannered thing, and one which they all refrained from doing.' So it is only the orators of the old age that Quintilian alludes to when he writes²⁵ : '*quorum brachium, sicut Graecorum, veste continebatur.*' In the fourth century not all orators were quite as unceremonious as Timarchus, who actually threw his mantle away and spoke in a plain tunic. Most of them were content with the attitude which we notice in the statues of Demosthenes, derived from the original of Polyeuctus : they rolled the upper part of the *himation* around their waist and threw up the end of the flap over their left shoulder, so as to leave their breast bare, that is to say, merely clothed with the tunic; the right arm, quite free, was used to punctuate the speech with appropriate gestures (Fig. 8).



FIG. 8.—DEMOSTHENES.
VATICAN.

This is the arrangement which Aristotle has in mind in the work so happily restored to the world by Sir Frederick Kenyon, when he writes that Cleon was the first to address the people with his mantle "used as a belt (or sash)," ²⁶ whereas the former orators had observed decorum,²⁷ which 'decorum' consisted precisely in keeping the arm in the mantle and under no pretence disturbing the folds, even in the most pathetic passages of a speech; such was still the practice of Pericles, as is expressly noticed by Plutarch, quite in agreement with Aeschines.²⁸ But after the Peloponnesian war the new fashion universally prevailed.

Such being the case, it seems hopeless to seek for the model of our statue among the orators of the fourth century. There is, however, one notable exception to be considered. Among these orators there was one, and only one, who sometimes spoke in public, attired according to the ancient fashion; this was Aeschines. I say (sometimes) because he himself at first seems to have usually conformed to the more recent mode, as above quoted : 'as we all do.' But we see, by other evidence, that Aeschines occasionally made a point of reviving on the tribune the classical attitude of which he had sung the praise.

In the speech on the False Embassy (341 B.C.) Demosthenes, alluding to the same passage of the speech against Timarchus, exclaims : 'Such is the tale that Aeschines told the judges, and he even mimicked the attitude thus described by him ;' ²⁹ and further : 'the question is not, Aeschines, to speak with the arm in your mantle, but to carry out your embassy in that modest

²³ οὕτω σώφρονες.

²⁴ ὁ νυνὶ πάντες ἐν ἔθει πράττομεν, τὸ τὴν χεῖρα ἔξω ἔχοντες λέγειν.

²⁵ *Instit. Orat.* xi. 3, 130.

²⁶ περιζωσάμενος (*Const. Ath.* 28). Cp. Plut. *Nicias*, 8 : περισπάσας τὸ ἱμάτιον.

²⁷ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων.

²⁸ Pericles, 5; *Praec. ger. reip.* 4.

²⁹ *De falsa legat.* 251 : τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ ἐμιμήσατο.

way.' ³⁰ Lastly, in the *De Corona*,³¹ he calls his opponent 'that fine statue,' and commentators have rightly interpreted these words as an ironical allusion to the old-fashioned bearing, the sober gesture, the almost motionless attitude which Aeschines sometimes affected on the tribune, and which most likely he had still more cultivated and exaggerated since his famous outburst against Timarchus.

So we understand why the sculptor who immortalised the features of Aeschines in the statue of which a copy was found at Herculaneum ³² (Fig. 9) has represented him in the classical attitude with which his name was associated. The statue of Naples is draped exactly like that of the Lateran, though with somewhat more simplicity. Aeschines is standing still, whereas the orator of the Lateran is speaking or about to speak.

The family air of the two statues is too striking to have escaped the notice of commentators. Most of them, from the first, have dwelt on it, and the only astonishing fact is that, having recognised an orator in the motionless figure of Naples, they failed to recognise one, far more plainly, in the statue of the Lateran, which seems to move towards us and almost to open its lips !

But, I hasten to say, the resemblance is confined to the attitude. If we compare the heads of our two statues, there is not the slightest possibility that the Lateran statue should represent Aeschines. Look at the full, fleshy face of the latter, as it is distinctly shown as well in the statue at Naples as in the inscribed Vatican herm which served to identify the full-size effigy. We have before us a modern politician (to use a word of Collignon) trying to look as calm and friendly and smiling as possible, but without a touch of pride or real grandeur. Look at the Lateran statue and measure the difference. As has been wittily said,³³ next to the so-called Sophocles, Aeschines looks like a *bourgeois* by the side of a king.

Now, as Aeschines was the *only* orator in the fourth century to keep up the ancient garb, we must dismiss the fourth century altogether and go farther back to find the original of our statue, that is, before the innovation of Cleon.



FIG. 9.—AESCHINES. STATUE FROM HERCULANEUM, NAPLES MUSEUM.

VII

Can it possibly be an orator of the fifth century B.C. ? We need only go through the list of the leaders of the Athenian people, given by Aristotle,³⁴ to know the contrary.

³⁰ *De falsa legat.* 255.

³¹ *De coron.* 129.

³² Formerly called Aristides, identified in 1834 by L. Visconti, thanks to the Vatican (inscribed) herm, *Sala delle Muse*, 502.

³³ La Blanchère, *op. cit.*, p. 137. But he ought not to have added that the attitude is similar to one of a man 'putting his hands in his pockets.'

³⁴ *Const. Ath.* 28.

All great orators of that period, with the sole exception of Ephialtes, who cannot be taken into account, were, at the same time, illustrious warriors, and this last quality overweighed so much, in general opinion, the merit of eloquence that, if they had been gratified with public statues, these great statesmen would certainly have been represented clad with the cloak and helmet of the *strategus*. But, as a matter of fact, we know by the distinct evidence of Demosthenes that no such statue was ever erected to an Athenian Commander, before that of Conon.³⁵

Thus, we must take a new step backwards and extend our inquiry to the sixth century B.C.

Here we meet with two possible names: Cleisthenes and Solon. But, though modern criticism has recognised in Cleisthenes the real founder of Athenian democracy, for the Athenians themselves his fame was quite thrown into the shade by that of Solon: no statue of Cleisthenes is ever mentioned.

Solon, in the eyes of the fourth-century Athenians, assumed gradually the shape of a national hero, of a kind of second Theseus. All existing laws, even those which were certainly much younger than his time, were given under his name. The constitution he had framed, so moderate and verging on plutocracy, was held for the groundwork of the now restored democracy. Although no documents of his oratory, but only of his poetry, had survived, legend made him the prototype of a great popular orator. For all these reasons, it was natural that his statue should be erected in some outburst of national gratitude, and such was actually the case.

We know of two public statues of Solon, both in bronze, which were set up in the course of the fourth century B.C.: one in the agora of Athens, in front of the *Stoa Poecile* (Overbeck, 1398-1401), the other in the agora of Salamis (Overbeck, 1395-1397), either because this island was supposed to be his birthplace, or because his fiery exhortations had driven the Athenians to reconquer that valuable possession.

Of the statue in Athens we know nothing, not even its exact date.³⁶

Concerning the statue in Salamis, which seems to have been the older and more famous of the two, we have definite information.

Aeschines, after having recalled, in a passage already quoted, the custom of ancient orators of speaking with their arm wrapped up in the mantle, proceeds thus:

‘And of that fact I can give you a striking proof. You have all of you, I suppose, crossed over to Salamis and looked at the statue of Solon. So you could all bear witness that in the agora of Salamis, Solon is figured with his arm inside his mantle;³⁷ this, Athenians, is a record and a likeness of the attitude which Solon observed when he used to address the people of Athens.’

³⁵ *C. Leptin.* 70 (Overbeck, 1393). The private statues of the fifth century, from which derive the herms of Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades, are all helmeted.

³⁶ It is first mentioned by the Pseudo-Demosthenes (*C. Aristog.* ii. 23, p. 807) in

a speech delivered under Alexander. The words used point to a recent dedication; the statue probably did not exist at the time of Aeschines's speech against Timarchus.

³⁷ ἐντὸς τῆν χειρὰ ἔχων.

From this passage, we can immediately draw two weighty consequences :

(1) In the statue of Salamis, Solon was shown in the posture of an old-fashioned orator, his arms entirely wrapped up in the *himation*, that is, exactly like the statue of the Lateran.

(2) If Aeschines, wishing to support by a plastic example his description and praise of the stately bearing of the older orators, is compelled to go as far back as Solon and his statue in Salamis, the inference is, that at this date (343 B.C.) there existed in Athens *no* other public statue representing a statesman in that attitude, and that even the statue of Solon in the city, which was most likely a copy of the Salamis one, had not yet been cast.

If we know from Aeschines the pose of the Salamis statue, and from Diogenes Laertius the epigram which was inscribed on the base,³⁸ we owe to Demosthenes a valuable piece of information concerning the time of its erection. Let us reopen the speech on the False Embassy (341 B.C.). Demosthenes charges Aeschines, among other misdemeanours, with having deceived the Athenians by giving them (in the aforesaid speech against Timarchus), as an authentic proof of the bearing of ancient orators, the statue of Solon in Salamis. He continues thus : ' And yet the people of Salamis tell us that this statue has not been standing there for more than fifty years, whereas 240 years have elapsed between Solon and our own time. So that, not only the sculptor himself, who selected that attitude, but even his grandfather, was not a contemporary of Solon.' ³⁹ The fifty years or so, elapsed between the speech on the False Embassy and the casting of the statue of Salamis, bring us, for the latter, to about the year 391 B.C.

VIII

Let us halt a moment to draw some inferences from these well-proven facts.

I think I have shown :

(1) That the Lateran statue represents, not a poet, but an orator ;

(2) That this orator, by reason of his dress and attitude, must have lived before the Peloponnesian War ;

(3) That none of the famous orators of the first two parts of the fifth century had obtained in Athens the honour of a public statue ;

(4) That among the older orators, Solon is the only one of whom literary tradition mentions a public statue existing in the middle of the fourth century B.C., *i. e.* the time below which we cannot place the original of the Lateran statue ;

(5) That overwhelming evidence proves the statue which rose on the agora of Salamis to have represented Solon exactly in the posture and dress of the Lateran marble.

*This series of facts leads of necessity to the conclusion that we possess in

³⁸ Diog. La. i. 62.

³⁹ *De falsa leg.* 251.

the Lateran statue a faithful copy of the Salaminian statue of Solon. I say a copy, because the Lateran statue is in marble, whereas the statue of Salamis was in bronze; we are told so distinctly by the anonymous sophist⁴⁰ whose speech *Corinthiacus* has crept into the collection of Dio Chrysostomus's lectures. Otherwise, one might be not disinclined to follow the opinion of some antiquaries who, in their rapture over the Lateran statue, have gone so far as to see in it a true Greek original. Certainly it would be vain to seek in its technical execution any of those marks (so fallacious, in that period) which point to a bronze prototype. Nevertheless, I think that most connoisseurs are right in considering, even for purely archaeological reasons, our statue as a copy, though an excellent one. The back, with the exception of the head, is carved in a somewhat summary fashion, suggesting that, in its original site in Terracina, the statue stood before a wall or in a niche. Such was not the case of public statues set up in the fourth century B.C., and, in particular, of the Salamis statue, which we must fancy rising in the very middle of the market-place and visible from all sides.

On the other hand, no archaeologist will be surprised not to find in a statue of the fourth century, designed about 200 years after the life of the person represented, the archaic type of countenance or dress, which an artist of our own time would have striven to lend to Solon. Considerations of historic or local colour were quite alien to Greek classical art. So the sculptor, who, of course, had no documents whatever concerning the physical appearance of Solon, was wisely content with giving him the somewhat idealised figure of a well-born Athenian of his own time, the dress and attitude of the 'old orators' in general, and the stately, though friendly, expression which befitted the 'Father of the Fatherland,' the man whose verses teem with love of his countrymen and justified self-consciousness.

A comparison will best express my feelings.

Under a copy of Michael Angelo's *Moses*, a philanthropist of our own days had once these words engraved: 'To the greatest of law-givers.' Solon was something like an Athenian Moses. Those who are inclined to sneer at his ideal portraiture by an artist of the early fourth century are the same who, in the presence of the immortal creation of Michael Angelo, would only think of criticising the Jove-like attitude, the superhuman hand and the cataracts of a fluvial beard.

IX

Let us now, before proceeding further, approach the problem by another way.

I said above that, in posthumous statues of this kind which are not really portraits, too much stress need not be laid on iconographic details or questions of likeness. Nevertheless, it appears that once a physical type was fixed by a

⁴⁰ Dio Chrys., xxxvii. (ii. 293, *Dind.*, it (as Aeschines led his audience to believe) Overbeck, 1397). This man, who had to be contemporary with Solon: τὸ ἐν certainly never seen the statue, believes Σαλαμῖνι χαλκοῦς ἐστάναι μέγα ποιούμενος.

masterpiece for the features of a great man of the past, it was faithfully copied from generation to generation, as we see by the busts of Homer and Socrates.

Therefore, the hypothesis developed above would be strengthened if we could adduce in its favour a monument showing the same lines as the Lateran head and inscribed by the ancients themselves with the name of Solon.

I believe this to be the case. In the Museum *degli Uffizi* in Florence (*Sala delle Inscrizioni*, 287)⁴¹ there stands, or rather stood, a fine herm of Pentelic marble (Fig. 10), at present (Spring, 1922) exiled for some reason of re-organisation in an almost inaccessible store-room. This herm bears the inscription in late Roman script: $\Sigma\Lambda\omega\lambda\eta\eta\ \omicron\ \text{NOMOTETHC}$, the genuineness of which is warranted by the most experienced of judges, Professor Kaibel.⁴²

Now the head of this herm, very slightly restored (nose, knot of the ribbon), is not only, as it has been sometimes said, distantly similar,⁴³ but, in the words of the candid Bernoulli,⁴⁴ practically identical with that of the Lateran statue. If the original of the herm, as it is natural to suppose, be the Salamis statue of Solon, we have here a documentary proof that the Lateran statue derives from the same source and actually represents the great Athenian law-giver. Such is surely the conclusion which would have been drawn by Ennio Quirino Visconti, the only scholar who has hitherto published this herm⁴⁵ (in an indifferent engraving), if he had not died twenty years before the find of Terracina.

Unfortunately, though the genuineness of the inscription, so thoughtlessly put in doubt by the German Braun,⁴⁶ is no longer disputed to-day, another German, Dütschke, who closely examined this work, declares that the head, as is so often the case, does not belong to the body, and that the marble of the latter has even been given a colouring to match with the tint of the head. Having succeeded in seeing

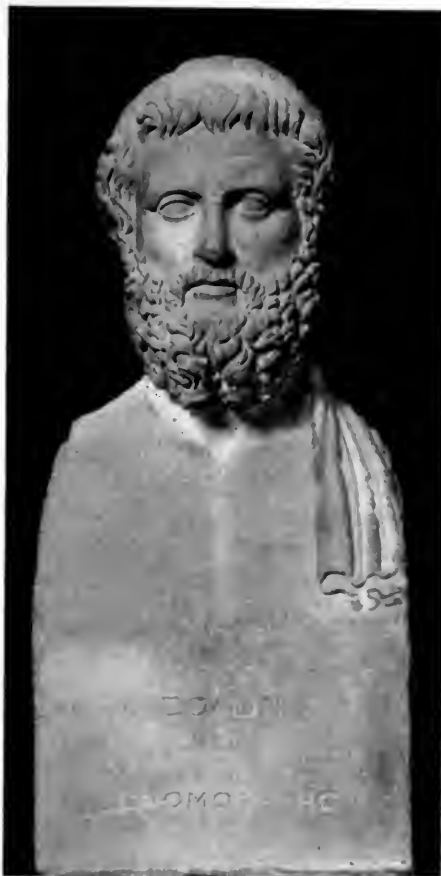


FIG. 10.—HERM OF SOLON. FLORENCE, UFFIZI.

⁴¹ Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke*, etc., iii. 179, No. 363.

⁴² *Insc. Sicil.* 1209. Cf. C. I. G. 6110.

⁴³ Dütschke (*entfernte Ähnlichkeit*).

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⁴⁴ *Icon.* i. pp. 38 and 39.

⁴⁵ *Iconog. gr.* i. Pl. IX. a, p. 143.

⁴⁶ *Bullettino*, 1847, p. 21.

the herm lately, though by very unfavourable light, I can only express my agreement with Dütschke's opinion.⁴⁷ However, admitting that bust and head are not of the same material, they may very well have belonged to each other from the beginning; or else, they may have been assembled in classical times by a learned amateur, who knew, from other sources, that this was really the traditional head of Solon. I really see no other explanation of the present combination of head and herm. So there is no reason whatever for putting the case, as is sometimes done, 'the head of Sophocles on a herm of Solon.'

Curiously enough, there exists in the Villa Albani a head of the same type⁴⁸ under which has been placed a herm, undoubtedly modern, but equally inscribed with the name of Solon. Bernoulli supposes that this 'forgery' was suggested, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, by the genuine inscription of the Florentine bust. It follows, at any rate, that in those days, before the discovery of the Lateran statue, most antiquaries agreed to put under the name of Solon, those bearded, filleted, idealised heads, which Bernoulli has grouped under the fallacious denomination 'Sophocles of the Lateran type.'⁴⁹ And we now know that these antiquaries were right.

X.

Let us return to the original of the Lateran statue.

We have seen that it dates from about 391 B.C. This agrees much better with the style of the extant work than the date of *circa* 330 suggested by the imaginary connexion with the 'Sophocles' of Lycurgus. If, indeed, in the humane countenance, in the rather elaborate, not to say fastidious, elegance of the drapery, we feel already, as it were, the approach of the refined age of Praxiteles, on the other hand, the solemn pose, the severe outline of the whole figure and even certain characteristic details of the face (as, for instance, the broad and strong swelling of the lower eyelid), connect our statue very closely with the lofty art of the fifth century. It belongs to that transitional period which includes several of the most admirable sepulchral stelae of the Ceramicus, the average date of which is fixed by the year, exactly known, of the Dexileos monument (394 B.C.).

Are we to stop our inquiry here, or may we go further and attempt to find out the author of the statue as well as its date? Here a happy discovery of Wilhelm Klein will relieve me of long argument. As far back as 1893, in a short contribution to the *Eranos Vindobonensis*,⁵⁰ that German scholar discussed a text of the elder Pliny,⁵¹ mentioning among the works of bronze by

⁴⁷ Some critics may wonder at the flap of drapery which hangs down the left shoulder and is not continued on the right. But (1) the same arrangement appears on the herm of 'Antisthenes' (Naples, 6155), which is of one block; (2) most likely the right shoulder (left from the spectator) has been badly restored, and should be squarer, showing a bit of drapery twisted round the neck as on the Euripides herm (Naples 6135).

⁴⁸ Villa Albani, Coffee House, No. 731 (Bernoulli, p. 137, No. 4).

⁴⁹ These are, in addition to the Florence and Albani herms, two herms of the Capitol (Sala dei Filosofi, 33 and 34), one with the modern inscription ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ and a bronze bust in Florence, *Museo Archaeologico*.

⁵⁰ *Eranos*, p. 142. Substantially reproduced in his *Praxiteles*, p. 48, and his *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, ii. 243.

⁵¹ xxxiv. 87; Overbeck, 1137.

Kephisodotos—the elder of the two sculptors of that name—a statue thus described: *contionantem manu elata, persona in incerto est*. By an emendation as felicitous as obvious, by merely supposing the omission of *one* repeated letter, instead of *manu elata*, Klein writes *manu uelata*, and he finds thus in this *contionans* or ἀγορεύων an official orator, his arm in the mantle, *i. e.* in the attitude of the Solon of Salamis. The coincidence, as well in the subject as in the date, is so perfect that Klein did not hesitate to identify the *contionans* of Pliny with the Solon of Salamis, whose further identity with the Lateran ‘Sophocles’ he, however, failed to perceive.

Klein’s theory met with contradiction.⁵² It has been objected that if the *contionans* were the famous statue of Salamis, it would not be easy to understand why the compiler adds: ‘the person represented is uncertain.’ One can answer with Klein himself by reminding the reader of the controversy waged between Aeschines and Demosthenes concerning the genuineness of the portrait of Solon, *i. e.* whether the sculptor had the opportunity of knowing and reproducing the features of his model. That discussion, which had passed into the rhetorical schools, may well have been deformed little by little, so as to become, in Pliny’s notes, a controversy concerning the identity of the person represented.

It may also be answered—and for my part I should prefer to answer—that the statue of Salamis, as many other bronzes, was ultimately taken down from its pedestal, and carried away to adorn an Hellenistic residence or a palace of Rome. Then the basis, with the inscription still preserved by Diogenes Laertius, remained standing *in situ*, as was, for instance, the case with the statue of Sappho by Silanion, which Verres stole from the Prytaneum in Syracuse.⁵³ The statue thus became anonymous, though still inscribed with the signature of Kephisodotos, and henceforth, in the inventories of the quaestors or in the works on archaeology, it was, like so many statues of athletes which had undergone the same adventure, merely designated by the gesture of the personage: ‘the orator with his arm wrapped up.’

Admitting this, the emendation of Klein really seems convincing. Not only is the reading of the MSS., *elata manu*, of rather dubious latinity,⁵⁴ but the gesture which it indicates, that of an orator speaking with his arm uplifted, is unknown in Greek art and literature. It is only met with in the imperial Roman period, and even then seems specially reserved for the *allocutio* of the commander-in-chief; thus we see it given on several monuments to the emperors, or to certain warlike divinities such as Mars and Minerva.⁵⁵ In Greek art, on the contrary, the uplifted arm is only and always the expression of amazement.⁵⁶ Even in more recent times, when the orator’s arm was

⁵² Milchhöfer, Gurlitt, etc. It was adopted by Collignon (ii. 184), who, however, did not draw the necessary inference.

⁵³ Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 57, 126 (Overbeek, 1355).

⁵⁴ *erecta* would be the proper word. See, however, Ammianus, xxvi. 2, 5: *elata prospere dextra*.

⁵⁵ Statues of Augustus (*Prima porta*),

Titus (Vatican); Gallienus on medals, etc. Comp. Sittl, *Gebärden*, p. 303. The *arringatore* at Florence is of doubtful interpretation.

⁵⁶ See the Marsyas of Myron, the Blacas vase, the Heracles vase of Assteas, etc. Vainly did Milchhöfer try to find an orator in the Arcadian relief, *Ath. Mitt.* vi. 51; Sittl, *loc. cit.*

disengaged from the cloak and remained free for gesticulation, Quintilian, following, as it seems, later Greek rhetors, ridicules the barrister who raises his arm *ad tectum*.⁵⁷

It is therefore unthinkable that, in the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Kephisodotos should have represented an official orator in such an attitude. This is so clear that certain commentators before Klein supposed Pliny or his authority to have been guilty of misinterpretation. Poor Pliny was accused of having mistaken a personage in the act of prayer for an orator; ⁵⁸ but even prayer in Greek life and art does not admit of that gesture.

On the other hand, the expression *manu uelata*, though not supported, as far as I am aware, by an identical instance, finds close parallels in Latin literature.⁵⁹ At any rate, nothing is more natural than



FIG. 11.—CHRIST. (From the Berlin Sarcophagus.)

to suppose a *manus velata* in the figure carved by Kephisodotos, nothing more natural than the clerical error of the Plinian copyists, familiar with statues of emperors raising the arm and unfamiliar with Greek orators wrapped up according to the ancient fashion.

Let me add that the date which we have ascertained for the erection of the Solon statue in Salamis (391 B.C.) agrees perfectly with the known data of the artistic activity of Kephisodotos. His oldest testified work (Overbeck, 1141) is the altar in the temple of Zeus Soter in Peiraeus, which appears to have been dedicated after the battle of Cnidus (394 B.C.), the most recent one (Overbeck, 1140) is a statue in a temple of Megalopolis, a city founded in 372 or 371 B.C.⁶⁰

We cannot determine the date of his famous group of the goddess of Peace, nursing the infant god Plutos, which has come down to us in the fine replica of Munich.⁶¹ This beautiful statue was, until now, the only evidence that we possessed of the manner of Kephisodotos: the drapery with its fluted folds, the full and dignified proportions still keep his style close to the tradition of Phidias and the *korai* of the Erechtheion; but the motherly motive, the sweet and friendly countenance of the goddess inclining her head towards the child, already promises the Hermes of Olympia, the subject of which, as is well known, Kephisodotos had also anticipated.

⁵⁷ *Instit. orat.* xi. 3, 117. Comp. Augustine, *In Iohannem*, 87, 2.

⁵⁸ Milchhöfer, *Festschrift für Brunn*, p. 39.

⁵⁹ Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 412 (*pede velato*). In prose (Livy, v. 21) as well as in poetry, *velatus* stands for *amictus*.

⁶⁰ The career of Kephisodotos, according to Pliny (Ol. 102, 372–69 B.C.), culminated

perhaps in this work. In fact he must have been then an old man.

⁶¹ Commonly dated 374 (on account of the sacrifices instituted for Eirene, Isocrat. xv. 109; Nepos, *Timoth.* 2), but this date is now disputed by many (Klein, *op. cit.*, Ducati, *Rev. arch.* 1906, i. p. 111), who go back as far as 403.

'By his style,' Collignon most justly writes,⁶² 'he is a conservative, respectful of the past; by the nature of the subjects he treats, by the feeling which pervades them, he may already be reckoned among the interpreters of the new spirit.'

That appreciation applies almost word for word to the statue of the Lateran and confirms, if confirmation is necessary, its attribution to Kephisodotos.

Thus, thanks to the discovery of Klein, supplemented by our own identification of the Lateran and Salamis statues, we are now enabled to illustrate by a new and splendid instance the talent of the gifted artist, whose son and pupil seems to have been Praxiteles.⁶³ Already known as the creator of the first monumental allegorical group, Kephisodotos now also appears as the author of the first and finest commemorative portrait statue in the history of Greek sculpture. And by a curious coincidence, the man to whom Christian art is indebted for the prototype of the motherly Madonna is the same who gave us the noble prototype of the 'doctor' Christ, that law-giver of the early Middle Ages (Fig. 11).⁶⁴

Hellenic scholars will perhaps relinquish with regret the illusion of possessing a life-sized portrait of their favourite tragic poet, but I hope they will find some comfort in recovering, or rather recognising, a new work by the great master who stands out more and more as the herald of a new dawn of art, as the real link between the divine Phidias and the divine Praxiteles.

THEODORE REINACH.

⁶² *Hist.* ii. 184.

⁶³ The old hypothesis, founded on the name of one of Praxiteles's sons, is more likely than Furtwängler's theory, which makes Kephisodotos the elder brother of Praxiteles. If such was the case, why should historians give Phocion as the brother-in-law of *Kephisodotos* (Plut. *Phoc.* 19) rather than of the far more famous Praxiteles?

⁶⁴ Compare, among others, the Byzantine ivory *ap. Cahier, Mélanges*, iv. 75, a figure in the cemetery of Praetextatus, another

one on a sarcophagus of the fourth century at Clermont (these two quoted by Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, p. 53, who aptly compares them with the Lateran statue), the Christ on a sarcophagus of the 'Sidamara type' in the Berlin Museum (Post, *History of Sculpture*, Fig. 1), etc. Bréhier shows that this same type was adopted for the figure of Buddha on early Greco-indian monuments of Gandhara and Bactriana, such as the gold coin of Kanerkes (Kanishka), *Br. Mus. Cat. of Indian Coins*, Pl. XXVI, 8.

CITHAROEDUS

[PLATES II.—V.]

THE vase reproduced on Pl. II. and in Figs. 1 and 2 was sold by Messrs. Sotheby in the summer of 1919, and is now in the collection of Mr. William Randolph Hearst of New York. It is unbroken and well preserved. The height is sixteen inches and a half, say forty-two centimetres. Photographs of both sides were published in the sale catalogue;¹ but the drawings from which Pl. II. has been made have not been published before.

The shape of the vase is not a common one. It is a kind of amphora; and I use the word amphora, unqualified, to cover all those types in which the neck passes into the body with a gradual curve; instead of being set sharply off, as it is in the neck-amphorae, in the amphora of Panathenaic shape, and in the amphora with pointed foot.

Three types of amphora were used by the makers of red-figured vases. Type A,² which has flanged handles and a foot in two degrees, is used by black-figure painters as early as the middle of the sixth century, is a favourite with the painters of the archaic red-figured period, and disappears about 460. Type B,³ which has cylindrical handles and a foot in the form of an inverted echinus, is older than type A; for it is used by Attic painters at the very beginning of the sixth century.⁴ It survives type A, but not for long: the latest specimens date from the period of the vase-painter Polygnotos.⁵ The amphorae of type C, the type to which our vase belongs, are smaller than most of the other amphorae, ranging from about 37 to 43 centimetres in height. The body is of the same shape as in the other types, but narrower: the principal characteristic is the mouth, which instead of being concave with a strong flare, as in types A and B, is convex with the lower diameter only slightly shorter than the upper. The foot is sometimes shaped like an inverted echinus as in type B; and sometimes, just as in certain neck-amphorae, torus-shaped, with a cushion between foot and base. Our vase has the echinus foot.

Type C first appears in the so-called affected class, a class of Attic black-

¹ *Sale Catalogue, Sotheby, May 22-23, 1919, No. 270 and Pl. 11.* Miss Richter kindly confirmed my belief that the vase had passed into the Hearst collection. Height of the figures, 21.5 centimetres.

² Lau, *Griechische Vasen*, Pl. 12, 1; Furtwängler-Reichhold, i. p. 266; Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, pp. 60 and 61.

³ Lau, Pl. 11, 2; Caskey, pp. 58 and 59.

⁴ Amphorae in Athens, Pottier, *B.C.H.*

1898, p. 283; in London, A 1531, *ibid.* p. 285; in Munich, Hackl, *Jahrbuch*, xxii. pp. 83-85.

⁵ Athens 1166 (CC. 1220); Louvre G 534. The amphora signed by Polygnotos (Hoppin, *Handbook*, ii. pp. 376-7), an early work of the painter, is a unique variant of type B; the foot is echinus-shaped, but the handles are ridged.

figured vases which belongs to about the second quarter of the sixth century.⁶ Then the type disappears for a while : at any rate I do not know of any black-figured examples apart from the affected ones. The red-figured examples number seventeen : the earliest of them bears the signature of the potter Euxitheos, and was painted by Olto : hardly earlier than about 520 B.C. The other sixteen range between this date and about 480. Our amphora is one of the latest : a vase in Würzburg may be a little but cannot be much later. After 480 the shape vanishes.⁷

One or two red-figured amphorae of type C have a pair of figures on each side and frame the pictures with bands of pattern. But most of them follow a principle which is characteristic of the riper archaic period of red-figured vase-painting. The painter places a single figure on either side of the vase, and covers the rest of the surface with black ; cutting the patterns down to a plinth-like band under each figure—in our class of amphorae a simple reserved line ; and sometimes even dispensing with this band, so that the whole decoration of the vase consists of a single figure on the front, and another on the back, standing out from the black background. This sober and noble form of decoration loses its popularity at the end of the archaic period : the free style wanted more figures and more pattern ; the archaic vases seemed sombre and bleak.

The subject of our amphora is clear in the main, though some of the details offer difficulty. On the front of the vase, a youth with a cithara is singing : on the back stands a bearded man dressed in a himation, holding a wand in his left hand and making a gesture with his right. The youth is a virtuoso ; for

⁶ Karo, *J.H.S.* xix. 148, b. He compares the Chalcidian amphora Munich 592 (Jahn 1108), which is now published in Hackl, *Vasensammlung zu München*, Pl. 21 ; there the mouth is rifled.

⁷ The red-figured examples are the following :

(a) The pictures framed :

- (1) Orvieto, Faina 33. By the Tyszkiewicz painter (*A.J.A.* 1916, p. 152, No. 24).
- (2) Louvre G 63. A, silen and maenad ; B, two silens.
- (3) Formerly in the Higgins collection. Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 276, 1-2. *Burlington Cat.* 1903, K 99, No. 83.
- (4) Würzburg, 309. By the Syleus painter (*V.A.* p. 67, No. 12).

(b) The pictures not framed :

- (1) B.M. E. 258. *V.A.* p. 9, Fig. 4 = Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. p. 449. By Olto (*V.A.* p. 9, No. 3). Hoppin says the vase is much repainted ; it was so, but is so no longer, and was not when I made the drawings which he reproduces.

- (2) Petrograd 602 (St. 1639). *Comptendu*, 1868, pp. 58 and 5.
- (3) Naples 3174. *El. Cér.* i. Pl. 9.
- (4) Petrograd (St. 1637). *Comptendu*, 1866, Pl. 5, 1-3.
- (5) Petrograd 603 (St. 1593). By the painter of Boston 98, 882 (Flying Angel painter) (*V.A.* p. 57, No. 1).
- (6) Vienna, Oest. Mus. 332. Masner, Pl. 6, No. 332, and p. 7. By the same (*ibid.* No. 3).
- (7) Paris, Petit Palais 328. By the same (*ibid.* No. 2).
- (8) Milan, Musco Teatrale 416. *Cat. Vend. Coll. Sarti 5 maggio 1906*, Pl. 19 ; *Cat. Coll. Dr. B. et M. C.*, Pl. 20, No. 169 ; *Cat. Coll. Jules Sambon*, Pl. 1, No. 9. By the same.
- (9) Louvre G 212. A, man with spear ; B, man. Repainted. By the same ?
- (10) Boston 98, 882. *V.A.* p. 58 : the shape, Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 80. By the same (*ibid.* No. 4).
- (11) Petrograd 604 (St. 1601). A, *V.A.* p. 59. By the same (*ibid.* No. 5).
- (12) Louvre G 220. A, komast ; B, komast.
- (13) The Hearst vase.

his instrument is the heavy elaborate cithara, made of wood, with metal and ivory fittings. It is Apollo's instrument, and is to be distinguished from the lighter, simpler lyre invented by the infant Hermes. But the youth is not Apollo; for no immortal plays or sings with such passion; and a short-haired Apollo would hardly be possible at the period to which the vase belongs. Again: in these large vases with isolated figures the figure on the reverse is



FIG. 1.—NEW YORK, HEARST COLLECTION: A.

usually related in subject to the figure in the obverse: there are many exceptions to this rule, and our vase might be one of them; but from the gesture of the man's hand he seems to be beating time to music, and so connected with the musician. Now the man is a mortal, for no god carries a forked wand: therefore the youth cannot be Apollo; and Apollo is the only god he could have been: therefore he is a mortal.

The long forked wand is commonly carried by athletic trainers and umpires in athletic contests. It is seldom found in pictures of cithara-playing; but it

is found. On a small neck-amphora, with twisted handles, in the Vatican, the picture on the obverse consists of two figures : a bearded citharode standing on a platform, and a man in a himation with the forked wand in his right hand.⁸ The man on the obverse of our vase, then, is a judge or an instructor : considering the movement of his hand, an instructor rather than a judge, and the subject of the vase a rehearsal, perhaps, rather than a performance.



FIG. 2.—NEW YORK, HEARST COLLECTION : B.

In his right hand the musician holds the plectrum, which is decorated with a tassel, and fastened to the cithara by a cord. His left hand, which is out of action, is seen to be passed through a retaining band, no doubt a leather strap punched with a row of holes.⁹ The parts of the cithara are all clearly indicated :

⁸ By the painter of the Louvre Centaureomachy; to be added to the list of his works in *V.A.* pp. 158-159.

⁹ The back of this band is well seen on the bronze corslet *Bronzen von Olympia*,

Pl. 59, and on a fragmentary eantharos, by the Pan painter, in Athens (Wolters, *Jahrbuch*, xiv. p. 104; *J.H.S.* xxxii. p. 363. No. 41).

the wooden sounding-box; the arms, partly of wood and partly of ivory or horn; the strengthening pieces on the inner side of the arms; the cross-bar, terminating in a metal disc, for turning it, at either end; the seven strings, fixed into the tail-piece, stretched over the bridge, and wound round the cross-bar; the cover or apron, of fringed and embroidered cloth, attached to the sounding-board and swinging with the motion of the singer. The bundle of cords hanging from the outer side of the cithara is present in most representations of citharae, but what the function of the cords is I am not sure: ¹⁰ conceivably they are spare strings.

The costume of the citharode consists of two pieces: a long Ionic chiton of ordinary cut, loosely belted, and a cloak made of a rectangular piece of cloth covering the middle of the body, flung over both shoulders, and kept in position, not by brooches or pins, but by its own weight. The drawing of the mantle is strongly but not fantastically stylised. A similar mantle, unless I am mistaken, is worn by a cithara-player on a contemporary vase in Munich.¹¹ The hang of the garment resembles that of Apollo's cloak in a Würzburg vase which we shall discuss later.¹²

A few words will suffice for the technique of the painting: most of the points will be clear from the reproductions. Only parts of the contours are lined in with relief lines: on the obverse, the face and neck, the fingers of the right hand with the plectrum, the inner outline of the left thumb, the feet, and portions of the cithara; on the reverse, the forehead and nose, the neck, part of the right shoulder, the right hand, the right side of the body where it is bare, the feet, the lower edge of the himation, and the part of the himation on the lower half of the right-hand side of the picture. The folds of the chiton on the obverse, and the minor folds of the himation, in the region of the elbow, on the reverse, are in brown; in brown also the minor internal markings of both bodies, including the man's nipples; the hair and eyelashes of the musician; and the loose ends of the instructor's hair and beard. The space between the two lines immediately above the fringe of the apron is filled in with brown. Ankles and nostrils are rendered by relief lines. Red is used for the wreaths and the plectrum cord.

Among the many vases on which citharodes are represented, that which resembles ours most closely is one which was formerly in Rollin's possession and which is published by Lenormant and De Witte.¹³ In the text which accompanies the plate, the authors call it an amphora of Panathenaic shape: and this it may well have been; for although number 68 on their plate of forms, to which they refer the reader, is not an accurate rendering of any known type of vase, yet a vase in Naples, which they also publish, is likewise stated to be of shape 68, and the Naples vase is in truth an amphora of Panathenaic shape.¹⁴

The decoration of the Rollin vase (Fig. 3) consists of two figures, one on

¹⁰ Th. Reinach, in Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. *Lyra* 1446, thinks that the cords were for fastening the apron to the cithara.

¹¹ Neck-amphora with twisted handles, 2319 (Jahn 8).

¹² F.R.H. Pl. 134, 1. See p. 80.

¹³ *Ét Cér.* ii. Pl. 16; text 2, p. 38; previously in the Canino collection.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ii. Pl. 75. Style of the Meidias painter.

either side of the vase; the French reproduction combining them into a single picture. On the obverse, a bearded citharode with his head back, and his mouth open singing, dressed in a long Ionian chiton and a short himation of normal Ionian type; on the reverse, a bearded man clad in a himation, leaning forward a little and supporting himself on his stick, his right arm stretched out with two fingers bent and the others extended: the gesture is the same as in our amphora, but the hand is seen from the front and not from the side. The drawings in the *Élite*, although lacking in sensitiveness, are evidently not untrustworthy. There is one part, however, which is open to suspicion, and



FIG. 3.—ONCE IN ROLLIN'S POSSESSION. (From *Él Cér.* ii. pl. 16.)

that is the himation of the man on the reverse, where it curls up round the lower side of the left forearm. This wear, quite unfamiliar to me, I take to be unantique. I suggest that this portion of the Rollin vase was modern.

Lenormant's draughtsman, as can be seen in the original plate,⁷ though scarcely in our reduction, has distinguished the brown lines of his original from the black, which is more than many copyists do. It is clear that brown was used for most of the inner markings in the bodies, for the vertical lines in the upper part of the chiton and for the intermediate folds in the lower part, for the folds of the sleeve, and for the dots on the apron of the cithara. Three of the ankles are black, the fourth is given as brown.

Let us compare the figure on the reverse of the Rollin vase with the

corresponding figure on our amphora. There is no reason why the two figures should be replicas, and they are not: the attitude is not the same, and there are certain variations in drawing. We shall examine the differences before proceeding to the resemblances. The Rollin man has a little arc on his right arm, between the two heads of the biceps, and the digitations of the serratus magnus are indicated: these lines are absent in our amphora. Again, in our amphora the transverse folds of the himation run alternately from our left and our right, the left-hand lines being short, the others long: whereas in the Rollin vase this system is observable, indeed, below the knee, but above the knee it gives place to a system of long continuous lines running from the outer edge of the garment, on our left, to the long vertical folds on our right. There can be no doubt which is the more satisfactory rendering: the Rollin system is unbearably monotonous. Now we noticed above that there was good reason to suppose that the Rollin himation was not wholly genuine: if the himation was restored, as we thought, about the forearm and below it, then the folds in the region between navel and knee may also have been restored or repainted; and I suspect that this is so, because of their ugliness.

Let us now turn to the resemblances: I lay no stress, of course, on the rendering of the nipple as a circle of dots with the centre marked; for this is an extremely common rendering of the nipple; but I would draw attention to the bounding lines of the breasts, with the curvilinear triangle at the pit of the stomach; to the omission of the off clavicle; to the line of the hither clavicle, recurving at the pit of the neck without touching the median line of the breast; to the curved line which runs down from about half-way along the line of the clavicle, separating shoulder and breast; to the smaller arc in the middle of the deltoid; to the indication of the trapezius between neck and shoulder; to the pair of curved lines on the upper right arm; to the projection of the wrist when the position of the hand requires it; to the two brown lines on the neck, indicating the sterno-mastoid; to the marking on the body between the lower boundary of the breast and the himation; to the form of the black lines indicating the ankle; to the pair of brown lines running from each ankle up the leg; to the forward contour of left leg and knee showing through the himation; in the himation, to the peaked folds on the left upper arm, the loose fold in the region of the navel, and the triangle where the inside of the garment shows at the shoulder.

We will now consider a third vase, an amphora of Panathenaic shape in the Vatican (Pl. III.).¹⁵ In this vase also, the man on the reverse is very like the corresponding figure on our amphora. First the differences: in our amphora there is a line more in the ear, an additional line at the anterior end of the collar-bone, a series of arcs to model the ends of the toes; the outline of the himation in the region of the shoulder and upper arm is more complex; the himation has a line border; the forehead-nose line and the horizontal line of the mouth are lined in with relief, whereas in the Vatican vase no relief lines are

¹⁵ Helbig 488; *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 58, 1; photos. Alinari 35773-4, from which our reproductions are made; I have

strengthened the brown inner markings in front of the original; nearly all of them is visible in the photograph.

used for the contour of the face. All these differences fall under one heading: the amphora is a somewhat more elaborate work than the Vatican vase, and the artist has put a little more detail into his figure. Now look at the resemblances: the form of the breast is the same; the triangle at the pit of the stomach is the same, the brown lines on the breast are the same, and the brown



FIG. 4.—NAPLES RC. 163: B. (From *Mon. Linc.* 22, pl. 82.)

lines on forearm, upper arm, and neck; wrists and trapezius are indicated in both; the feet are the same, apart from the absence of the toe arcs in the less studied of the two figures: the ankle and the brown lines on the leg are the same; the system of folds is the same; and in both vases we find brown intermediate folds in the region of the elbow. The hands are hardly comparable, since they are not in the same position: for parallels to the Vatican hands we may turn to the Rollin man, who has his left hand drawn in the same manner,

the same pair of brown lines on the left forearm, and the same black line at the spring of the fingers in the right hand.

Leaving, for the moment, the obverse of the Vatican vase, let us turn to another vase of exactly the same type, an amphora of Panathenaic shape in Naples, and inspect the youth on the reverse (Fig. 4).¹⁶ I have taken the liberty of adding the dotted nipple, which is present in the original and has been overlooked by the Italian draughtsman: I would also remark that the ankle lines do not really meet below, as would seem from the reproduction. In the Naples youth, the triangle at the pit of the stomach is absent, one of the sides being omitted, and there is no brown vertical line on the left breast. Moreover, as the left hand is held lower, there is room for the brown body-markings which are absent in the Vatican man, but are given in just the same way in the Rollin vase and in our amphora. In nearly every other respect the Naples youth is as like the Vatican man as could be, and the strips on which they stand are decorated with the same, by no means common, pattern. I would invite the reader to compare the Naples youth, not only with the Vatican man, but with the two others, to make sure that I am not gradually leading him astray.

Fig. 5 reproduces a fragment in Athens, found on the Acropolis.¹⁷ The curve of the fragment suggests that the vase was an amphora of Panathenaic shape. Here we find once more the two brown lines on the neck, the recurving collar-bone, in which the recurve is of just the same length as in the Naples youth, the brown line bounding the shoulder, the little brown arc in the middle of the deltoid, the dotted nipple, the short brown vertical line on the breast, the loose folds of the himation on the left of the drawing, the end of the himation flung over the left forearm, the intermediate brown line between this and the shoulder-folds. There are three lines on the left forearm instead of two, but so there are on the right forearm of the Rollin man: the only new detail is the tiny brown arc emphasising the jutting wrist.

In Fig. 6, one of three figures on the reverse of a stamnos in the Louvre,¹⁸ the himation is worn differently, concealing the left arm and hand: the *subject* of the drapery, if one may so speak, is not the same as in the five previous figures. In other respects the himation is as like the Vatican and Naples himation as possible: the same system of folds from left and right, the same left leg line, the same rendering of the inside of the garment at neck and flank. The forms of the body—shoulder, neck, breast, arms, legs, feet and ankles—are the same as before: the only difference is that the figure being more summarily executed, nipples and vertical breast lines are left out. The little arc at the heads of the biceps appeared on the Rollin vase. In the rendering of the pit of the stomach, the new figure stands midway between the Naples youth and the Vatican man: the triangle is complete, but the third side of it is in brown, not in black. The proportions of the figure are shorter than in

¹⁶ Gabrici, *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82. The two long faint lines on the himation from mid forearm to elbow are sketch-lines.

¹⁷ G 139a; the letter after the numeral suggests that other fragments of the same

vase have been found, but I have not seen them.

¹⁸ G 186; the obverse, *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*, Pl. 5. Height of the figure reproduced, 19.7 centimetres.

the other vases, for it is one of three figures on the reverse of a broad vase, not the single figure on the reverse of a tall vase.

Another example of the Louvre type of himation is given in Fig. 7, the youth on the reverse of a column-krater in Petrograd.¹⁹ The figure is fragmentary, and the upper part of the right ankle is missing. The profile nipple is new to us; but nothing else. I will only remark that the pattern below the picture is the same as in the Vatican and Naples vases.

The only other reverse figure which I shall show comes from a Panathenaic amphora in Munich (Fig. 8).²⁰ The himation of the Munich youth takes us back to our first type: it stands particularly close to the Naples and Vatican himatia; while the line of the lower edge, with the two garment ends on our extreme right, is exactly as in the Rollin vase.

We have mentioned eight vases; but hitherto we have considered the figures on the reverse only: let us now turn the vases round and look at the obverse, beginning with the Vatican vase.

The discobolos (Pl. III.) resembles his friend on the reverse in all comparable features. As the discobolos is naked, we are able to study the rendering of parts which were concealed by clothing in the reverse figures: especially the hips, the thighs, the knees and the calves. A second naked figure is the Eros on the front of the Naples vase.²¹

The breast of Eros, with all its brown lines, is rendered in the familiar way, except that in the boyish figure the triangle at the pit of the stomach is absent: arms, neck, and profile foot are as usual; and the lines of the profile leg are the same as in the Vatican athlete. Now the very fellow of the Vatican discobolos is the discobolos on the obverse of the Panathenaic amphora in Munich mentioned above (Pl. IV. 2). The two pictures speak for themselves: one figure is in profile, the other frontal, but wherever you can compare them they tally, even to the whisker. The nipples are both in profile; but we noticed a profile nipple in the Petrograd youth. The



FIG. 5.—ACROPOLIS G 139 a.

¹⁹ 635 (St. 1528); the obverse, *Compte-rendu*, 1873, p. 22. Height of the figure on the reverse, including the pattern, 23 centimetres.

²⁰ 2313 (J. 9). The obverse, Pl. IV. 2.

Height of the figures, including the pattern: obverse, 26.7 centimetres; reverse, 24.5 centimetres.

²¹ *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82.

frontal knee, leg and ankle find close parallels in the Naples Eros. The rendering of arms, breast, neck, profile foot and ankles, and all the parts which a himation would leave visible, are the same as in the series of reverse figures. The Munich vase bears the love-name Socrates, which occurs on only one other vase, the Petrograd column-krater which we have already considered. A third discobolos is inseparable from the two in the Vatican and in Munich: he decorates the obverse of another, somewhat earlier, Panathenaic amphora in Munich (Pl. IV. 1).²² The satyrs on a third vase in Munich, of the same shape as the other two (Pl. V.),²³ preserve all the bodily features of the Vatican discobolos and of the other naked figures with which we have compared it. These satyrs find their very fellows on another still grander vase, the Berlin amphora 2160.²⁴ Finally, on one of the plates in Furtwängler-Reichhold, Hauser has published two amphorae of Panathenaic shape, one in Munich and one in Würzburg.²⁵ The Munich vase looks somewhat earlier than the other, but the drawing of the forms is the same in both, and the same as in all the figures, reverse or obverse, mentioned above. Reichhold's pictures will show that at a glance: to enumerate the resemblances would be merely to make a list of the parts of the body. But let us turn back for a moment to the first vase we mentioned, the citharode amphora, and compare it with the last, the Würzburg vase.²⁶ The subjects are totally different, and the clothing in the one—cloak and lionskin—naturally offers few points of comparison with the clothing in the other—chiton and himation. But look at the naked parts: the neck, the breast and shoulder with all their boundaries and inner markings, the arms, the feet and ankles. Lastly, the Munich Perseus vase:²⁷ the short chiton worn by Perseus offers a parallel for the delicate system of gently waving brown lines in the chiton of our citharode: the chiton of Medusa terminates below in the same pair of engrailed black lines as our citharode's: the lower border of Perseus' chiton is different, but it interests us nevertheless: it consists of two narrow bands, one set with black dots, the other filled in with brown: invert it, and you have the border of the apron which hangs from our cithara. The band filled in with brown sounds a simple sort of border; but actually it is not at all common in vase-painting.

It will be admitted, I think, that the thirteen vases described above are closely interconnected. We had to examine them consecutively, but we were continually referring back and across. Shuffle the thirteen, inspect them in any order you like, and they will be found to belong to the same suit.

It cannot be maintained that the points in which these figures resemble one another or one the rest are trifling, few, or restricted to one part of the figure. They comprise both the master lines which in archaic art demarcate

²² 2310 (J. 1). Height of the figure, 26 centimetres. The horizontal line on the left ankle represents a string.

²³ 2311 (J. 52). Height of the figures, 25.8 and 24.2 centimetres. The surface of the legs has suffered a great deal, so that much of the inner marking has disappeared.

²⁴ Gerhard, *E.C.V.* Pls. 8-9; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 15-16 and p. 276. The only reproductions which do justice to the beauty of the original are those published by Winter in *Jahreshefte*, 3, Pls. 3 and 4, and 5, 1. A new publication is promised in Furtwängler-Reichhold.

²⁵ Pl. 134. ²⁶ Pl. 134, 1. ²⁷ Pl. 134, 2.

the several parts of the body and of the drapery, and the minor lines which subdivide or diversify the areas thus demarcated. We may speak, in fact, of a coherent and comprehensive system of representing the forms of the human body naked and clothed.

The system is not restricted to the thirteen vases described. It appears on



FIG. 6.—LOUVRE G 186: PART OF B.



FIG. 7.—PETROGRAD 635: B.

a much larger number of vases: I have given a list before, and I repeat it rearranged, and increased by several items, later in these pages.²⁸ To point out the resemblances between the vases which we have examined, and the others in the list, would take a long time, and part of the work I have done elsewhere. I will confine myself to one or two details which bear upon the citharode vase. The double band of pattern—a band with dots, and a band filled in with brown

²⁸ See p. 91 and note.

—which we noticed on the apron of the cithara, as well as on the chiton of Perseus in the Munich Perseus vase, recurs on the embroidered chiton of Athena in the Munich stamnos and the London volute-krater.²⁹ For the wavy brown gold lines on the citharode's chiton we may refer to the chiton of Thetis on the volute-krater or of the woman on the fragment in the Cabinet des Médailles.³⁰ Finally, the himation of the man on the reverse: compare the himation of Apollo on the volute-krater, and, as far as it goes, that of Triton on the small neck-amphora in Harvard.³¹ We have already looked at one of the reverse figures on the Louvre stamnos G 186 (Fig. 6): we observed that the himation was not worn in the same way as in the vases which we had previously examined; but if we turn to the obverse of the stamnos³² we shall find the excellent Chiron wearing his himation shorter, it is true, than fashion would have prescribed in Athens, but in just the same manner as the instructor on the citharode vase and all his companions; and the rendering of the folds is exactly the same.

This system of renderings cannot be said to be the system universal at the period. It will hardly be disputed that the neck-amphora E 278 in the British Museum³³ belongs to the same period as the vases we have examined, that is to say, it is not later than the latest of them or earlier than the earliest. Now the attitude of the Apollo on the London vase is very like that of the Apollo on the Würzburg vase mentioned above; but if we place the two figures side by side, we shall hardly find a feature or a line in the one body which is the least like the corresponding feature or line in the other. The system of renderings in the London vase is totally different from the Würzburg system. Like the Würzburg system, the London system is not confined to one vase, but reappears on a good many others;³⁴ for instance, on the New York amphora reproduced immediately after the London vase in my *Vases in America*.³⁵

Let it be assumed that the London vase and its fellows are a little earlier or a little later than the vases of our group: admitted, as it must be, that both these and the London vase belong to the ripening or ripe archaic period; but denied, that the two groups can be called contemporary. It may then be contended that the relation of our system to others is still that of a temporal sequence: that ours is the system of a shorter period within the riper archaic period; a decade, say, or a year. But our system is not confined to the thirteen vases mentioned above: it appears, as we shall see, in a much larger number; but among this number there is not one cup. Such a cup may turn up tomorrow; but even so the other vase-shapes will continue to have an immense preponderance. Is it possible to think that during the assumed universal prevalence of this system, the decoration of cups was wholly suspended or the

²⁹ F.R.H. Pl. 106, 2; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 14.

³⁰ De Ridder, p. 280.

³¹ *V.A.* p. 39.

³² *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*, Pl. 5; Chiron alone, Morin-Jean, *Le dessin des animaux en Grèce d'après les vases peints*, p. 108. Neither drawing is accurate, and Morin-Jean omits all the brown lines on the limbs;

but the reproduction of the himation is sufficient for comparison.

³³ *B.S.A.* xviii. Pls. 11-12 and p. 221; the Apollo only, *V.A.* p. 45.

³⁴ See *B.S.A.* xviii. pp. 217-233, and xix. p. 245; *V.A.* pp. 45-47.

³⁵ *V.A.* p. 46.

output at any rate vastly decreased? Is it not more natural to consider that many of the very numerous cups which we still possess were painted contemporaneously with the thirteen vases and their companions, but painted in quarters where this system of renderings was not employed?

The system of renderings described above stands in a certain relation to nature: the individual renderings are more or less inspired by nature, that is, by a desire to reproduce the actual forms of the body. But nature does not ordain that an ankle or a breast must be rendered in just this way and no other. Nor does nature insist, that once you have drawn an ankle with black lines of a certain shape, you must put a vertical line on the chest, or a little arc in the middle of the deltoid. But on the vases, the one rendering brings the other with it: where you find this ankle you find these lines, and the rest of the renderings, within reasonable limits, are predictable.

It may be objected that this system cannot be segregated as I have segregated it, that it passes insensibly into other systems, so that one cannot say where it begins and where it ends. Now there would be no cause for wonder if the edges of its area were somewhat blurred; but they are not blurred. Memorise the system, and

walk through the Louvre or the British Museum: you will not be in doubt on which vases it is present or on which absent. Or turn over the pages of a large collection of good reproductions: Furtwängler-Reichhold, or Hoppin's *Handbook of Signed Vases*. I think everyone will admit that it occurs on three vases in the first book, and three only, and that no other vase in the book shows anything the least like it; and that in the second book it does not occur at all.



FIG. 8.—MUNICH 2313: B.

A system so definite, coherent, distinctive, and in some respects so wilful, is most easily intelligible as a *personal* system: inspired in some measure by observation of nature, influenced and in part determined by tradition, and communicable or prescribable to others; but the child, above all else, of one man's brain and will. The personal character of the system does not necessarily imply that all the works which exhibit it are the work of one hand. Suppose we took a member of the group—the citharode amphora, or the Würzburg vase; or let us say a single figure, the citharode, or the Apollo—and asked the question, at what point in the genesis of the work the system of renderings entered into it; three kinds of answer might be given. First, the figure before us may be a substantive work, the man who executed it having also designed it. If E be the execution, R the system of renderings, and D the design, the work done by the executant may be roughly represented by the formula $E + R + D$.

Secondly, the figure may be a copy, the man who executed it not having designed it, but having made a faithful reproduction of a model which was rendered in R. The executant's share of the work may be represented by E : $R + D$ being the work of another man.

Thirdly, the figure may be a translation, the man who executed it not having designed it, but having reproduced a model, which was not, however, rendered in R but in another system: R being imported by the executant, whose share of the work may be represented by $E + R$: D being the work of another man.

The whole group of vases which we have been studying may consist of substantive works; or of copies; or of translations; or of any two; or of all three.

I think it is inconceivable that R can have been a copyist's system and no more. It was we who detached it from the other formal elements in the vases where it appears, and dealt with its particulars piecemeal. But a system so clearly and carefully thought and felt out, so adequate to express a definite conception of the human form, must have been originally inherent, must have had its home, in a number of finished figures. It cannot have been meant to be clapped beside alien designs like a kind of substitution table. And if merely a copyist's system, how could it have kept itself pure through a number of years; always at the beck of others, yet not losing or altering anything in itself? The foreign forms continually in front of him, and the constant criticism of his superiors, must have ended by wreaking some change or confusion in the copyist's style.

It may be that some of the vases which exhibit this system are copies of designs executed on another system; but the main function of the system cannot have been translation. All sorts of borrowing went on in the Ceramicus; but if the system was applied to an alien design, it would so transmute it that the result would be a more or less substantive work.

We have now to consider the two other possibilities: substantive work, or faithful copy of a model. In both cases the system of renderings, and the other formal elements, cohere; the second case moves the 'original' a degree farther back.

That the vases of our group are all copies is unlikely : it seems to me that the tendency to degrade the actual executant of the vase-painting into little more than a mere mechanic, and to separate him from a presumed designer, 'the only true artist' in the matter, is incorrect. We do not know very much about the organisation of potter's industry in Athens, but we know enough to be sure that the analogy of great modern industrial establishments like Creusot or Renault is a fallacious one.³⁶ Modern industries of the kind depend on standardisation, on the production of an immense number of replicas. Now replicas exist among ancient vase-paintings, but on nothing like the scale which we should expect to find if the industry was regularly organised on the principle of one design copied in great numbers. That more or less faithful copies of successful vases or of other models by successful artists were made by younger or lesser men in some of the ancient establishments I am ready to believe; but not that in the majority of vases the designer of the drawings is different from the executant.

The application of a system of renderings, someone may say, is not sufficient to create a work of art; and the detection of such a system in a number of vases is not equivalent to an exhaustive examination of their content. There are aspects of the citharode amphora, for example, or of the Würzburg vase, which I have hitherto seemed to be wholly or partially disregarding. There is the material aspect—the nature of clay, glaze, instruments employed, and the like. There are the shape, features and proportions of the vessel itself. There are, finally, those aspects which come under the general heading of design—the arrangement of dark with light, and of line with line, to form a pattern (design in the narrower sense), and to represent something in nature (theme, movement, ethos and pathos). Now with the material aspect we need not concern ourselves : the recipes for making the clay and the glaze, for forming the pot, and so forth, reached their final form early in the sixth century; the brush was perfected later, but by the time of our vases it had been long in common use : these things do not alter from the early days of the red-figured period to the latest. As to the shape of the vases, I have said something and shall say more later. The aspect of design remains.

Let us give our attention, first of all, to the distribution of the figure-work. We make a distinction between decoration which consists of a single figure, and that which consists of more than one : single and plural decoration. If the vase has two sides, and a figure on each side, this counts as single decoration, even although the two figures may be connected in subject and motive; since only one of the figures can be seen at a time. Now both single and plural decoration occur in our group, as we should indeed expect; but there is a marked

³⁶ These firms are not specified by Mr. Pottier, but I submit that I am not misinterpreting the implication of the following passage (*Catalogue des vases du Louvre*, 3, p. 705), where the author is speaking of the heads of the workshops, whom he supposes to have provided the executants with models : 'Il pourrait se faire qu'ils

n'eussent jamais tenu la poterie entre leurs mains et pourtant que cette œuvre d'art fût vraiment le produit de leur intelligence, comme aujourd'hui quelque engin formidable de l'industrie métallurgique sort d'un atelier, sans que celui qui l'a créé et construit l'ait seulement touché du bout du doigt.'

preference for single decoration. This liking is not confined to our group: it is characteristic of the ripe archaic period, apart from the cups, as a whole; but in our group it is more pronounced than in almost any other. This is not merely a consequence of many of the vases in our groups being tall thin vases, such as amphorae of Panathenaic shape or neck-amphorae. Single decoration suits such shapes, but they can be decorated plurally, and sometimes were so decorated by contemporary artists. And in our group single decoration is not restricted to tall thin vases. The four bell-kraters³⁷ are all decorated singly, and single decoration is rare in bell-kraters.³⁸ Again, the list contains three hydriai of the old black-figured shape. Two of the three have plural decoration, but one of them, in the single figure between palmettes which forms the subsidiary picture, that on the shoulder of the vase, shows a leaning towards the favourite principle. The third hydria is very interesting;³⁹ for obvious reasons, it is difficult to apply the single system to this type of vase; but here it is done: the subsidiary picture, on the shoulder, has been dropped; the sharp angle which separates shoulder from body has been boldly ignored; and the magnificent design has been flung over both parts, so that head to waist of Apollo are on the shoulder of the vase, and the rest of the figure on the body. The same tendency is traceable in the Berlin amphora:⁴⁰ it was hard to think of a single figure which could be made ample enough to decorate the side of this huge vase without looking dwarfed: there are actually two figures on the front, not to speak of an animal; but they are set so closely together, and their projecting limbs and attributes so interlaced, that the two, or the three, tell as one.⁴¹

The use and the nature of the ornamental patterns chimes with this love of sparse figure decoration. Patterns are used sparingly in our group. It is true, as I have hinted before, that the riper archaic period is less lavish of its patterns than the periods which follow and precede it; but our group is sparing even for the period. In the whole long list there are only two vases in which the pictures are framed by bands of pattern. Palmettes at the handles are rare, and of the simplest description: floral or other decoration on the neck of the vase is also rather rare; even the rays at the base, common in other sparsely-decorated vases, are almost unknown. The pattern decoration usually consists of a short strip below, and sometimes another above the picture. In the stamnoi the lower strip is often a simple reserved line; in the Panathenaic amphorae the lower strip is sometimes omitted, just as in our citharode amphora,

³⁷ See p. 94.

³⁸ I know but two other examples; Petrograd inv. 13387 (*Izvestiya*, xiii, pp. 188-189), and the small vase formerly in the Kircheriano and now in the Villa Giulia (A, *Mon. Linc.* xiv. p. 307). The Villa Giulia vase is by the Achilles painter (*J.H.S.* xxxiv. 179-226; *V.A.* pp. 163-164), who continues in a later age the tradition of our group.

³⁹ P. 95. Alinari's excellent photographs do not show the two brown lines on

the neck; they are duly present in the original.

⁴⁰ P. 91.

⁴¹ There is only one rf. amphora of type A or B which has but a single figure on either side; the Achilles amphora in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 58, 3; A, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 180; photos. Alinari 35816 and 35815). The Achilles painter, as I have observed before (note 38), continues the tradition of our group.

so that the vase is devoid of all pattern decoration. Such patterns as occur in our group are very often of a peculiarly simple type. The normal meander, with its maze of interlocking lines, is pretty frequent; but not nearly so frequent as in most contemporary and later groups of vases. The place of the meander is often taken by much simpler forms of pattern, forms which are generally included, and with reason, under the general term meander, but which I prefer to distinguish as 'key patterns.' There are two types: the running key, which is found occasionally in our group, and is common enough in others; and the stopt key, which is curiously rare outside our group, and extremely common within it.⁴² The tendency to use the key-pattern where other groups would use the more complicated meander is another manifestation of the love of simplicity and clarity which characterises our group.

The rhythmic combination of meander with pattern-square is a decorative idea which seems to have arisen in Eastern Greece and in the eighth or seventh century: it passed into the repertory of Attic vase-painters in the course of the sixth, became extraordinarily popular in the riper archaic period, and retained its popularity as long as the art of the vase-painter continued to flourish.

This class of pattern is common in our group, as in most others of the period: stopt key and meander are found combined with pattern-squares. But the combination is almost always according to a particular principle: this principle is rare outside our group, and if it becomes not infrequent, for a while, later, it is almost restricted to certain groups of vases which, on other grounds, would seem to be related to ours. The principle is this: stopt-meander-groups (generally one stopt key, or one or two stopt meanders) and pattern-squares are so arranged, that the meander-groups face alternately left and right, while the pattern-squares hang alternately from the upper and the lower horizontal bounding line.⁴³ The pattern-unit is therefore a large one: it consists of two different meander-groups and two different pattern-squares: the recurrence of the pattern is postponed as long as possible. The consequence is that the pattern-band has a longer, gentler wave than other combinations of meander and pattern-square.

It is significant that out of the various kinds of pattern-square used by red-figure painters, our group shows a distinct predilection for one: the most linear of them, that in which the effect depends least on the semi-colouristic contrast of dark and light: the saltire-square with a dot between each pair of arms. Significant, because the other pattern-squares catch the eye quicker and hold it firmer, breaking the pattern-band up into short staccato sections.

Most of the patterns used in the group fall under one of the two headings, stopt key; and stopt key or meander combined with pattern-squares on the principle described above. A handsome floral pattern is also used: a special variety, rare outside the group, of a common general type.

It may be well to point out here, that throughout the history of vase-

⁴² *E. g.* Figs. 4, 7, 8; Pls. III., IV. 2.

⁴³ Examples of this principle; *J.H.S.* xxxi. 279, Nos. 2-5 and 7.

painting the pattern-group tends to coincide with the stylistic group, and this is natural enough: there is no reason to suppose that the patterns were not regularly executed by the same hand as the figures; the labour may sometimes have been divided, though I do not for a moment believe that it was often so; but even then the artist of the figures would naturally prescribe the patterns. Two examples only. In many of the cups signed by the painter Douris,⁴⁴ the interior picture is surrounded by a variety of meander and cross-square pattern: this variety of pattern, and even the particular sort of meander which is one of the elements, are rarely found in vases which do not exhibit the style of Douris. Again, the painter Makron encircles the interior picture in his cups with a meander of a particular kind, the meander running in twos. This is not a rare pattern like Douris' patterns; but Makron uses hardly any other: there is only one cup in his style which has it not.

It cannot be said that the comparatively few examples of plural composition in our group are in any way peculiar. Throughout archaic painting, the plural schemes are few, and the main lines of a composition are seldom of an unfamiliar type. It may be merely by chance that one common type is very rarely found in the vases of our list: the two-figure composition consisting of two restful figures facing each other.

Let us now consider the separate figures, whether isolated or grouped with others. We shall expect to find that they have much in common with the other figures of the riper archaic period, particularly in their relation to ideal space. It is well known that towards the end of the sixth century a great advance was made in the exploration of the third dimension.⁴⁵ The new conception of form in space manifests itself in a good many ways; but most obviously in the treatment of leg and foot. The more usual foreshortenings of foot and leg are used freely in our group. In a standing figure, one of the legs may be drawn frontal with the foot seen from the front; in a running or flying figure, one leg may be drawn frontal with the foot extended frontally as if seen from above. Three-quarter views of the back appear in the riper vases, and a three-quarter foot of a special form. The chest is often three-quartered, sometimes timidly, in the later vases with more courage; and a certain desire to give depth to the upper part of the body is shown by indication of the trapezius, where it would be ignored in other groups; and of the front of the farther shoulder when the upper part of the arm is concealed. On the whole, the attitude towards foreshortening is one of moderation: the more uncommon postures do not occur: there is no full back-view; and none of the daring experiments which we find in the work of the Panaitios painter and others. This moderation is consonant with the love of clarity to which we have alluded, and with the love of varied contour of which we shall presently speak.

Let us now turn to the relation of the figure to the actual background:

⁴⁴ Hoppin, *Handbook*, pp. 208-275, Nos. 4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25, 27.

⁴⁵ *V.A.* pp. 27-28; *Ancient Gems in Lewes House*, pp. 21-22; where I should have mentioned, as one of the earliest

examples in sculptured relief, the warrior seen from behind on the cornice of the archaic Artemision at Ephesus (Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. 17, 30).

the contour. I think we may trace in this group of vases a special concern to make the contour at once harmonious and interesting: harmonious, by the use of long gentle curves; interesting, by the careful disposition of long projections radiating from the centre of the design—arms, legs, wings, big objects in the hands. I say a special concern, since the concern for harmony or interest in the contour is obviously widespread in vase-painting; but it sometimes happens that the contour is harmonious without being particularly interesting, or interesting without being particularly harmonious; and in many vases one feels that not the contour but something else has been uppermost in the artist's mind. One of the grandest examples of the combination is the group, already discussed, on the obverse of the Berlin amphora. I think it is possible to trace a real kinship between this design and the design on the Apollo hydria in the Vatican. I mention these two first because they are perhaps the two most complex. But I do not think it is fanciful to find something of the same quality in simpler designs: of course in the Munich silens; but also in the London komast, in the Munich discoboloi, in the Naples Eros, in the Würzburg Apollo and Herakles, in the Louvre Ganymede; even in the earliest vase of the whole group, the hydria with Achilles and Penthesilea in New York; and even in a fragment like the Nike in the Cabinet des Médailles.

Even in the best vases of this group, relief lines are used but sparingly in the contour. This economy of relief lines is not due to haste, as it is in the reverse figures of most vases, and in the principal figures of many. It is evidently deliberate: the contour is the softer though not the weaker for not being completely lined in.

How far the effect of these figures and of the others is due to the contour and how far to the lines within the contour is not always easy to determine. The two sets of lines work together, and their spirit, one is inclined to say their inspiration, is the same. The character of the lines within the contour seems to be determined by the same feeling as the contour line: by the dislike of the harsh, abrupt, violent and unsymmetrical, by the love of equable, harmonious curves, usually with a wave-like flexure, drawn with a rather full brush, and dividing the body into compartments of a clear and pleasant shape.

A word about the shapes of the vases in this group. The range is wide; but there are no kotylai, and above all no cups. Some shapes are commoner than others: the Panathenaic amphorae form a considerable proportion of the extant red-figured specimens: next to these, stamnoi and neck-amphorae with twisted handles are the most frequent, and of the smaller vases, Nolan amphorae and lekythoi. It is more important to observe that the vases of one class of shape are apt to be of a single, sometimes a peculiar variety; to have proportions and features (mouth, foot, handles) in common, and to resemble each other in the distribution of the figures and the distribution and nature of the ornamental patterns. Now we noticed above that the pattern group tended to coincide with the stylistic group: the same may be said of the shape group. This rule, like the other, may be illustrated from the work of Douris and of Makron. Nearly all the signed cups of Douris have a curious feature below the

foot: the reserved strip at the edge of the foot below is set off from the rest of the foot by a ledge. This ledge is a regular feature in a type of cup which was used by the earliest red-figure cup-painters; but in the type of cup which Douris generally uses, the commonest of the red-figured cup types, it is rare outside the signed or unsigned work of Douris. The cups painted by Makron, which include most of the cups with the signature of the potter Hieron, also have a peculiarity in the foot; the little ledge, seldom lacking in the commonest type of cup on the upper side of the foot, is set particularly near the edge. The cause of the affinity between shape group and stylistic group is not so obvious as the cause of the other affinity: it points at any rate to a close connexion between the potter and the decorator; but the question need not be examined here.

To sum up, we began by speaking about a peculiar system of renderings, through which a certain conception of the human form found expression. We found that the vases which exhibited the system had more than this in common: they showed, as a group, a liking for a certain choice and use of patterns, for certain principles of decoration, for a certain relationship between contour and background, for lines and curves of certain kinds. The system of renderings was not easy to separate from the other elements of design: it was, from one point of view, their vehicle, and from another, a collateral expression of artistic will.

I believe the best way of explaining the homogeneity of this group of vases is to suppose that it represents the work of a single anonymous artist, whom I have called, after his masterpiece, the painter of the Berlin amphora. I am ready to admit that some of the vases in the following list may be school-pieces, or, more precisely, faithful copies of the artist's drawings executed by subordinates at his instigation and under his supervision, although I confess that some of those pieces which I have queried may possibly be authentic works of the Berlin painter in a dull or a careless mood. I admit such a resemblance between the works of the Berlin painter and the works of older and of younger artists as may be accounted for by the necessary supposition that he learnt his craft from others, by the natural one that he trained assistants to follow in his steps. But between his masters—Phintias, or Euthymides, or both, or another—and his pupils—Hermonax and the rest—his personality stands out as distinct as that of Douris, or Epiktetos, or Euphronios, or Polygnotos, or any other vase-painter whose name has been preserved.

WORKS BY THE BERLIN PAINTER AND HIS SCHOOL ⁴⁶*Amphora, type A.*

- (1) Berlin 2160. Gerhard, *E.C.V.* Pls. 8-9; Winter, *Jahreshefte*, 3, Pls. 4, 3 and 5, 1 and p. 121; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 15-16 and p. 276.⁴⁷

Amphora, type C.

- (2) New York, Hearst collection. Pl. II. and Figs. 1-2.

Amphorae of Panathenaic shape.

- (3) Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* ii., Pl. 58, 2; photos. Alinari 35775-6.
 (4) Munich 2312 (J. 54). F.R.H. Pl. 134, 1, and text, 3, p. 77.
 (5) Munich 2310 (J. 1). Pl. IV, 1; A, *V.A.* p. 35.
 (6) Munich 2313 (J. 9). Pl. IV, 2 and Fig. 8; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 8, 2.
 (7) Vatican H. 488. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 58, 1; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 8, 1; A and B, photos. Alinari 35773-4 = Pl. III.
 (8) Cabinet des Médailles 386, fragment. De Ridder, p. 280.
 (9) Würzburg 319. F.R.H. Pl. 134, 2.
 (10) Bryn Mawr, fragment. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 10, 1; Swindler, *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 334.
 (11) Naples R.C. 163. Gabrici, *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82; B, Fig. 4.
 (12) Florence 3989.
 (13) Leyden 18 h 34. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 13.
 (14) Munich 2311 (J. 52). Pl. V.; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. 278; A, *V.A.* p. 36.
 (15) Athens, Acropolis G 139a, fragment. Fig. 5.

⁴⁶ I have already put together most of these vases in *J.H.S.* xxxi. 276-295; *Burlington Magazine*, xxviii. pp. 137-138; and *V.A.* pp. 35-40 and p. 193. See also Hauser, F.R.H. 3, pp. 77-80, and Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, x. pp. 630-634.

Mr. Perrot exhibits considerable caution at first; between the Berlin and Würzburg vases, he begins, there is 'une ressemblance assez marquée pour que l'on soit fort tenté d'y voir l'œuvre d'un même artiste, auquel il y a peut-être lieu d'attribuer plusieurs autres peintures, qui ne sont pas sans analogie avec celles des deux vases. . . .' Many of my tokens (indices), however, are not very convincing: 'c'est vraiment abuser de la conjecture.' As he proceeds, he becomes bolder: he is now ready to define the style of the artist (pp. 632, 634). There is some subtlety here which escapes me: one would have expected Mr. Perrot to make quite sure that the artist existed before attempting to define his style.

Finally he steps into the ring himself: 'à la liste qui en (of the artist's works) a été dressée, nous serions tentés d'ajouter le groupe d'Alcée et de Sapho' (F.R. Pl. 64; Perrot, x. Pl. 15). This looks almost as if Mr. Perrot accepted the list; else why should he be tempted to add to it? Let us now see the tokens ('indices') which lead him to make this striking attribution. 'L'œil n'y est pas encore franchement ouvert; le tracé est le même que dans les profils des têtes de nos deux amphores. La longue barbe d'Alcée, qui tombe en pointe sur sa poitrine, rappelle la barbe du Silène compagnon d'Hermès.' Evidently we must number Mr. Perrot also among the connoisseurs.

In the list in the text above I have given the subjects of the pictures only where the vase was unpublished and not mentioned in my previous accounts.

⁴⁷ See note 24.

(16) Formerly in the Paris market (Rollin). *Él. Cér.* ii. Pl. 16.

(17) London, B.M. E 287. A small school-piece.

The small vase Cabinet des Médailles 378 (Luynes, Pl. 40) belongs to the later school or following of the Berlin painter.

Neck-amphorae with twisted handles.

(18) B.M. E 266. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 11-12 and p. 281.

(19) Louvre G 199, fragmentary.

(20) Munich 2319 (J. 8). School-piece?

(21) Petrograd 612 (St. 1638). A, *Compte-Rendu*, 1775, p. 66. School-piece?

(22) B.M. E 268. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 76. School-piece?

(23) Leyden 18 h 33. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 76 A. School-piece?

(24) Berlin 2339. School-piece?

(25) B.M. E 269. School-piece?

(26) B.M. E 267. Birch, *Archaeologia*, xxxi. Pl. 4. School-piece?

(27) Louvre G 198, fragmentary. School-piece?

(28) Vatican H. 490, fragmentary. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 3. School-piece?

(29) Munich 2318 (J. 5). F. Thiersch, *Ueber die hellenischen bemalten Vasen*, Pl. 5; B, Lau, Pl. 25, 1. Badly repainted. School-piece?

(30) Oxford 274. P. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, Pl. 11. A small school-piece.⁴⁸

Small neck-amphora with double handles.

(31) Harvard 1643, 95. A, *V.A.* p. 39; A, Hambidge, *The Greek Vase*, frontispiece and p. 45.

Nolan amphorae with triple handles.

(32) Formerly in the Panckoucke collection. A, *Él. Cér.* iv. Pl. 49.

(33) Naples 3137. A, small photograph, Sommer 11069, third row first.

(34) Louvre G 201.

(35) Mannheim.

(36) Naples 3192.

(37) Vienna.

⁴⁸ All these vases, save the small vase in Oxford, are of a single type. There are only five other vases of just this type: the first, Munich 2317 (Jahn 2; Lützw, *Münchener Antiken*, Pl. 18 and p. 30), is contemporary with the earlier members of our series, and is the work of the Eucharides painter (*B.S.A.* xviii. p. 224, No. 6). The second and third, in Providence (Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 24) and in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 2; A, phot. Alinari 35813), are by the Providence painter, who seems to have been at one time a pupil of the Berlin painter (see note 50); the fourth (Petrograd 696; A, *Compte-rendu*, 1875,

p. 199, and Waldhauer, *Kratkoe Opisanie*, Pl., p. 88, Fig. 9) is by a pupil of the Berlin painter, Hermonax; the foot is lost, but in all other respects the vase corresponds to the Berlin painter's type. The last and latest is the Euphorbos vase in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Mon.* ii. Pl. 14; A, phot. Giraudon); it is by the Achilles painter, a craft-descendant of the Berlin painter in the third craft-generation (*J.H.S.* xxxiv. 187, No. 2). We noticed above (note 41) that the only amphora of type A or B, which was decorated in the same manner as the Berlin amphora, was also by the Achilles painter.

- (38) New York 07.286.69. A, *V.A.* p. 37.
- (39) Tarporley, Hon. Marshall Brooks (formerly in the Biscoe collection).
- (40) Naples 3150. A, small photograph, Sommer 11069, second row, seventh.
- (41) Naples 3087.
- (42) Dresden 289. School-piece?
- (43) Karlsruhe 203. Welter, *Aus der Karlsruher Vasensammlung*, Pl. 14, No. 30 B and A. School-piece?
- (44) Yale 133. School-piece?
- (45) Louvre G 219. School-piece?
- (46) Louvre G 218. School-piece?
- (47) Rome, Museo Barracco. School-piece?
- (48) Tarporley, Hon. Marshall Brooks (formerly in Deepdene). Tischbein, iii. Pl. 7; *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 99. School-piece?
- (49) Petrograd 697 (St. 1628). School-piece?
- (50) Naples inv. 126053.⁴⁹ School-piece?
- (51) Girgenti, Baron Giudice. School-piece?
- (52) Frankfort, Städtisches-historisches Museum. School-piece?
- (53) B.M. E 310. School-piece?
- (54) B.M. E 313. School-piece?
- (55) Louvre G 204. Dubois, *Description des antiquités . . . Pourtaès-Gorgier*, p. 27; *Catalogue Pourtaès-Gorgier*, p. 29, No. 132; Müller-Wieseler, 2, Pl. 2, 9. School-piece?
- (56) Naples 3214. School-piece?
- (57) Oxford 275. P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* xiii. 137. School-piece.
- (58) Brussels. School-piece.
- (59) Naples (A, Dionysos and maenad running; B, maenad running). School-piece.
- (60) Naples 3068. School-piece.
- (61) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection). School-piece.
- (62) Louvre G 214 (*Bull. Nap.* n.s. 6, Pl. 7): a later school-piece.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Hoppin (*Handbook*, i. p. 62, No. 26) confounds this vase with Naples Heyd. 3129, which is by a different and much later painter.

⁵⁰ The tradition of the Berlin painter's Nolan amphorae is continued, on the one hand by the Providence painter (*V.A.* pp. 76-80; the Nolan amphorae, *ibid.* pp. 78-79), who seems to have detached himself, however, from the Berlin painter before very long, and competed with him; and on the other, more directly, by Hermonax. Five Nolan amphorae by Hermonax are mentioned in *V.A.* p. 127, Nos. 34-38; others are in London (E 311; *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 39) and in Naples (A, Zeus:

B, woman with torches); and three rough vases (Brussels, *Él. Cér.* iii. Pl. 22; Dresden 309, and Altenburg 280) are probably also his. The subsequent stage in the tradition is represented by the Nolan amphorae of the Achilles painter and his pupils and imitators: a list of his Nolan amphorae is given in *J.H.S.* pp. 192-196; add Naples 3093 (Triptolemos) and Munich 2336 (*J.* 263; A, Lau, Pl. 24, 2). The Nolan amphorae of the Achilles painter are succeeded by those of his pupil, the painter of the Boston phiale (*V.A.* pp. 168-169; add Cambridge 167 and Naples Santangelo 240).

Pelikai.

- (63) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection).
 (64) Vienna, Oest. Mus. 334. A, Masner, Pl. 6. School-piece?

Volute-Kraters.

- (65) B.M. E 468. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 14 and p. 283: detail, *B.M. Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, p. 101, fig. 102.
 (66) Louvre G 166, fragments.⁵¹

Calyx-Kraters.

- (67) Winchester, fragment. Herford, *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*, p. 72.
 (68) Athens, Acropolis, G 28, fragments.
 (69) Syracuse.
 (70) Oxford 291. School-piece?

Bell-Kraters.

- (71) Corneto. A, phot. Moscioni = *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 10, 2.
 (72) Louvre G 174.
 (73) Louvre G 175. *Annali*, 1876, Pl. C; *J.H.S.* xxxi. 284.
 (74) Formerly in the Roman market (Depoletti).

Column-Kraters.

- (75) Petrograd 635 (St. 1528). A, *Compte-Rendu*, 1873, p. 22; B, Fig. 7.
 (76) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection).

Stamnoi.

- (77) Munich 2406 (J. 421). Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 201; F.R.H. Pl. 106, 2, and 2, p. 235.
 (78) Louvre G 56. A, Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 95.
 (79) Palermo. Inghirami, *V.F.* i. Pls. 77-78.
 (80) Louvre G 186. A, *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*, Pl. 5; one of the figures on B, Fig. 6.

⁵¹ My attribution of Louvre G 166 to the Berlin painter (*B.S.A.* xviii. p. 226 note 1, and *V.A.* p. 40) was based on the picture on the reverse. A fresh examination has convinced me that the obverse pictures (phot. Giraudon = *Mons. Piot*, ix. p. 39) are not by the same hand as the reverse. I do not think, however, that this is an instance of two painters working on one vase. The vase is in miserable condition; Mr. Pottier had already observed that the upper picture on the reverse was completely modern; but the foot is also

modern, and the big palmette-designs on the body are a modern addition. Moreover, unless I am greatly mistaken, the man who built up the vase used fragments of two different volute-kraters, one by the Berlin painter, and one by another artist. It is well known that such a procedure was not uncommon in the last century; Mr. De Mot once told me that he had found a pelike in the Ravestein collection to consist of fragments from six different vases.

- (81) Castle Ashby 25. Detail of B, *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. Pl. p. 138, G.
 (82) Louvre G 185. *Mon.* 6-7, Pl. 67.
 (83) Oxford 1912, 1165 (given by Mr. E. P. Warren). *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 17;
 the lion, *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. Pl. p. 137, C.
 (84) Louvre G 172. *Gaz. Arch.* 1875, Pl. 1, 14-15. School-piece?
 (85) Castle Ashby 2.
 (86) Berlin 2187, fragment. School-piece?
 (87) Leipsic, fragment (head of old man, and shield). School-piece?
 (88) Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 21, 1.⁵² School-piece?
 (89) B.M. E. 444. School-piece.
 (90) Berlin 2186. *Annali*, 1860, Pl. M. School-piece, late.
 (91) Boston 91, 226. School-piece.
 (92) Boston 91, 227A. Robinson, *Cat.* Pl. p. 152; Hauser, *Jahrbuch*, xxix.
 p. 30. School-piece.
 (93) Louvre G 371. Strube, *Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, Pl. 1 = Overbeck, *K.M.*
 Pl. 15, No. 20. School-piece.
 Louvre G 370 (*Mon.* 6-7, Pl. 58, 2); is a school-piece, from the hand of the
 Providence painter (*V.A.* p. 80, no. 43).⁵³

Hydriai of black-figured shape.

- (94) Cabinet des Médailles 439. Phot. Giraudon 75. School-piece?
 (95) Madrid 160. Ossorio, Pl. 35, 3; detail, *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. p. 136, B.
 (96) Vatican H. 497. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 15, 1; *Mon.* 1, Pl. 46. Photos.
 Moscioni 8575 and Alinari 35778-9.

Hydriai-Kalpides.

- (97) New York 10, 210, 19. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 9 and Fig. 7.
 (98) Formerly in the Guarducci collection. Inghirami, *V.F.* i. Pl. 63.
 (99) Petrograd 628 (St. 1588). *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. p. 136, A, and p. 139,
 D-F.
 (100) Boulogne 449.
 (101) Boston 03, 843, fragment.
 (102) Cabinet des Médailles 441. De Ridder, p. 333. School-piece.

Lekythoi.

- (103) Athens 12394 (N. 1628). *Eph. Arch.* 1907, p. 234.
 (104) Palermo (komast).

⁵² Hoppin (*Handbook*, i. p. 73, No. 94) confounds this vase with the stamnos *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 19, 1, which is by the Aegiasthus painter (*A.J.A.* 1916, p. 147, note 1; see Hoppin, 1, p. 79, No. 8).

⁵³ B.M. E. 445 (Gerhard, *A.V.* Pls. 174-175) is a later school-piece, contemporary with the earlier work of Hermonax. The series of stamnoi initiated by the Oxford

Pentheus stamnos mentioned above, in which a single picture runs right round the vase, is continued by Hermonax; a list of his stamnoi is given in *V.A.* p. 124; the Busiris stamnos in Oxford (521: *Annali*, 1865. Pls. P-Q; *J.H.S.* xxiv. 307-308) stands very close to the earlier work of Hermonax.

- (105) Palermo 2683 (young warrior).
- (106) Palermo (Nike flying with head frontal).
- (107) Syracuse. Orsi, *Mon. Linc.* xvii. Pl. 19.
- (108) Girgenti, Baron Giudice (Maenad running).
- (109) Munich A 915. (Demeter.)
- (110) Terranova, Cav. Navarra. Benndorf, *G.S.V.* Pl. 49, 2. School-piece.
- (111) Girgenti, Baron Giudice (woman running). School-piece.
- (112) B.M. E. 574. Phot. Mansell 3195 middle = Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, i. Pl. 36, 2. School-piece.
- (113) Palermo (Poseidon running).⁵⁴ School-piece.
- (114) Syracuse. Orsi, *Mon. Linc.* xvii. Pl. 15, 2. School-piece.
- (115) Berlin 2208. Genick, Pl. 39, 3; von Lücken, *Greek Vase Paintings*, Pl. 48, left. School-piece.
- (116) New York (woman running with torch and phiale). School-piece.
- (117) Compiègne (woman running with torch). School-piece.
- (118) Oxford 323. School-piece.
- (119) Harvard 4.08.
- (120) Munich 2475 (the body black: a lion on the shoulder).⁵⁵

Oinochoai, shape 1.

- (121) B.M. E 513. *Él Cér.* i. Pl. 93; phot. Mansell.⁵⁶
- (122) B.M. E 514. *Él. Cér.* ii. 1, Pl. 12. School-piece.

Oinochoai, shape 3.

- (123) Munich 2453 (J. 789).
- (124) New York. *Catalogue des Objets d'Art antiques 'vente' Hôtel Drouot*, le 7 juin 1922, Pl. 4, no. 56.

Lekanis.

- (125) Taranto. School-piece?

Plate.

- (126) Athens, Acropolis B9, fragment.

Fragments, the shapes of the vases not determined.

- (127) Brussels (two fragments, each with part of a male leg and foot).
- (128) Bonn (young warrior). School-piece?
- (129) The Hague, Mr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer (foot, and stopt key).
- (130) The Hague, Mr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer (part of a female figure with oinochoe).
- (131) Athens (phallos-man).
- (132) Munich Z 1 (young rider; from a small vase).

⁵⁴ Miscalled a kalpis by Hoppin (*Hand-book*, i. p. 71, No. 82 bis).

⁵⁵ The line of lekythoi which is headed by those of the Berlin painter runs parallel to the line of Nolan amphorae described

in note 50.

⁵⁶ Lately cleaned: part of the characteristic ankle, previously invisible, and omitted in the old publication, reappeared.

- (133) Munich Z 6 (head of youth; from a small vase).
 (134) Munich Z 7 and 8 (parts of two male figures wearing the himation; from a neck-amphora of no great size).
 (135) Florence (Campana collection; upper parts of a silen and of Dionysos holding a cantharos; from a small vase).

Let us return to our citharode. I am sensible that I have not got his lower lip quite right: the error is tiny, but the Greek artist, if he could see my drawing, would complain that I had made the lad look licentious. I am aware that the right hand of the instructor is not quite accurate in my copy: it is a trifle less incompetent in the original; but the Greek artist would admit that this was not his most successful hand. In spite of such faults, the drawings, in conjunction with the photographs, give a good idea of the singular beauty of the original: they show the powerful shape of the vase, the sobriety of the decoration, the clarity of the design, the sureness and strength of the black and brown lines, the light yet vigorous movement in the expressive figure of the musician. The Berlin painter drew many musicians, both citharodes and lyre-players; but none so animated as this. The Rollin citharode is older and statelier, and he has acquired the correct majestic manner: ⁵⁷ even the satyr musicians, on the vases in Berlin and Munich, are grave in demeanour and deliberate in action. To find a counterpart to our citharode we must turn to works by other artists: to the Dionysos on the cup by the Brygos painter in the Cabinet des Médailles: ⁵⁸ or to the Judgment of Paris on a cup with the signature of Brygos in the Louvre; ⁵⁹ where Paris sits singing to his lyre in the lonely hills, and where the abstraction of the singer gives the picture a peculiar tone. Archaic art portrays the influence of music on the player; and sometimes the influence on the hearer: it shows men capering and bawling at the sound of the flute; but such influence as does not issue in violent gesture it is hardly able to express. The artists of a later period set themselves to represent the quieter emotion which reveals itself not in gesticulation but in attitude. In the Berlin krater with Orpheus and the Thracians, which belongs to the third quarter of the fifth century, ⁶⁰ the musician himself is conceived in much the same manner as Paris on the archaic cup; but his hearers, in the varied expressiveness of their bodies and faces, go far beyond the capacity of the archaic style. On an oinochoe in the Villa Giulia, ⁶¹ a lyre-player is mounting the platform, and two girls are waiting for the first notes. One of them sits with face up, an arm cast along her knee, her chin propped on one hand, her whole body relaxed. The scene is the same, in the main, as on a much earlier

⁵⁷ Compare the young citharode on the neck-amphora by the Providence painter in the Vatican, *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 2; phot. Alinari 35813.

⁵⁸ 576. Hartwig, Pl. 531; repainted in parts; the drawing is unworthy of the original.

⁵⁹ *Mon.* 1856, Pl. 14 = W.V. 8 Pl. 3 = Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. p. 116; new but J.H.S.—VOL. XLII.

poor drawings in Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, x. pp. 559-561.

⁶⁰ Furtwängler, 50 *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, Pl. 2 = *Kleine Schriften* 2, Pl. 50; Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 197; see also Hauser, *F.R.H.* 3, pp. 108-109.

⁶¹ Savignoni, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 10, p. 347.

vase, the calyx-krater signed by Euphronios;⁶² but there the listeners are scarcely characterised: Polyces looks expectant, but he shows it by his raised chin only: the girl on the oinochoe is listening with her whole body. In another picture of about the same period as the Orpheus vase and the oinochoe, the Terpsichore in London,⁶³ the characterisation of the figures is less marked than in the others: the artist wishes to render a less passionate, more solemn, more Apollonian mood: he has not succeeded, for his figures, meant to be plain and grand, are in fact a little empty.

All these pictures of music are simple drawings, without shading and without colouring. When we moderns think of a music picture, our minds turn to Signorelli's Pan, to some Dutch interior, to some Venetian landscape, where the impression is determined, in great measure, by the harmony of colour and by chiaroscuro. Such music pictures cannot have existed in the fifth century. But in a later work, the Pan and Nymphs from Pompeii,⁶⁴ colour and landscape combine with composition to make a music picture of memorable charm.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

⁶² F.R. 2, Pl. 93, 1 = Hoppin, *Handbook*,
i. p. 397; Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 101.

⁶⁴ Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei*, Pl.
69.

⁶³ F.R.H. Pl. 139; Buschor, p. 199.

NOTE.—My thanks are due to Dr. Sieveking, to Comm. Nogara, to Mr. Pottier, and to Dr. Waldhauer for giving me permission to publish vases in Munich, in the Vatican, in the Louvre and in Petrograd; and to Messrs. Alinari for allowing me to use their photographs of a vase in the Vatican.

THE CALIPH MAMOUN AND THE PROPHET DANIEL

I. CALIPH MAMOUN AND THE MAGIC FISH

THE circumstances attending the death of the Caliph Mamoun (A.D. 833) are thus related by Masoudi (+ c. 956), who wrote about a century after the event. On his return from a victorious raid against the Greeks the Caliph encamped in the beautiful valley of Bedidoun.¹ Like all Orientals, he was susceptible to the charm of clear, running water, and at his orders a rustic pavilion was constructed over the spring called Kochairah, from which the river Bedidoun flowed. In this the Caliph sat. A silver coin was thrown into the spring, and so clear was the water that the legend of the coin beneath its surface could be read. Mamoun then noticed in the spring a fish 'a cubit long and shining like an ingot of silver,' which he desired should be caught for him. This was done, but the fish, when brought to the Caliph, escaped by a sudden movement into the spring, sprinkling the Caliph's breast, neck and shoulders with cold water as it did so. It was again caught, and the Caliph gave orders that it should be cooked. As he did so he was seized by a shivering fit, and when the fish was cooked he was in a high fever and unable to eat it. This was the beginning of the illness which caused his death. Before this took place he had the guides and prisoners called and asked them the significance of the name of the spring Kochairah. He was told that it meant 'stretch out thy feet,' which he took for an omen of his death. He then asked the Arab name of the country he was in: the reply was 'Rakkah.' As it had been foretold him that he should die at a place thus named, he knew that his hour was come. And he died then and was carried to Tarsus and buried on the left side of the mosque.²

As to the local nomenclature in this story two observations may be made. (1) To Masoudi and the Arabs the name *Kochairah* meant nothing; but the historian says that some held that it was *Bedidoun*, and not *Kochairah*, that meant 'stretch out thy feet.' We have thus clearly a local Greek derivation of Podandus from πούς (foot) and τείνω (stretch).³

In *Rakkah* we have probably to do with a corrupt form of the name of the neighbouring Byzantine fortress Herakleia, called by the Arabs Irakla:

¹ Podandus, the modern Bozanti, two days from Tarsus on the post-road to Eregli.

² *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard, vii. pp. 1-2 and 96-101.

³ If the pun seems far-fetched, what about 'Ιρόνιον διὰ τὸ ἱκέσαι τὸν Περσία (Preger, *Script. Orig. Constant.* i. 72)? For punning on local names cf. Theoph.

Cont. Const. Porph., V. xxv. p. 113 P, A.D. 838 (cf. Bury, *J.H.S.* 1909, 125), where Omar inquires the local names from Greek captives and derives bad omens from the names. The idea is probably Greek, as in both cases the Moslem comes off badly and the puns are Greek.

the resemblance between *Rakka* and *Irakla* is close enough for the purpose of the story.⁴

The story itself is pretty evidently based on a folk-legend turning on the theme of inevitable fate.⁵ But what is the point of the elaborate fish episode? It is clear that the fish was a magic fish, otherwise it could not have caused the Caliph's death as it did. The only hypothesis which really explains the story is that both spring and fish were sacred, that the Caliph sinned by wishing to catch the fish, and persisted in his sin even after his first warning. This hypothesis is backed by two points. (1) The Greek name of the spring is given as *Aïdareka*, which evidently contains the name of a saint, to whom the spring was held sacred by Christians. (2) A coin was thrown into it,⁶ evidently in accordance with the world-wide custom at sacred springs and wells. This incident may be held to prove that the Caliph knew from the first that the spring was sacred. One can hardly doubt that the tale came originally from a hostile (Christian) source. Masoudi had plenty of opportunity for access to non-Moslem writers and is said not infrequently to have made use of them.

The memory of Mamoun seems to have survived at Tarsus, at least among the learned, till the middle of the seventeenth century, when the incidents recorded of his death were located not at Podandus (Bozanti), but quite near Tarsus itself.⁷ Of his tomb nothing is recorded after the thirteenth century, when it was still a Moslem pilgrimage, though Cilicia was in Christian hands and the mosque had become a church of SS. Peter and Sophia. This curious fact rests on the authority of Yakout (1225)⁸ and Willibrand of Oldenburg (1211).⁹ The latter speaks of the tomb as that of the 'sister of Mahommed,' which looks as if the identity of its occupant was already becoming vague among the common folk. The church of SS. Peter and Sophia is thought by Langlois¹⁰ to have occupied the site of the present Oulou Djami, a purely Mahommedan building, but this is far from proved.

II. SACRED FISHES IN THE LEVANT

Sacred springs are exceedingly common in Turkish lands. Christians regularly, and Turks occasionally, associate them with the names of their saints. Springs containing sacred fish are not uncommon in Syria. Most famous are the fish of the sacred tank dimly connected with Abraham at Urfa,¹¹

⁴ An Armenian authority of 1108 (cited by Tomaschek in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad., Phil. Hist. Cl.* cxxiv. 1891, viii. 66) speaks of a fortress *Krakka* near Kybistra or Herakleia Kybistra = Eregli).

⁵ The lesson seems never to be learnt.

⁶ For this world-wide practice see Frazer's note on *Paus.* i. 34 (4). For Asia Minor see V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 173. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii. 281) records that the Yezidis are reported to throw gold and silver into a cistern at Sheikh Adi in honour of their saint, and he compares the Jebel Sindjar practice.

⁷ Hadja Khalifa, tr. Norberg, ii. 360.

⁸ Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 133.

⁹ Ed. Leo Allatius, *Εἰμύκτα*, 137.

¹⁰ *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, p. 317. See my *Graves of the Arabs* in *B.S.A.* xix. p. 182.

¹¹ The first modern writer to mention it seems to be an Italian merchant (c. 1507: see *Italian Travels in Persia*, ed. Hakluyt Soc., p. 144). See also Barkley, *Asia Minor*, p. 254; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, i. 111; Warkworth, *Diary in Asiatic Turkey*, p. 242; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II. i. 160; Tavernier, *Voyages*, p. 68; Olivier, *Voyage*, iv. 218; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien*, p. 197; S. Silvia, ed. Geyer, p. 62; Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii. 141; de

and the fish of Sheikh Bedawi at Tripoli,¹² which are treated with the greatest respect and never caught. An interesting passage in Feburé's *Théâtre de la Turquie* probably refers to the Tripoli fish, almost certainly to Syria. It runs as follows :—

' Ils ont une espece de respect & de veneration pour les poissons de certains lacs & fontaines, où qui que ce soit n'ozeroit pescher, si ce n'est de nuit & en cachette, le plus secretement qu'ils peuvent; ce qui fait qu'ils s'y multiplient en tres-grande quantité, & qu'il y en a de monstrueux. Ils les appellent Checs [i. e. *Sheikhs*] qui est la qualité qu'ils donnent à leurs principaux Religieux, & leur allument la nuit des lampes par devotion.' ¹³

The stages in the development of these Syrian fish-cults seem to have been as follows. First the fish as the denizen of the spring is regarded as the incarnation of the spring divinity himself, whence the fish-tailed Baals of Syria; ¹⁴ later it is conceived of as a sort of *famulus* of the divinity, under his immediate protection. Numerous secular folk-stories of Eastern origin deal with fish possessed of miraculous powers as well as with fish which are really human beings enchanted.¹⁵

Similar fish-cults in the Turkish area are hard to find. Fish are preserved in the sacred well of the Shamaspur Tekkeh near Aladja ¹⁶ in Paphlagonia, while on the Christian side we have at Constantinople a well-known instance in the famous fish of Baluklu.¹⁷ We should probably find that both these are ultimately of Syrian origin. The religious significance of the fishes concerned seems to have died down to a minimum. The fishes of Baluklu at least have become a mere peg for folk imagination.¹⁸ Those of Aladja are probably thought of as deriving their sanctity merely from their sacred surroundings, just as the fish of the river which flows by the tomb of Daniel at Susa are now said to be immune from capture in honour of the prophet;¹⁹ though the origin

Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 218; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii. 330; Rubens-Duval, *Hist. d'Edesse*, in *Journ. Asiat.* 1891-2, p. 92.

¹² Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 58 f.; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii. 390-1; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 166; Kelly, *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 106; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 130; Soury, *Études sur la Grèce*, p. 66.

¹³ Paris, 1682, p. 35. Cf. Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, pp. 296-7, who says one black fish at Tripoli is the *Sheikh* of the saints, whose souls are in the fish of the pool. Death is supposed to follow the eating of these fish, but the sceptical Jessup experimented without any untoward results. During the Crimean War many of the fish went off under the sea to Sebastopol and fought the infidel Russians, some returning wounded.

¹⁴ For a fish river-god in Asia Minor see the dedication ΠΟΤΑΜΩ ΕΥΧΗΝ in *J.H.S.* xix. 76 (32).

¹⁵ Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, i. 60;

Hartland, *Perseus*, i. 24; Legrand, *Contes Grecs*, p. 161, all give examples of magic fish. The first story in Burton's edition of the *Arabian Nights* mentions a bewitched fish.

¹⁶ Wilson in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 36; Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 403; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 243. The fish mentioned by Hamilton (*op. cit.* i. 98) at Mohimoul near Tauschanli may also have been sacred. For sacred fish near Afionun Kara Hissar see Calder in *J.R.S.* ii. 246.

¹⁷ Carnoy et Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 54 ff. (many versions). See my forthcoming *Studies in Popular Religion*.

¹⁸ Fishes are similarly kept in the *ayasma* of Παναγία Παζαριώσσα at Gemlek (Kios) in Bithynia, but this is probably due to the influence of Constantinople.

¹⁹ Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 240; cf. Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, i. 117 ff.; Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, p. 459 (citing Jichus Ha-Abot (A.D. 1564), ed. Uri de Biel).

of the *tabu* is explained by a historical legend, it may be older than the tomb itself. The fish, that is, may have begun as the incarnation of the river deity, to be eventually ousted by the personality of the prophet and degraded to the position of a mere *protégé*.

III. THE TOMB OF DANIEL AT TARSUS

What appears to be the chief Moslem pilgrimage of modern Tarsus is the Mosque known as Makam Hazreti Daniel ('Station of his Excellency Daniel'), which is supposed to contain the grave of the Prophet Daniel.²⁰ This grave has been shown as Daniel's certainly since the latter part of the seventeenth century. Lucas says in his description of Tarsus: 'les Habitans assurent que c'est chez eux où est mort le Prophète Daniel: j'entrai dans une Mosquée, sous laquelle on pretend qu'il a été enterré. Les Turcs y ont mis sur une grande tombe un cercueil de bois, qu'ils reverent; & ils le font voir eux-mêmes comme une rareté. Ce cercueil est toujours couvert d'un grand drapeau noir en broderie.'²¹

Barker, for many years consul at Tarsus, gives the following description of the tomb:—

'The Turks hold in great veneration a tomb which they believe contains the bones of this prophet, situated in an ancient Christian church, converted into a mosque, in the centre of the modern town of Tarsus. The sarcophagus is said to be about *forty feet below* the surface of the present soil, in consequence of the accumulation of earth and stones; and over which a stream flows from the Cydnus river, of comparatively modern date. Over this stream, at the particular spot where the sarcophagus was (before the canal was cut and the waters went over it), stands the ancient church above mentioned; and to mark the exact spot of the tomb below, a wooden monument has been erected in the Turkish style. [This monument is covered with an embroidered cloth, and stands in a special apartment built for it, from the iron-grated windows of which it may occasionally be seen when the Armenians take occasion to make their secret devotions; but generally a curtain is dropped to hide it from vulgar view, and add by exclusion to the sanctity of the place.] The waters of this rivulet are turned off every year in the summer, in order to clear the bed of the canal.'²²

This 'tomb of Daniel' continues down to our own day to be an object of Moslem veneration. The best authenticated 'tomb of Daniel' is, however, the interesting sanctuary at Sus (Shushan?), the traditions of which seem to go back at least to the sixth century A.D.²³ A point of contact between the two graves, noted by Barker, is that both are said to lie beneath

²⁰ It is mentioned by Lucas and Barker (cited below), also by Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 329, and by Cuinet, *Turq. d'Asie*, ii. 48.

²¹ *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i. 272 f. (Amsterdam, 1714). Hadji Khalfa is silent. The legend of Daniel in Cilicia at Shah Meran

Kalesi is omitted in Bianchi's translation of Menassik-el-Hadj (in *Recueil de Voyages*, ii. 103).

²² *Lares and Penates*, p. 17, and note.

²³ Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Tobler, 359 (ed. Geyer, p. 149).

streams.²⁴ A learned Mussulman professor, consulted at my request by Dr. Christie of Tarsus, gave it as his opinion that the identification of the younger 'tomb of Daniel' rested on a confusion between *Sus* and *Tarsus*, which is probably correct; the coincidence (?) of the grave being under a stream may have aided, or even have been devised to aid, popular acceptance of the Tarsian 'tomb of Daniel.' There seems a considerable probability that it really marks the site of Mamoun's grave,²⁵ which would thus have been continuously venerated, under various names, from the death of the Caliph to our own day: we may readily conceive that the name of its occupant became lost under the Armenian kings, though the spot was vaguely known to be sacred. At some date unknown, the name of Daniel was given to it under learned inspiration. With the incident of Mamoun and the magic fish transferred, as we have seen it was, to the immediate neighbourhood of Tarsus, it would be interesting to know whether the new 'tomb of Daniel,' like the old, places a *tabu* on the neighbouring stream, since this would form a link between the cycles of Caliph and Prophet.

²⁴ For the tomb of Daniel at *Sus* see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, iv. 430, s.v. *Daniel, Tomb of*; for details of its legendary history Asher's edition of Benjamin of Tudela, i. 117 ff., and for its present state Ouseley, *Travels*, i. 420; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, pp. 416 ff.; de Bode, *Travels in Lauristan*, ii. 190; Rawlinson in *J.R.G.S.* ix. (1839) 69, 83; Layard in *J.R.G.S.* xvi. (1846) 61. Cf. also Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 489 ff. A plan is given by Loftus in *Trans. Roy.*

Soc. Lit. v. (1856) to face p. 422; a view is given by Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, Pl. 100, and a sketch accompanied by a short account of the tomb may be found in the *Field* of July 13, 1918.

²⁵ There is, of course, no proof of the 'Mosque of Daniel' occupying the site of the church of SS. Peter and Sophia; but the former is placed by Barker (*loc. cit.*), as the latter is by Willibrand (in Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, p. 137), in the centre of the town.

F. W. HASLUCK.

THREE STATUE-BASES RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT ATHENS.

[This communication was given by its author, Mr. A. Philadelphus, Ephor of Antiquities of Attica, to the British School at Athens, for publication in the *Annual* of the School. In view of the importance of the subject, the Committee of the School has passed the paper for prompt publication to the Editors of the *Hellenic Journal*, since the *Annual* will not appear before the autumn of this year.]

[PLATES VI., VII.]

ON January 20th, and again on February 10th of this year, while digging was taking place on the property of M. Pouloupoulos between Erysiethon Street and Thessalonica Street, near the ancient Ceramicus, for the construction of a shop, sections of the Themistoclean circuit wall were brought to light. Built into them were found three quadrangular bases of Pentelic marble, two of which have sculptured reliefs on three of their four sides, while the third has on its principal face alone a painted design, and inscriptions, both of which, however, have been almost completely defaced with some sharp tool.

On the upper and lower surfaces of all three bases are large ellipsoid or rectangular depressions, in the centre of each of which is a socket with lead filling, the upper one being for fixing the statue, the lower for fixing another quadrangular block to complete the basis.

These bases are now in Room A of the National Museum.

I. No. 3476 (Plate VI.). (Measurements: each side 0.82×0.32 metre.) On the principal face are represented four naked epheboi. The two that form the centre of the composition are practising wrestling, or, more exactly, ἀκροχειρισμός, grasping each other's hands and each trying to throw his adversary. To the left, another athlete is standing on tiptoe with hands outstretched to the front, preparing to jump, while on the right a fourth is holding diagonally across his body the long akontion which he is getting ready to throw.

On the left face, six epheboi, upright but in varied poses, are playing one of the ball-games so dear to the ancient Greeks. The first from the left holds in his right hand a small ball, which he is about to throw with all his force up in the air to the right. All the rest hold their hands in different attitudes to catch it.

On the right face is a very clear and interesting representation of a scene from the palaestra. In the centre are two epheboi seated opposite one another, each wearing the himation arranged in the usual manner, so as to leave the breast and right arm bare. The one on the right is holding by a string in his right hand a cat, and the other in the same way a sheep-dog. The animals face one another, fiercely baring their teeth. The tragi-comic scene is followed with close interest and obvious delight, not only by the two who are holding the animals, but also by two other epheboi, one on each side, behind the seated

figures. Their left arms rest on long staves, as do those of the seated epheboi. Especially to be noticed is the attitude of the one on the right, who leans his right arm with an affectionate gesture on the shoulder of the young man in front of him. The two standing epheboi wear their cloaks in the same way as the two in the centre.

In style these sculptures belong to the advanced archaic style of the end of the sixth century B.C. The depth of the relief is remarkable, enhanced as it is by the colouring, which originally must have been very bright and lavishly applied, but is now preserved only on the background, and in a few traces on the hair of some of the youths.

The state of preservation of the reliefs is also quite extraordinary, for very few parts have been injured: a few scratches on the bodies of the epheboi do not detract from the wonderful impression created by the whole work, which must assuredly be reckoned among the finest of archaic sculptures. Their vigorous modelling, the gracefulness of the movement, the variety of the positions, the excellent anatomical knowledge of the human body, the natural and lively character of the reliefs arouse the admiration and charm the eyes of all lovers of art.

II. No. 3477 (Plate VII.). (Measurements: long sides 0.82, short 0.59 metre, each 0.275 high.) Three faces of this basis also are decorated with reliefs similarly representing scenes of sport.

On the principal face appears a game here met with for the first time in ancient art. For, though it is a ball-game, it is played with curved sticks, like hockey-sticks, which the players hold in their right hands.

As in the scene on the first basis, six naked epheboi are here taking part. The two in the centre are bending over a small ball, lying on the ground between them, of which each appears to be trying to get possession with his stick. They stand on either side of the ball quite symmetrically. To right and left stand two pairs of epheboi, also naked, eagerly watching the two players in the centre, waiting to come in, it seems, and holding their sticks ready for the purpose. Their attitudes are both varied and natural, and the whole scene gives the impression of an instantaneous photograph.

On the two remaining faces of this basis are two reliefs, the scenes on which are almost identical with one another, the only difference being that one is turned to the right, the other to the left. Thus a strict symmetry marks this basis throughout.

The scene represented is that of the *ἀγών ἀποβατικός*, which formed part of the chariot race in the hippodrome. In a four-horsed chariot stands the driver wearing a helmet and the usual dress of a charioteer, viz. the long chiton; close by, ready to jump up into the chariot, is a bearded warrior fully armed with helmet and shield, greaves and breastplate, and carrying a spear; behind, two young hoplites, also in full armour, form an escort, marching one behind the other. The leader of the two is beardless, and is a charming figure, the other has a pointed beard.

The sculptures on this basis differ much in execution from those of No. 3476. The relief is very slight, the modelling hardly perceptible, and the bodily

structure only faintly indicated. But the artist has a keen perception of beauty of line and fidelity to nature, and has succeeded in imparting to his work a rare grace and symmetry.

III. No. 3478. (Measurements: the long sides 0·715, the short 0·631 metre, each 0·415 high.) This basis resembles the others in shape, but only the principal face has a design, which is painted instead of being in relief, and is accompanied by inscriptions. Of these one is immediately to the left of the head of the figure and is vertical; the other, to the left of it, is horizontal, and consists of three lines.

As was noticed above, both design and inscriptions have been carefully defaced with a chisel or some other tool, so that it is very difficult to make out the one or decipher the others; but the composition seems to represent a woman seated on a throne and holding in her left hand a sceptre; her long chiton is adorned with a pattern of rosettes.

The vertical inscription alone can be read, as follows: ΕΝΔΟΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝΔ' ΕΠΟΙΕ. From this alone the great importance of this basis is evident; for on it must have stood a statue from the hand of this celebrated sculptor of the sixth century.

What inference is to be drawn from the careful and systematic defacement of design and inscriptions? Is it an echo of the Persian sack, or of some act of political revenge after the fall of the Peisistratids? It is a difficult problem, which perhaps only the decipherment of the remaining inscription can solve.

ALEX. PHILADELPHUS,
Ephor of Antiquities of Attica.

Athens, April 1, 1922.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Palace of Minos. A comparative account of the successive stages of the early Cretan civilization as illustrated by the discoveries at Knossos. By SIR ARTHUR EVANS. Vol. I. *The Neolithic and Early and Middle Minoan Ages.* Pp. 721, 542 figures in text, plans, tables, coloured and supplementary plates. London: Macmillan & Co., 1921. £6 6s.

The first volume of Sir Arthur Evans's final publication of his excavation at Knossos now lies before us. It is twenty years since the work on the hill of Kephala began, and the fresco of the Cupbearer was revealed to an astonished world, and thereafter the work of excavation went on year by year until the events of the last ten years of necessity terminated for a time the labours which the discoverer had set himself, and which he had carried out almost entirely at his own expense. In the first few years preliminary publication in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* went on *pari passu* with the work of excavation. Then, no doubt because it was obvious that it was only fair both to Sir Arthur and his publishers that too much should not be given out in preliminary form, and that the final publication should now be considered, we were contented with yearly notices in the *Times* and occasional references in other publications of Sir Arthur's, such as the first volume of *Scripta Minoa* and in *Archaeologia*. The war caused a cessation of work, during which Sir Arthur has been employed in the preparation of the first volume of the final publication, and, as this break synchronised with the almost complete excavation of the main palace, it provided a convenient opportunity for this work, which the discoverer always intended to produce. Now that the first volume has appeared, it is to be hoped that it will be no long time before the second and third come out, with the indices, of which the reader so greatly feels the lack in the first.

It is natural that, in a work which includes and sums up previous publications as well as providing us with much new and unpublished material, we should meet again with many old friends among the illustrations. Practically everything that has previously been illustrated reappears, as is right and necessary, and in addition we have many republications, for purposes of illustration, of the discoveries of other explorers. But this does not mean that we are not provided with a feast of new illustrations. The plates of polychrome ware and other illustrations of Middle Minoan pottery, the fresco of the saffron-gatherer or 'Blue Boy,' the columnar lamp of purple gypsum (Fig. 249), the fresco of 'The Ladies in Blue' (Fig. 397), the votive bronze figure from Psychro (Fig. 501), to name only the most outstanding of the previously unpublished objects, are of first-rate importance. Whereas, also, much of the letterpress has inevitably appeared already in a similar form, it now falls into place as part of a fully developed argument, enriched by the results of years of study; and there is, of course, very much that is wholly new. We can only note the generosity with which Sir Arthur Evans and Messrs. Macmillans have during the progress of the excavations published or facilitated the speedy publication of so many of the most important discoveries, with the result that the final edition of them must necessarily seem merely a republication. But their discoverer has had his reward for thus anticipating his *magnum opus* in the interest that his discoveries have everywhere evoked, in the help that he has received in their elucidation from the comments of students and in the impetus which he thus gave to other explorations in Crete, which have been of such value as affording comparisons with the work at Knossos, and would never have come about on so large a scale but for the continuous publication of the Knossian results, which showed the learned world what might be expected from archaeological exploration elsewhere in Crete. The method of full preliminary publication might seem to detract from the final publication: in reality

it has enhanced its value, since without it the great book could never have taken on the wonderfully comprehensive character which is its chief distinction.

The book is not merely a record of the Knossian discoveries. Sir Arthur does not only describe the excavation of Knossos, but also compares it with those of other sites, such as Phaistos, Gournia, Mochlos, Palaikastro, etc., and uses them to elucidate his own, while also throwing upon them illumination derived from Knossos, illustrating the discoveries of others as well as his own. Thus the book becomes a record of Cretan archaeology, grouped round Knossos as its central point, as is fitting. Its value is then greater even than had it been a publication of Knossos alone. It is not only that, but a guidebook to Early and Middle Minoan archaeology.

The method of publication is chronological. In the preliminary reports we had the record of the progress of the excavation, with publication of objects of all periods, as they were found. In the book everything is ordered chronologically, beginning with the neolithic period. This volume takes us to the end of the Middle Minoan period, roughly contemporaneous with the end of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt and the beginning of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty, c. 1580 B.C. The second volume will cover the First and Second Late Minoan periods, the third will deal with the Third Late (the 'Mycenaean') period and contain the indices. This is an obvious and convenient division.

In the course of his argument the author takes us from one part of the work to another, passing from pottery to frescoes, to architecture, to seals, to inscribed tablets, to weapons, more than once from Crete to Egypt and back, with excursions to the Cyclades and the mainland, by easy transitions that rarely interrupt the flow of the narrative, gradually building up his *corpus* of our knowledge of Minoan and specifically Knossian art and civilisation. The principle of division cannot always be the same: we look at Knossian culture sometimes from one angle, sometimes from another. To combine the description of so many-faceted a culture with the explanation of the actual excavation of Knossos can have been no easy task, and it has been complicated, as is explained in the preface, by the constant discovery of new facts, that have often compelled the rearrangement of the matter and even the breaking-up and remarrying of the type during the long process of writing and printing, which began even before 1914. Naturally the book bears traces of this remodelling. But we may be well content with the result, and congratulate Sir Arthur Evans (and his helper, Dr. Duncan Mackenzie) heartily on the completion of the first volume of his great task. A great task indeed; but great discoveries impose great obligations, and a nemesis awaits the discoverer of such a place as Knossos in the vast labour of publishing his results. Yet we cannot doubt that to Sir Arthur it is a labour of love, and that he will go on to the completion of his work (as well as to that of *Scripta Minoa*) with undiminished energy.

To analyse the book in general would be a task beyond the scope of this review; even to appreciate the new points of view that the author puts before us would needs be to transcend the limits of the space allotted to it. With regard to Sir Arthur's dealings with Egypt in this volume a few words of comment may not be unacceptable. From the study of the shapes of the early Cretan stone pots he well brings out for the first time the undoubted fact that relations between Egypt and Crete go back into the predynastic period. We may perhaps demur, at any rate till the matter has been further elucidated, to his unquestioning acceptance of M. Weill's view of the date of the supposed prehistoric harbour-works discovered by M. Jondet at Alexandria. One may reasonably doubt, until confirmation of some kind is available, that these gigantic works were constructed by Minoan engineers on the Egyptian coast at least as early as the time of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. One may even be permitted to wish that other engineers and archaeologists should certify us that M. Jondet has really discovered ancient harbour works at all. Another doubtful point is Sir Arthur's equally unquestioning acceptance of M. Weill's hypothetical reconstruction of the royal history of the Egyptian Intermediate Period and the time of the Hyksos, which is open to manifold objections. The reading now proposed by Mr. Griffith for the name of the Egyptian on the little diorite figure of the XIIIth Dynasty found at Knossos, and preferred on general grounds by Sir Arthur to the older reading proposed by Petrie, is undoubtedly correct: the name is compounded with that of

the goddess Uazet (Buto), not with that of the crocodile god Sebek. Sir Arthur Evans notes the similarity of the convention which both in Egypt in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and in both contemporary Minoan days in Crete, and in somewhat later Mycenaean times in Cyprus, turned the natural spots on the hide of the cow or bull into quatrefoils or crosses. This similarity was first pointed out and the comparison made, so far as I am aware, by myself in my article on 'The Discoveries in Crete and their relation to the History of Egypt and Palestine' in the *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1909, p. 146, Pl. XVIII, though it is possible that Sir Arthur may have anticipated me in some publication that I have missed. For it is rarely that Sir Arthur omits a reference. The footnotes are a treasure-house of references and, as usual, admirably illustrate the wide range of the author's learning. And there are but few slips; the present writer is, however, on one occasion credited with the authorship of a book that was written by Sir William Ridgeway. Once or twice Sir Arthur finds it necessary in a note to administer a well-deserved rebuke to the somewhat discourteously expressed incredulity of M. Franchet. But it is rarely that the least note of disagreement with others, or even of criticism of their views, appears in the book. There is little need for him to disagree with anybody, for, after all, nobody but M. Franchet does disagree now with Sir Arthur Evans (except on matters of detail), for all the rest of us recognise his profound knowledge of his material, and his unrivalled power of illustration from all regions and periods of ancient archaeology, history, and mythology; we are inclined to think that he knows more about Knossos and Cretan archaeology than anybody else; we respect his authority, which is the more impressive from the mastery with which it is formulated. So we can admire the capacity with which the whole story of Knossos during its first two periods of culture-development is envisaged for us, and mark the ingenuity with which all the various threads of the narrative are interwoven to make a readable whole. For (if we may except some purely architectural detail which, naturally, will interest the architects) the book is eminently readable.

The appearance of the text-illustrations suffers to some extent from the miscellaneous styles of those that have appeared already, but all the newly published are of uniform character and are finely executed. The coloured plates are specially worthy of commendation. The complete and elaborate plans are the work of Messrs. Th. Fyffe and Christian Doll.

One does not wish to seem to praise overmuch, but neither can one find anything in the book to blame, except that sometimes Sir Arthur's enthusiasm runs away with him a little, as in the case of the Egyptian instances noticed above and perhaps in his idea that the Phaistos Disk contains a hymn 'to the Great Mother,' an idea which seems to be based on little but faith. M. Cuny's idea, quoted by Sir Arthur, that the disk is in reality an amulet from some Asia Minor shrine stamped with a religious text, the use of 'type' being accounted for by the need of printing a number of similar examples for sale to devotees, seems, however, highly probable. If so, Sir Arthur's idea may not be so far-fetched after all, and criticism, even in this case, may be misjudged. In any case, Sir Arthur may well say to me, in the words of the poet,

Τυδείδῃ, μήτ' ἄρ' με μάλ' αἶνεε μήτε τι νείκει
εἰδόσι γὰρ τοι ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείοις ἀγορεύεις.

H. R. HALL.

The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Translated and Explained by J. T. SHEPARD, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Pp. lxxix + 179. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

This book falls into three parts: 1. Introduction. 2. Text with blank verse translation to face the text. 3. Notes.

The Introduction, in four chapters, is intended to support the thesis that Oedipus is regarded by Sophocles and is meant to be regarded by the audience as innocent—as a

hero not without faults, yet noble, involved, not because of his faults, but in spite of his virtue, in pollution.' This very sound and orthodox conclusion is supported by some arguments which do not strike us as quite so sound. For example, so anxious is Mr. Sheppard to contrast the attitude of Aeschylus with that of Sophocles that he tells us that 'Aeschylus treats the whole story as a tale of guilt and retribution. Laius sinned against Apollo, who forbade him to beget a son. In Sophocles we notice that it is left doubtful whether even Laius sinned against the god. Nothing that Sophocles says makes it impossible that Apollo simply foretold the future destiny of a child already begotten' (p. xix). Mr. Sheppard cannot have forgotten *O. T.* 711 ff.: *χρησμός γὰρ ἦλθε Λαίῳ ποτ' . . . ὡς αὐτὸν ἤξοι μοῖρα πρὸς παιδὸς θανεῖν, ὅστις γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ τε κάκεινον πάρα.* We must suppose then that Mr. Sheppard has been misled by Blaydes' egregious note: 'ὅστις γένοιτ', 'who had been born,' not 'who should be born,' which would be *ὅστις γενήσοιτο*: which is, of course, nonsense. Again, chap. iii. on 'The Tyrant,' in reference to the choral ode 863 ff. and especially v. 889, *εἰ μὴ τὸ κέρδος κερδανεῖ δικαίως*, is vitiated by a far too narrow view of the meaning of *κέρδος* and *κερδαίνω*. The last, and perhaps the best, chapter on Sophrosyne, is similarly weakened by a forced interpretation of the word *καιρός*. No one doubts that *καιρός* sometimes means 'due measure' and has no explicit temporal reference. But the temporal reference is by far the commoner: Aristotle, *Eth. N.* 1096a, 26, defines 'the good' in the category of time as *καιρός*. In several of the passages where Mr. Sheppard renders *καιρός* by 'measure' his rendering is at least doubtful: e. g. 1516 *πάντα γὰρ καιρῷ καλά*, which Mr. Sheppard renders 'Measure in all things is best,' we should prefer to understand as 'there is a time for all things'; in others it is demonstrably wrong: e. g. Aesch. *Septem* 1. *χρή λέγειν τὰ καιρία*, Mr. Sheppard renders 'must speak well-measured words.' But the phrase is in fact nothing but a verse rendering of the ordinary *λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα* (Demosth. 3. 11, and *passim*; Aristoph. *Eccl.* 152), and means to speak 'to the purpose,' 'opportunistically,' in the widest sense. If *τὰ καιρία* here means 'well-measured,' what are we to make of Aesch. *P. V.* 1036, *ἡμῖν μὲν Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἄκαιρα φαίνεται λέγειν*? What of Sophocles, *Ant.* 724, *εἴ τι καιρίον λέγει*, where Mr. Sheppard's version would be impossible? Or of *Philoct.* 862, *βλέπ' εἰ καιρία φθέγγει*? But, above all, what of *O. C.* 808 f., *Κρ. χωρὶς τό τ' εἰπεῖν πολλὰ καὶ τὰ καιρία. Οἱ. ὡς δὴ σὺ βραχέα ταῦτα δ' ἐν καιρῷ λέγεις*? If Mr. Sheppard's rendering were right, then verse 808 would be a flat truism. Moreover, v. 809 defines precisely the meaning of *τὰ καιρία* as 'brief and to the point.' How easily the meanings 'untimely' and 'excessive' pass into each other is illustrated by the combination in Latin of 'intempestivus' and 'immodicus,' and doubtless Mr. Sheppard might hold that 'brief and to the point' is exactly 'well-measured.' But what of *δρᾶν τὰ καιρία*, *Aj.* 120; *φρονοῦντι καιρία*, *El.* 227? and what of *καιρίαν δ' ὑμῖν ὄρω . . . στείχουσιν Ἰοκάστην*, *O. T.* 631? So in Prose, where *καιρίως* is rather a rare word, Mr. Sheppard's version is quite unsuitable: e. g. Herod. I. 125, *φροντίζων δὲ εὕρισκέ τε ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι*; Thuc. 4. 10, *ἀπὸ νεῶν αἷς πολλὰ τὰ καιρία δεῖ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ξυμβῆναι*. When Mr. Sheppard renders *O. T.* 324 f., *ὄρω γὰρ οὐδὲ σοὶ τὸ σὸν φώνημ' ἰὸν πρὸς καιρὸν* by 'I see thy own word quit the path of safety' he ignores the attested sense of *πρὸς καιρὸν* = 'to the purpose,' as, e. g. *πρὸς καιρὸν πονῶ*, *Aj.* 38, slightly varied in *Phil.* 525; *πρὸς τὸ καιρίον πονεῖν*, *πρὸς καιρὸν λέγων*, *Phil.* 1279; *πρὸς καιρὸν ἐννέπειν*, *Trach.* 59. But the climax is reached in Mr. Sheppard's version of *O. T.* 1512 ff. Reading *νῦν δὲ τοῦτ' εὐχεσθέ μοι, οὗ καιρὸς αἰεὶ ζῆν, βίου δὲ λῶφονος ὑμᾶς κυρῆσαι τοῦ φυντεύσαντος πατρὸς* he renders 'be your prayer to live where fortune's modest measure is,' etc. On p. lx, he prints 'to live where the Due Measure is,' and while in the present passage and in v. 325 *καιρός* has a small initial letter, in the footnote on p. lxxiv we have *Καιρὸν* in all the seductive dignity of a capital. It may be disputed whether we should read *εὐχεσθέ μοι* or *εὐχεσθ' ἐμοί*; whether the subject to *ζῆν* is Oedipus or his children; whether we should read *αἰεὶ ζῆν, βίου δὲ* or *ἐᾶ* (we should ourselves prefer *ῆ*) *ζῆν, τοῦ βίου δέ*; but there surely cannot in any case be the remotest doubt as to the meaning of *οὗ καιρὸς ζῆν*, 'to live where occasion serves.' Mr. Sheppard himself tells us (p. 102) that 'Sophocles does . . . not perform meaningless verbal gymnastics.' When, then, Sophocles uses a phrase so common and so definite in meaning, we must refuse to give

it here a meaning which is perfectly unexampled. The reference of *καιρός* being usually temporal, the phrase is usually introduced by a temporal conjunction. Thus, to confine ourselves to Thucydides, we have *ὅποτε καιρός εἶη*, 4. 77; *ὅταν καιρός ᾖ*, 4. 126; 6. 93; *ἐπειδὴ καιρός ᾖ*, 7. 5; 7. 51; *ἐπειδὴ καιρός ἔδοκει εἶναι*, 7. 34; *ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξε καιρός εἶναι*, 7. 5; but neglecting such more ambiguous uses as *ἐν ᾧ ἂν καιρός ᾖ*, 4. 17; *ἦν καιρός ᾖ*, 4. 92; *ἦν πον καιρός ᾖ*, 8. 27; *ὥς ἂν καιρός ᾖ*, 8. 1, we have a definitely local use in Thuc. 4. 54, *ἐναντιζόμενοι τῶν χωρίων οὗ καιρός εἶη ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν*, and 4. 90, *πύργους τε ξυλίνους κατέστησαν ᾗ καιρός ᾖ*. In view of these facts, that Sophocles should have used the words in Mr. Sheppard's sense is simply incredible. On any interpretation the main emphasis lies on the second clause, and the meaning is, 'wherever you live, may your life be happier than your father's.' If we should render 'wherever I live,' then Oedipus will be repeating the same indifference to his own fate with which he began his reference to his children: *ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἡμῶν μοῖρ' ὅποιπερ εἶσ', ἴτω* (v. 1458). One of the passages quoted by Mr. Sheppard to support his interpretation is Bacchylides *fr.* 21, *πανροῖσι δὲ θνατῶν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον δαίμων ἔδωκεν | πρᾶσσοντας ἐν καιρῷ πολιοκρόταφον | γῆρας ἱκνεῖσθαι πρὶν ἐγκύρσαι δύα*, which Jebb renders: 'To few mortals is Fate wont to grant that they should have happy fortunes through all their years, or come to the first grey hairs of age without encountering woe.' Mr. Sheppard, with his customary engaging confidence, rejects this rendering and tells us that Bacchylides means 'few have the happy life of moderate prosperity.' Would Mr. Sheppard have cited this passage, we wonder, if he had remembered Thuc. 4. 59, *αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰ μὴ <ἐν> καιρῷ τύχοιεν ἐκάτεροι πρᾶσσοντες*?

The Translation is a sound piece of work, and may fairly be said to succeed in its purpose, which is 'to give the reader a faithful version' (p. x). In one passage, indeed, Mr. Sheppard hardly does himself justice. When Iocasta, 1071 f., says *ιοῦ, ιοῦ, δύστηνε τοῦτο γάρ σ' ἔχω | μόνον προσειπεῖν, ἄλλο δ' οὐποθ' ὕστερον*, we cannot think her words are adequately rendered by 'O Wretched, Wretched utterly! That name | I give you, and henceforth no other name.' 'Wretched' is a poor rendering for a word of such quality as *δύστηνος*. Moreover, the whole point lies in *ιοῦ, ιοῦ, δύστηνε*; the rest, beautiful as it is, is but a concession to convention. For Iocasta's grief silence alone is adequate, and the point is that, save for the ejaculation, she is silent. Hence *σιωπῆς* in v. 1705. So Aietes, *ἔβλεπεν δ' ἀφωνήτω περ ἔμπας ἄχει* (Pind. *P.* iv. 237).

The Notes are rather desultory in character and of uneven quality. They are intended mainly to expound the dramatic value of particular words, phrases, and episodes, and here they show evidence both of acuteness and of careful study. Mr. Sheppard shares, indeed, to the full the capacity of so many modern scholars for 'hearing the grass grow.' When, for instance, we are told that *πάντα νωμῶν*, v. 300, 'with πάντα for the ὀρνιθὰν of Aesch. *Sept.* 26 prepares our minds, subtly and without our conscious perception of it, for the suggestion of *κέρδος* as the motive of the seer, because we half remember the Homeric *κέρδεα νωμῶν*,' we can only say with Dominie Sampson, 'Pro—di—gi—ous!'

A subsidiary purpose of the Notes is to defend the reading adopted when it differs from the text of Jebb or to explain the rendering given in the Translation. The most notable reading is perhaps *πετραῖος ὁ ταῦρος*, which we are glad to see restored in v. 478. It is to be hoped that *ισόταυρος* may now join that other 'palmary emendation,' Conington's *λέοντος ἱνι* (Aesch. *Ag.* 718), in a kindly oblivion. In our space we cannot do more than notice some passages which we think Mr. Sheppard might usefully reconsider. In v. 11, reading *στέρξαντες* Mr. Sheppard renders: 'in what mood stand ye here—Of panic—or good courage?' and he thinks the objection that 'those who are resigned have no ground for supplication' is sufficiently answered by Isocrates, *Demon.* 86, *στέργει μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ζητεῖ δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα*. But since *στέρξαντες* must indicate not the mood merely of the suppliant but the motive of his supplication, the quotation is pointless, unless it means that contentment with the present state is a motive for seeking a better. 44 f., *ὥς τοῖσιν ἐμπεύροισι κ.τ.λ.*, is explained to mean: 'It is in the case of men of experience, above all others, that I find both counsel and event live,' *i. e.* 'what happens in regard to what they plan, as well as (καί) what they plan.' This seems to approximate to the scholiast's interpretation of *συμφορὰς* as *ἀποβάσεις*, but we frankly do not follow Mr. Sheppard's reasoning. V. 54: *εἴπερ ἄρξεις τῆσδε γῆς ὥσπερ κρατεῖς*. Mr. Sheppard thinks that 'the

editors miss the point here' inasmuch as they make no distinction between ἄρχω and κρατῶ. It would be easy to show that the words are used by the poets indifferently, and if the distinction imagined by Mr. Sheppard were intended, κρατεῖν in the next line should have been ἄρχειν. V. 65: ὑπνω γ' εὐδοντά μ'. Mr. Sheppard curiously thinks that γ' is out of place and reads ὑπνω μ' εὐδοντά γ'. But in a composite phrase like ὑπνω εὐδεν Greek regularly attaches the γε to the first word of the phrase, e. g. ἔκ γε τῆς πόλεως, never unless under stress of metre ἐκ τῆς πόλεως γε. V. 88: ἐξιώντα is adopted from Suidas for the MSS. ἐξελθόντα, although in any reasonable sense it is quite impossible. V. 95: The note on λέγοιμ' ἄν quite ignores the fact that λέγοιμ' ἄν is a regular formula for commencing a speech: e. g. Eurip. *Iph. T.* 939, *Hec.* 1132, *El.* 1060, *Suppl.* 465, and contains no implication of 'I will if I must,' which would naturally be the explicit λέγοιμ' ἄν εἰ χρὴ (Eur. *El.* 300) or the like. V. 133: There seems to be no ground either in etymology or in Greek usage for supposing that ἐπαξίως is stronger than ἀξίως. V. 156: τί μοι ἢ νέον ἦ . . . πάλιν ἐξανίσσεις χρέος. Surely the phrase ἐξανίσσεις χρέος has no reference to exaction of a debt, but merely means 'what thing new or recurrent wilt thou accomplish.' Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 85, τί χρέος; τί νέον κ.τ.λ. V. 227 ff.: κεί μὲν φοβεῖται τοῦπικλῆμ' ὑπεξελεῖν | αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ—πέισεται γὰρ κ.τ.λ. is Mr. Sheppard's reading, and his note, in which he follows Blaydes, is, 'Construe literally: "And if he fears to produce the charge himself bringing it against himself—why?" (there is a simple ellipse) "he shall suffer no worse penalty than banishment."' Although we certainly do not accept any interpretation hitherto proposed, because one and all seem to misunderstand ὑπεξελεῖν, we cannot agree with Mr. Sheppard. In the first place we know no parallel to the supposed sense of ὑπεξαίρειν, and neither Blaydes nor Mr. Sheppard supplies one. Even if we present Mr. Sheppard with Pindar's ὅτι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχα γλώσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας, his case is no better. But a more serious objection remains. The ellipse which Mr. Sheppard thinks 'simple' is so far from being so that not merely is it to us *a priori* incredible, but we know no ellipse in Greek (no one, we hope, would compare Hom. *Il.* 1. 581 f.!) which even remotely resembles it. V. 464: Mr. Sheppard reads εἶδε, which is surely inferior, especially in view of ὦ Διὸς ἄδυεπὸς φάτι in v. 151. Lastly, it is strange that on the strength of a gloss in Hesychius, ἡγόμεν' δῆγον. Σοφοκλῆς Θυέστη δευτέρῳ, Mr. Sheppard should give ἡγόμεν' the unattested sense of 'I passed my days' when the ordinary rendering 'I was reckoned' is well supported; e. g. Thuc. 8. 81, ἵνα . . . οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τιμώτερον αὐτὸν ἄγοιεν; Xen. *Ages.* 11. 6, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων (ἀμαρτίας) μεγάλας ἦγε.

The only minor *errata* we remember to have noted are p. lxxiv, footnote 2. Euripid. *Ph.* 871 for 471, and p. 642 δρώντα for δρῶντα.

A. W. M.

Æschyle. Texte établi et traduit par PAUL MAZON. Tome I. Pp. xxxv + 199. Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres." Paris, 1920. Fr. 15.

This is a volume in the recently inaugurated series of Greek and Latin authors, after the manner of our own Loeb Series, containing text with French prose translation to face the text, short introductions, and brief explanatory and critical notes. The series, which is the creation of a group of French men of letters, members of the Institut and of the Collège de France, who have founded at Paris the Association Guillaume Budé for the defence and propagation of Classical culture, will be welcomed by British scholars with sympathetic interest.

This first instalment of Aeschylus contains a short general Introduction to Aeschylus, the Βίος Αἰσχύλου from the Medicean MS., and the Supplices, Persae, Septem, and Prometheus, each of which is introduced by a short 'notice.'

The Introduction begins with a sketch of the life and work of Aeschylus, followed by a few words on the moral ideas of his poetry. M. Mazon, who finds the central idea to be the idea of Justice, rather puzzles us by his remark on Ch. 308, τὸ δίκαιον μεταβαίνει, 'le Droit se déplace,' 'c'est là l'idée nouvelle et originale d'Æschyle' (p. vii). The second

part of the Introduction gives an admirably lucid account of the history of the Text, the MSS., and the principles on which the Editor proceeds in constituting his text. His view of the problem is summed up in the concluding words of the Introduction. 'Notre texte a subi des altérations par le fait des poètes et des acteurs qui ont remanié les pièces d'Eschyle aux v^e et iv^e siècles, par le fait des grammairiens qui ont multiplié les éditions scolaires de la vulgate alexandrine, par le fait des Byzantins qui ont, à leur tour, réédité pendant cinq siècles le seul exemplaire qui leur fût parvenu d'une de ces éditions; et cet exemplaire lui-même ne contenait qu'un texte de qualité médiocre, où les fautes ne manquaient pas. Et, malgré tout cela, nous ne lisons pas un Eschyle corrompu et déformé sans remède: nous possédons bien, dans son ensemble, le texte même du poète. Notre devoir est de n'y toucher qu'avec prudence et respect.' The brief 'notices' prefixed to the individual plays are admirable.

M. Mazon's text is in general prudent and orthodox. *Suppl.* 444: μετεμπλήσαι (for μέγ' ἐμπλήσας), which is given as the conjecture of the Editor (after Droysen's μετεμπλήσας), was anticipated by Tucker. *Suppl.* 604: δήμον κρατοῦσα χεὶρ πόσῳ πληθύνεται is read by M. Mazon from his own conjecture: 'à quelle majorité aussi a prévalu le vote populaire.' *Suppl.* 835: he adopts Headlam's γαῖάναξ. *Pers.* 451: he adopts Stahl's ἐξοισοῖατο (from Herod. viii. 76, ἐξοισομένων). But the conjecture is surely needless, and the syntax, ὅταν—ἐξοισοῖατο, unparalleled in good Greek. *Pers.* 815: ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπαιδύεται is retained and rendered, 'et va grandir encore.' *Sept.* 13: ὡρὰν ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον ὥς τι συμπερεπὲς is read, 'chacun enfin se donnant au rôle qui convient à ses forces.' *Sept.* 45: M. Mazon reads, Ἀρῇ τ', Ἐννῶ, καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον. We do not remember any parallel to the construction here implied A τε, B, καὶ Γ. It seems that we should read either Ἀρην, Ἐννῶ, καί, or possibly Ἀρην τ' Ἐννῶ, i. e. Ἀρην τ' Ἐννάλιον. The corresponding masculine to Ἐννῶ would be Ἐννών, and there is no reason why it should not have an accusative in —ω, as Ἀπόλλω, Ποσειδῶ, etc. *Prom.* 2: ἄβροτον is preferred to ἄβατον, and (v. 17) εἰωριάζειν to ἐξωριάζειν. In 463 σῶμασιν is rightly retained: 'des bêtes soumisees soit au harnais, soit à un cavalier.'

The Translation is a highly meritorious piece of work. It differs, of course, in some respects from what for some years has been regarded among us as the ideal to be aimed at in translating a Greek poet. In the first place, the French translator does not aim at giving his diction a specifically poetical colour, and the use of antiquated words, as *e. g.* nef = navire (*Suppl.* 135, etc.) is rare. Again, while the English translator usually endeavours to find a corresponding word to translate a Greek word, the French translator is often compelled by the lack of compound words to employ a periphrasis. Hence there cannot in French be the same economy of words as in Greek and English, and the French rendering is apt to give an impression of diffuseness. Thus, *e. g.*, *Suppl.* 186–190, M. Mazon requires 54 words to render 29. Again, *Prom.* 467–8, θαλασσοπλάγκτα δ' οὔτις ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ / λινόπτερ' εἶρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα, is rendered: 'Nul autre que moi non plus n'inventa ces véhicules aux ailes de toile, qui permettent au marin de courir les mers,'—22 words to render 10. *Pers.* 81–86, κνάνειον δ' ὄμμασι λείσσω / φονίου δέργμα δράκοντος, / πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναῦτας, Σύριόν θ' ἄρμα διώκων, / ἐπάγει δουρικλύτους ἀν- / δράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἀρῇ: 'En ses yeux luit le regard bleu sombre du dragon sanglant. Il meut mille bras et mille vaisseaux et, pressant son attelage assyrien, il conduit à l'attaque des héros qu'illustra la lance l'Âves à l'arc triomphant';—40 words to render 19. Occasionally, no doubt, the French is even more terse than the Greek, *e. g.* λέξω δέ σοι (*Pers.* 180) becomes 'écoute.' But, in any case, it may fairly be claimed that the periphrastic language of the French translator conduces to lucidity, and renders his version almost equivalent to a commentary. Nor is he wanting in spirit and vigour. As a fair illustration we take this well-known passage from the Messenger's account of the battle of Salamis (*Persae*, 386 sqq.): 'Mais, quand le jour aux blancs coursiers épand sa clarté sur la terre, voici que, sonore, une clameur s'élève du côté des Grecs, modulée comme un hymne, cependant que l'écho des rochers de l'île en répète l'éclat. Et la terreur alors saisit tous les barbares, déçus dans leur attente; car ce n'était pas pour fuir que les Grecs entonnaient ce péan solennel, mais bien pour marcher au combat, pleins de valeureuse assurance; et les appels de la trompette embrassaient toute leur ligne. Aussitôt les rames bruyantes, tombant

avec ensemble, frappent l'eau profonde en cadence, et tous bientôt apparaissent en pleine vue. L'aile droite, alignée, marchait la première, en bon ordre. Puis la flotte entière se dégage et s'avance, et l'on pouvait alors entendre, tout proche, un immense appel: "Allez, enfants des Grecs, délivrez la patrie, délivrez vos enfants et vos femmes, les sanctuaires des dieux de vos pères et les tombeaux de vos aïeux: c'est la lutte suprême!"

An unusual feature is the printing with the choral parts of 'indications musicales': we are unable to estimate the value to the reader of such indications as 'un peu plus animé,' 'un peu élargi,' 'ferme et bien marqué,' etc., but, at the worst, they can do no harm.

The footnotes, explanatory and critical, are admirably lucid, and slips, such as that on p. 65, where Perseus is described as son of *Danaos*, are rare. We note the absence of a Bibliography such as the volumes of the Loeb Series give; but to have been of any real service it would have had to be of unconscionable length. The printing of the volume is excellent, and our one regret is that it is issued in paper covers instead of in publisher's binding. In these days, when individual binding is so expensive, this will necessarily considerably increase the cost to the purchaser, since, even with the most careful handling, the book, if unbound, will speedily fall to pieces.

A. W. M.

The Unity of Homer. By JOHN A. SCOTT, Professor of Greek in North-Western University; Sather Professor of Classical Literature in the University of California, 1921. (Sather Classical Lectures, Volume I.) Pp. 269. Berkeley, Cal.: Univ. of California Press. 1921.

The contents of this book are well summed up by the author himself, p. 269: 'Everything fits into the theory of a single Homer; the civilisation, the language, the gods, the outlines, the marks of genius; and all these are supported by the unanimous verdict of the best poets and the greatest critics of twenty-five hundred years.' That Prof. Scott has contrived to cover so much ground in a short and eminently readable book is no mean testimony to his literary skill. The work is a summary, partly of arguments its author was himself the first to bring forward; and while the professed student of Homer may read it with profit, any intelligent person in possession of a good prose translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can use it by skipping half-a-dozen pages in the chapter dealing with language. It fills a gap, for we know of no other work in English so convenient and so complete.

The reviewer disagrees with Prof. Scott on some minor points, finds the chapter on 'Antiquities and kindred matters' (ch. iv.) rather inadequate, and wishes he (and certain other writers) would not use the phrase 'higher critic' to mean 'separatist.' Against these few defects may be set very many excellences, for example the exposure, p. 242 ff., of the unsoundness of the analogy between the Wolfian handling of Homer and the application of superficially similar methods to Hebrew and other Oriental documents. We wish this book a wide circulation.

Herakles. Aufsätze zur griechischen Religions- und Sagen-geschichte. By BERNHARD SCHWEITZER. Pp. vii + 247. 38 illustrations. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922.

Two essays, the first dealing with the Aktorione, in whom Schweitzer sees a twy-bodied pre-Dorian god. The evidence is largely archaeological. The author has made a special study of vases of the geometrical period, but does not arouse great confidence in his critical skill when he uses (p. 166) a gross and notorious forgery (details in *Rév. archéologique*, Tom. XIV, 1921, p. 154) as a genuine piece. The second essay deals rather with saga and *Märchen*, which Schweitzer deliberately confuses, and attempts to restore the primitive form of the Twelve Labours.

We notice much that is old-fashioned in the author's philology and anthropology, much rhetoric, and not enough close reasoning. Some of the material may be incidentally of interest.

Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der werdenden Polis. By VICTOR EHRENBURG. Pp. xii + 150. One plate. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1921.

This little work, while confessedly owing much to various predecessors, notably R. Hirzel's *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*, is not without pretensions to originality. The author sketches the development of the terms *θέμις*, *δίκη*, *θεσμός*, and *νόμος*, the first with its cognates receiving the most elaborate handling, though part of the space might have been spared, as it includes a long demonstration of the well-known connection of Themis with Ge. He insists on the original sacral connotation of *θέμις*, and has some ingenious suggestions as to the origin of the goddess herself and her relation to the omphalos (p. 48). *Δίκη* he would connect, not with *δείκνυμι*, but with *δικεῖν*, supposing it to have been originally a casting of lots. Whether his suggestion be right or not, he is probably correct in thinking that the development of Dike the goddess is relatively late, while in the case of Themis the goddess is earlier than the abstract idea. He is at times over-subtle and hampered in more than one place by the antiquated separatist theories concerning Homer.

The Homeric Catalogue of Ships. Edited with a Commentary by THOMAS W. ALLEN. Pp. 190, 2 maps. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1921. 16s.

'The Catalogue occupied historians of all ages,' but with this difference, that whereas the ancients regarded it as canonical and a safe starting-point for their own ethnological researches, the moderns for the most part have condemned it as the work of a later writer, a Boeotian patriot intent on glorifying his native country, or a pamphleteer with political theories of his own. Mr. Allen, reverting to earlier methods, has given us a valuable study, of which all subsequent speculations as to the political and geographical distribution of peoples in early Greece must take account. Whether or no we accept Mr. Allen's view (p. 169) that the catalogue stood originally at the beginning of the saga, he has shown that the conditions described are such as never existed in the Greece known to later ages, and from that result produces the following dilemma: either the description is invented, or it represents the actual facts at the time of composition. If the latter, it should be consistent with the remainder of the poems, with the mass of ancient legend and with the archaeological evidence as known to us at the present time. Consistency with the two first could in some degree be attained by a later imitator, consistency with the third was attainable only by a writer contemporary, or almost contemporary, with the events which he describes.

To take an example: In spite of Mr. Allen's rehabilitation of Aulis and his geographical explanation of the position which Boeotia holds in the catalogue, without believing that the compiler was himself a Boeotian it is difficult to account for the extent of his local knowledge, which is greater for Boeotia than for any other part of Greece. Nevertheless the local writer does nothing to distort the picture; by his very treatment of Boeotia he gives us security for the accuracy of his description as a whole. It might, of course, have been possible for a later writer to have himself evolved the state of affairs as described in the catalogue, a Boeotia divided into a number of small states, as local politicians at a later date desired, with Thebes in ruins, as a close attention to legendary chronology demanded; such, too, is the description postulated by the rest of the poem. But we may seriously doubt whether a local poet writing at a later date would have deduced such a state of affairs or have been ready to express it, and it is even more inconceivable that a later poet could have deduced his description of the Peloponnese either from legend or from later political aspirations. Still less could he have done so with Thessaly. In

both these cases our present archaeological knowledge goes far to confirm the compiler's description, and in each section of the catalogue as treated by Mr. Allen we are left with the impression that the compiler was describing facts which he and his audience knew to be the case.

With regard to the Trojan portion of the catalogue Mr. Allen puts forward a new theory, suggested by Mr. Arkwright, that the four lines of Trojan allies radiating from Troy correspond with the four winds. The description is perhaps more convincing than that of trade-routes, but difficulties arise in the case of the 'Northern' line if we are to adopt the view of Eratosthenes that Homer knew nothing of the coastal towns of Paphlagonia. If Alybe was an inland district of Cappadocia and was approached overland, it is almost inconceivable that the compiler should have considered it 'in the direction of Boreas.'

If a small detail may be mentioned, is it necessary to suppose that the Pylos of I. 295 is the historic Pylos of the Thucydidean narrative? The towns which Agamemnon offered to his prospective son-in-law lay on the borders of Pylos—that is to say, on the southern frontier of Nestor's kingdom—just as the debatable town of Thryon (νεάτη Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος) lay on his northern frontier. We cannot tell what were the local conditions which allowed Agamemnon to dispose of this district as he proposed. The normal frontier of Nestor's kingdom reached as far as Modon and Coron—for some reason unknown to us the king of men could exercise a certain jurisdiction here.

Cases such as this, where our knowledge is inadequate, do not make it necessary to condemn all passages where we are unable to confirm the compiler's description. On the contrary, historical criticism will take the opposite view, that in the case of a document, which in cases where it can be tested is proved to be correct, its other statements may be accepted as the basis for further investigations into the early age of Greece. In this lies the great value of Mr. Allen's book.

The Origin of Tyranny. By P. N. URE. Pp. xi + 374, 46 illustrations. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 35s.

This volume elaborates a thesis which Prof. Ure first put forward in this Journal in 1906, that the Greek tyrants of the seventh and sixth centuries were essentially men of business who owed their political success to their ability as money-makers. It examines not only the case of the principal despots of early Greece, but also that of the contemporary rulers of Lydia, Egypt and Rome; and it reviews the available evidence, and especially the pottery record of the seventh and sixth centuries, with the minutest care. The materials thus amassed have been utilised by Prof. Ure for all they are worth, and sometimes maybe for a little more. Many of his arguments are temptingly ingenious and are put forward with excellent wit and force, yet depend on too many uncertain factors to contain more than a bare possibility of truth. It must suffice here to mention one strange piece of reasoning, that the tyrants 'got a bad press' among the later Greeks because of their commercial origin (p. 303). On Prof. Ure's own showing their economic activities were usually far more beneficial than those of the gradgrinding 'Junkers' whom they superseded. The traditional view that the Greek tyrants, like the Italian 'signori' and our own king John, damned their own memory by the cruelties and outrages which they committed, is surely good enough. But in spite of a weak argument here and there, the cumulative force of Prof. Ure's plea cannot be denied, and this much at least of his case seems well established, that the tyrants as a class were men who had considerable riches at their command.

But how was this economic capital converted into political power? On this vital point Prof. Ure unfortunately leaves too much to the imagination of his readers, and the only two clear statements which he makes are open to dispute. In the first place, in emphasising the fact that the rise of tyranny coincided with the invention of coinage, he asserts that coinage was 'perhaps the most epoch-making revolution in the whole history of commerce.' But expansions of currency are the effects rather than the cause of commercial

booms, whose *πρώτον κινούν* should rather be sought in improved technical processes and the opening up of new markets; and coinage hardly ranks in importance with two other products of ancient inventiveness, a metallic currency and credit-money. Again, Prof. Ure draws too sharp a distinction between the earlier Greek despots and those of the fourth century, whose demagogic wiles and military *coups* Plato and Aristotle (to say nothing of Herodotus) regarded as typical of tyrant-craft. Just as there are clear cases of latter-day Greek despots owing their power, like the Medici, to judicious usury, so we have undoubted instances of early tyrants posing as friends of the people and acquiring or maintaining their dominion by sheer force. Is it not simplest to assume that investment in mercenaries was the commonest method by which usurpers disposed of their wealth, like most of the Italian 'signori' and untold numbers of Oriental despots? But assuming that some of the earlier Greek tyrants also put their riches to a more subtle and less brutal use, as we may fairly assume with Prof. Ure that they did, was it by way of money-lending, or of finding employment for large masses of labour, or by some other method, that they acquired political power? On these points Prof. Ure throws out hints, but he does not follow out his arguments. Lastly, the parallel which he draws between ancient tyrants and modern 'oil kings' is merely confusing, for the social and political effects of present-day 'big business' are not as clear as the *ex parte* writers quoted by Prof. Ure would make out.

It appears, then, that Prof. Ure has not fully worked out his case. But he has undoubtedly thrown a flood of fresh light on his subject, and indeed on early Greek history in general. Whatever measure of assent his present book may command, it will certainly rank as a first-rate contribution to Greek historical studies.

Geschichte des Hellenismus. By J. KAERST. Second Edition. Vol. I. Pp. xii + 536. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1917. M. 16.

The second edition of this volume, first published in 1901 under the title *Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, shows an increase of 103 pages. It is divided into three books. The first, dealing with the Greek city state, is 53 pages longer and has been largely rewritten. The second, Macedonia and Philip II., is little altered. The third, Alexander, shows an increase of 26 pages, chiefly in the first chapter, the Orient before Alexander; the actual story is little modified, though more space is given to the Asiatic Greeks, but the chapter on Alexander's world-rule is completely recast. The appendices have nearly doubled in length. The volume is really a history of Graeco-Macedonian political theory, and the parts rewritten are those dealing with the main theme. The connexion of the books seems to be this: (1) why the polis failed to achieve national unity; (2) how the national Macedonian monarchy came near to achieving unity; (3) how Alexander's world-kingdom transcended both the national monarchy and the polis, and achieved, or was in the way to achieve, a greater synthesis.

The work is one of the most important histories dealing with Hellenism which have appeared; it is well written, very interesting, and has the quality of making the reader think; it has cost much labour, for Kaerst began to write on the subject in 1878; and, since I hold its main conclusion to be unfounded, I wish to emphasise both the pleasure and the profit I have derived from reading it. There are few sections which do not contain some acute observation or arresting idea. It is written subject to certain limitations, explained in the preface to the first edition: Kaerst is not interested in the details of actual historical events, especially on the military side (hence he gives no maps), or concerned overmuch to cite the modern literature on the subject. This does not mean that he regularly neglects detail. He is often very good; I may instance the mercenary world (where his belief that the mercenaries affected the Alexander-tradition seems confirmed by *Oxyr. Pap.* 15, 1798); Callisthenes, where a little paragraph on p. 448 opens up a large vista; and the League of Corinth, where he usefully corrects Wilhelm. But it means that you never quite know when he *will* neglect detail; and the neglected detail has a way of making a hole in your theories. Also he seems to know little of recent work outside Germany, a severe handicap when he comes to India.

Book I. deals with the State versus the individual, as exhibited in the polis. The spiritual basis of the polis (ch. i.) is law—not particular laws, but a general moral order which unifies the community. But as in the polis the community and the State are one, the polis has no power of expansion. Freedom, to the citizen, meant (he thinks) only a share in the government; you therefore naturally sought the power of your own class; hence the unending class-wars. No city, certainly not fifth-century Athens, cared for *Hellas* or sought more than its own interest. Things were made worse by the sophists (ch. ii.), who championed individualism; they began with something like Rousseau's Social Contract, and arrived at something like Bentham's greatest happiness of the greatest number (all orthodox Germans despise Benthamism); they made of the State merely a collection of individuals, seeking each his own advantage. The ideal philosophies (ch. iii.) tried to remedy this by insisting on the State as an organic thing, of which individuals were only members; but unfortunately they exercised no practical influence. Ch. iv. deals with the internal break-down of the polis after the 'King's Peace' had ended any chance of national unity; ch. v. is Panhellenism, or the reaction against the King's Peace, with more stress on the political importance of Isocrates than in the first edition. Much in this book is true; but it is written from the view-point of a believer in the orthodox German theory of the State, to whom 'freedom' merely hinders unification; and there is a whole side left out—the case for political democracy and political liberty.

Book II. is mainly Philip. On the Macedonian kingdom, Kaerst thinks it grew out of the (originally absolute) king, and that the rights of the Macedonian people under arms were only acquired much later, when Philip remodelled the army. But *how* acquired? If wrested from Philip, why did they never seek to enlarge them later? As I see it, the Macedonians after Philip did not seek to enlarge their rights, but did regard them as fundamental, old, an essential part of Macedonia. It makes a difference, in Alexander's story, whether the Macedonian monarchy was quasi-limited from the start.—Kaerst does not profess to give the affairs of Athens; but he does not share the modern cult of Aeschines, and has some idea of Demosthenes' greatness; like most people, he rejects Kahrstedt's view of him as a Persian agent. And he does not make the mistake of treating the League of Corinth as a real unification; it was a political arrangement of great possibilities. But Philip's Persian project cannot have formed part of the constitutive law of the League, as Kaerst thinks; Wilcken has since cleared this up, and, moreover, the *form* of a constitutive law seems to render it impossible.

Book III., Alexander, is much the longest, and is so treated as to lead up to Kaerst's well-known theory that Alexander's aim was to be the divine ruler of the whole earth (das gesamte Welt). It must be said plainly that his Alexander, created in 1895, is not historical, but is a direct product of certain lines of (chiefly German) thought in the nineteenth century. It is a companion figure to Mommsen's Caesar. The same conception of Alexander was, however, independently put forward, also in 1895, by Radet in France; and though it has naturally swept Germany, even there some, as Niese and Strack, have vehemently protested. I can only notice three main points here. (1) Kaerst has done much work on the sources, and long ago reached the conclusion that you may, nay must, use the Cleitarchus vulgate to supplement Arrian. But unfortunately his enlarged appendix on the sources omits to consider the one thing vital to his view; between his first and second editions Reuss practically, and then Schnabel (*Berosos und Kleitarchos*, 1912) conclusively, proved that Cleitarchus was no contemporary of Alexander's, but wrote not *earlier* than c. 260. This will make it impossible to use the vulgate for Alexander's ideas after c. 330, when Callisthenes ceases; for what remains? Arrian shows Aristobulus knew nothing of his mind; and shall we suppose that, if he did not confide in his lifelong friend Ptolemy, he *did* talk to Onesicritus the pilot or Chares the usher? I fancy the ground has been cut away from beneath Kaerst's use of Diodorus. (2) The Orient before Alexander. Kaerst defines a world-kingdom (p. 290) as one which aims at embracing all the world it knows. But, supposing Accad and Assyria were 'world-kingdoms,' how does this bear on Alexander's intentions? Did he study their rulers' titles in the cuneiforms? Take India instead. There 'universal monarchs' were common enough from Vedic times onward; every king who performed the horse-sacrifice was a 'conqueror of the whole earth'; but

it was only a *title*, with little meaning; two at once seem known. The 'whole earth' meant your next-door neighbours, as often in the O.T. Kaerst takes these sort of titles too seriously. And he does not really argue that the *Achaemenids* claimed world-rule. On the one side, their inscriptions negative it; their style was King of kings, which was true; even so, Alexander never used it. And on the other, they did not attack Greece till Athens attacked *them*. (3) Kaerst's belief in Alexander's world-kingdom is based upon Ammon, the supposed 'Memoirs,' and the Indian expedition. I have dealt with Ammon and the 'Memoirs' at length elsewhere (*J.H.S.* 1921, 1); but I note here that Kaerst argues in a circle: p. 488, Alexander's plan to conquer the Mediterranean shows he aimed at world-rule; p. 509, the Mediterranean plan *must* be true, as it is what a world-ruler would do. The Indian expedition requires doing again. Was it the completion of the conquest of Persia's one-time empire, or not? Kaerst says it was not; Alexander was invading a new world, i. e. world-conquest. But that Persia once ruled east of the Indus is certain; Kaerst does not consider the evidence, he merely assumes. Again, the historian of Alexander must find out—it is vital—what Alexander thought India was; that is, he must study Aristotle's geography, which Alexander had in mind at starting, and must sift the strictly contemporary evidence from that coloured from Megasthenes—no easy task, seeing that Megasthenes is much earlier than Cleitarchus. I cannot find that Kaerst has attended to this at all. Incidentally, the manner in which he alludes to Alexander's original idea that the Indus was the Nile shows that he has missed a valuable section of (German) work here, which would have helped him. One detail must be mentioned. The huge army Alexander led into India, and the use of Iranian cavalry, show (Kaerst says) that he was going outside the Achaemenid empire. But he had already used Iranian cavalry in Sogdiana (Arr. 4, 17, 3); and had Kaerst cared to work out the details of Alexander's known formations, he would have seen that the huge army he postulates is a myth.

How now does the world-kingdom synthesise the polis of Book I.? Kaerst's answer is, culturally: the polis provided the Empire's culture (which is true); but world-culture is the correlate of world-kingdom, and the Oecumene is therefore the polis universalised. But the cities paid for their cultural supremacy, he thinks, by the loss of freedom; on the theoretic side, Greek political thought had evolved into the idea of subjection to a monarch; on the actual side, the cities were virtually ruled by Alexander. This seems to me entirely misconceived. The former idea (drawn, I suppose, from Aristotle) is frankly inconsistent with the history of contemporary Athens (whose plucky attempt at reform Kaerst does not notice) and with much third-century history. And Alexander's rule rests solely on the exiles decree. Kaerst knows too much about the League of Corinth to attempt to reconcile it with his idea, so he treats the League as virtually abolished in 330,—reduced to 'a shadow.' But Alexander in Tapuria settled matters strictly according to the League (Arr. 3, 24, 4 ff, which Kaerst omits) as a demonstration that, in this sphere, nothing was altered. Kaerst makes Alexander treat the Ionian cities as if king, on the faith of the headings (*βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου*) of the letters to Priene (*O.G.I.S.* 1) and Chios (*Syll.*³ 283); but these headings were only put on the steles by the cities themselves; Alexander did not write to the Chians in *oratio obliqua* with lapses into *oratio recta* (our document is a *summary*), or date his rescript by a Chian magistrate, as the heading does. And of the instances given by Kaerst (p. 504) of Alexander's interference with the cities later, not one will stand criticism, except the exiles decree. There Alexander did begin to interfere. He *might* ultimately have gone the way Antigonus I. went; we cannot say. But in fact he died. Alexander's 'world-kingdom' does not connect very well with Book I.; possibly because it did not exist.

The work resembles an old statue with a modern head; one may admire the head, but one must recognise that it is not authentic. It has the merit of putting clearly before the reader one of the crucial problems of historical writing: if our best efforts can only draw from the sources an imperfect picture, how far (if at all) may we seek what Kaerst calls 'a deeper understanding' by completing the picture ourselves? I suppose different minds will always answer that question differently.

W. W. T.

Poseidonios. By KARL REINHARDT. Pp. 474. Muenchen: Beck, 1921.

Posidonius is unquestioned king among the ghosts that haunt the pages of Graeco-Roman philosophy. Rumoured on every hand, his influence is suspected where rumour fails; but first-hand evidence is not to be obtained. A great wealth of reference proves an immense reputation, and provokes further inquiry; but inquiry ends where it began, with the reputation. The real man and his work remain a problem. In the treatise before us Dr. Reinhardt, who has already proved his courage by his book on Parmenides, attempts an even harder task, to bring life and body to this phantom. The fault of the diligent source-hunters, he seems to say, who have set us this problem, is the externality of their method. They collect sticks, and are surprised that they do not make a human body. The only fruitful hypothesis is that of a personality, and such a hypothesis, grounded on the certain instance, affords the only sound criterion for determining the doubtful case. His method, therefore, as he follows his author over the vast field of his writings, through geography, meteorology, cosmology, ethics, anthropology, divination, and eschatology, is to attempt to fix in each case the characteristic trait, and so little by little to build up a personality. Under each head he considers only main sources, *e. g.* in Geography, Strabo and Vitruvius, in Theology, Cicero and Sextus; but with these he deals very fully, determining in detail what is Posidonian and what not. And no doubt he hopes that the marginal cases, not explicitly considered, will settle themselves according to his results.

The clue to Reinhardt's interpretation of Posidonius seems to be a phrase from Strabo—'he is too much given to causal theories and Aristotelianism.' Posidonius is in the main the natural philosopher, who will have a reason for everything. Even his theories of divination are not the Oriental occultism that most have suspected. Oriental they may be, but not in the sense in which Philo is Oriental, and they 'breathe the same spirit as the tract *On the Ocean* and the rest.' 'If in the end he believes in miracles, he seeks first for causes. He is developing into the aetiologist and Aristotelian, never resting until he has completed a cosmology which penetrates even to the last things.' The mystery which pervades his thought is the mystery of nature's immense productivity, the mystery of life itself in its innumerable forms and varieties, and the impulse behind it all is the desire to pursue this principle into its infinite detail. However complex the detail becomes, Posidonius shows himself always a systematic thinker and a philosopher, by his consciousness that the real subject of all his predicates is the Kosmos. One might summarise this view by saying that Reinhardt regards Posidonius as a second Aristotle, but a less metaphysical Aristotle, whose central conception is Process instead of Form, in whom, therefore, the exploration of detail takes precedence of 'First Philosophy.'

Dr. Reinhardt's faith is great and infectious. It almost succeeds in carrying off all this tiresome search among the chaff for a few grains of corn. Almost, but not quite; for no faith, however great, will move the mountain of a defective tradition. The evidence is, after all, slight, and in the main uninteresting; only just sufficient to warrant a conjecture as to what Posidonius may have been. We grant that he may have been what Reinhardt says; but hypothesis remains hypothesis however positively it is asserted. Many of the negative theses of the book are both true and timely, especially the emphasis on the danger of certain kinds of literary deduction. One must also welcome the attempt to construct a real Posidonius. But gratitude for these and other things will not force the admission that Reinhardt has shown the real man. To us he remains the shadowy eclectic encyclopaedist, the omnipresent influence, the king of the ghosts.

J. L. S.

La Pessimisme esthétique de Nietzsche. Sa philosophie à l'époque wagnérienne.

By CHARLES ANDLER. Pp. 390. Paris: Editions Bossard, 1921. Fr. 18.

In this third volume of his impressive series *Nietzsche, sa vie et sa pensée*, M. Andler has composed into an organism, whose elaborate structure and beauty of detail does not obscure his singleness of vision, the splendid tumult of Nietzsche's thought during the period which opened with *The Birth of Tragedy*.

He begins at the source, with Nietzsche's re-statement of the problem of Art in its two aspects of 'intoxication,' or escape into the suffering will behind phenomena, which he called Dionysus, and 'imagination,' or its appeasement in form, which he called Apollo.

Without ignoring in that first book such details as were doubtful or even false, M. Andler perceives in the discovery of the Dionysian spirit its claim to immortality. The dimness of Apollo's figure he attributes to inevitable ignorance regarding the primitive powers, whose conquest by the Olympians was indeed the birthday of Europe. But Nietzsche never placed much dependence upon historical analogies. It would seem rather that as 'the disciple of a yet unknown God,' he could then focus no other image.

When, however, his illumination began to shape itself into thought, and turned to that other 'fleur miraculeuse' of the Greek spirit—her philosophy—he beheld in the unceasing movement of the very substance of life, the conflict of Apollo and Dionysus as perception and will, held together by the common memory which reveals itself in the regularity of natural laws.

M. Andler devotes the greater part of his book to the tracing of their relations in Nietzsche's mind, as it explored the pre-Socratic philosophers or the researches of modern biology, until he arrived at the conception of a relativity of values, whose adjustment amid the illusions of eternal change could create the future.

He shows him emerging at last to construct a theory of civilisation, which he grandly defined as a unity of style in all the activities of a people's life. Nietzsche saw in the past but one such moment of equilibrium of forces, a sole Theoxenia in which the brother Gods clasped hands. He affirmed that the spectator of that festival could evoke from the dormant energies of the present an imperishable vitality, of which the untimely flowering of Greece was but a prophecy.

Zarathustra was about to be born, and those who have followed him to that point will await M. Andler's coming volumes with impatience.

G. R. L.

Agricola. A Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the point of view of Labour. Pp. x + 492. By W. E. HEITLAND. Cambridge: The University Press, 1921. 47s. 6d.

In this valuable work Mr. Heitland begins his inquiry with the Homeric poems, and with unwearying persistence pursues it through the relevant authorities to the fifth century A.D. Amid all the changes and increasing complexity of this long period, he keeps to his chosen topic—rustic labour conditions in the ancient world—with an almost rigid fidelity. Thus, in dealing with the earliest primitive conditions, he will not be drawn from his special problem into any discussion of the origin of Property: 'We can only begin with ownership in some form, however rudimentary;' in particular, 'how private property grew out of common ownership is a question beyond the range of the present inquiry.' Similarly, when the fifth century of our era is reached and Roman Gaul is in question, he will attempt no 'full description' of contemporary society there; for that, we are referred to the 'admirable' work of Sir Samuel Dill. Even labour conditions in callings other than agriculture are throughout considered mainly in order to illumine by way of contrast or comparison the rustic conditions under discussion. Agriculture is singled out for special examination for three reasons: firstly, it is the basic industry—on it human life and all other industries and all progress 'did and do rest'; secondly, as time went on, its economic importance in the ancient world manifestly increased; thirdly, its importance is not merely economic; as a nursery of steady citizens and at need of hardy soldiers, agriculture possesses a moral value which may not be overlooked. Yet this strenuous adherence to one topic of inquiry implies no narrowness of outlook in its treatment. On the contrary, Mr. Heitland brings to bear on the discussion not only the widest and most intimate acquaintance with classical writers; he calls to his aid Byzantine authorities also, and a goodly array of writers who

deal with analogous conditions among modern peoples. All this varied material he handles in such a way that it is never allowed to obscure the central problems of his book.

The main conclusions Mr. Heitland reaches may perhaps be thus summarised. Labour, simply as labour, without regard to the possible profit and loss attending its results, was no more desired or engaged in for its own sake in ancient times than it is now. The farmer, be he owner himself or merely tenant, was from earliest times always willing to devolve the farm-work upon others whenever he could; and as a means of escaping the drudgery he found the accepted institution of slavery ready to his hand. Free wage-labour never really competed with slave-labour in agriculture; that free men worked for wages on farms we know, but of such free workers we hear very little, and then almost entirely as temporary helpers in seasons of special pressure. Thus, ancient civilisation rested in fact on a basis of slavery, and Mr. Heitland inclines to the view that slavery in some form or degree was an 'indispensable' condition of its progress. The lot of the rustic slave was far from being a happy one. Unlike his urban brother, who as crafts and industry developed might be made use of in ways which allowed him some degree of liberty and the hope of manumission, the rural slave had no prospect of freedom; at the best, he was kept at work till he could work no longer, and then left to linger on the estate, feeding on what he could find and decaying in peace; at the worst, after long years of exhausting labour he was sold off to a new master for what he would fetch—the 'stonily merciless' policy (as Mr. Zimmern once termed it) approved by the elder Cato. The former treatment was what he might ordinarily expect on farms where the primitive 'domestic' conditions still prevailed, under which a slave found a place, however humble, in the family, a close union of persons bound together by ties of blood and religion under a recognised Head. But as great estates emerged—in which agriculture had been industrialised, and was conducted by means of gangs of slaves driven on by overseers whom the system compelled to be merciless—the old domestic relation disappeared in the brutal exploitation of human animals for immediate profit. The lot of these plantation slaves, cowed by the scourge, the fetters, and the prison, and with no prospect save that of being cast off when worn out, is (with the single reservation that their occupations, being above ground in the open air, were healthier) to be compared only with the lot of the unfortunate wretches who were kept in thousands in bondage in the mines, where they slaved till they perished. The brutal callousness this system implied and the degradation of manual labour it undoubtedly caused were not its only evils. Through its tendency to remedy all shortcomings by simply using up more flesh and blood, it fatally deadened inventive genius and prevented economic improvements; and from all this followed, naturally enough, first the stagnation and then the decay of ancient civilisation. The slave-system became a canker economic, social, ultimately political. 'I believe,' writes Mr. Heitland, 'that the maladies from which the old Greco-Roman civilisation suffered, and which in the end brought about its decay and fall, were indirectly or directly due to this taint more than to any other cause.'

Were these conclusions presented simply as among the impressions left upon a scholarly mind by a lifetime of research, they would demand attention. But we are not asked to accept them merely on authority. It is a conspicuous merit in this book that Mr. Heitland seeks always to give us the contemporary evidence on which his conclusions rest. From century to century we are kept in vivifying contact with such evidence as remains. And since, unfortunately, 'the available record neither provides adequate labour statistics nor furnishes a criticism of existing conditions from the point of view of the handworkers,' it became necessary 'to take each witness separately, so far as possible, and not to appraise the value of his testimony without a fair consideration of his condition and environment.' This enormous labour Mr. Heitland has in no wise shirked, but has patiently put his authorities into the witness-box and questioned them one by one. It is, he admits, a long method; assuredly, it must have cost its user much weariness of the flesh; but the result is a careful collection and sifting of authoritative passages bearing on the conditions of rural labour during well-nigh fifteen centuries, which as a mere marshalling of evidence (apart from other merits) possesses permanent value, and will provoke in many who use it both gratitude and admiration for its author. The jealous Fates have withheld from Mr. Heitland the gifts of style; often, too, there is grammatical roughness in his writing, which is rarely

other than bald and pedestrian; indeed, the book is not easy reading. But these defects are more than balanced by the unfaltering thoroughness, the cautious circumspection, the erudition and the wisdom with which the evidence is sought out and examined.

P. A. S.

Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art. By WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. Pp. xix + 406, 30 plates, 80 illustrations in text. Washington: The Carnegie Institute, 1921.

The athletic monuments of Olympia have given rise to a considerable amount of scattered literature. In the present elaborate volume Walter Hyde, who has devoted many years to this study, has collected and discussed all this material. The clearness of the arrangement, the excellent table of contents and index make the book invaluable for all students of the subject.

Beginning with a brief account of Greek games and prizes, he proceeds to discuss the characteristics of victor statues. The bulk of the book consists in a classification of athletic types and a discussion of existing remains that illustrate these types. The last chapter deals with the positions of the athletic statues described by Pausanias in the *Altis* of Olympia.

The writer's conscientiousness makes the book somewhat difficult reading. Amid the multitude of authorities and opinions quoted it is not always easy to discover his own view, nor is he always quite consistent. Thus it is not quite clear whether he regards the 'manus supinas' of the *Praying Boy* as uplifted in prayer or not (p. 132). In discussing the *Standing Diskobolos* he accepts the orthodox view that the statue represents a mortal athlete taking up his position for the throw (pp. 76, 220); yet on p. 78 he would restore it as a *Hermes* with a caduceus in his right hand, not realising that the whole effect of the statue, every line of which denotes preparation for action, would be ruined by the addition of such an attribute. Again, while accepting on p. 117 the earlier date for Polykleitos, on p. 151 he places the *Doryphoros* many years after Pheidias.

Hyde clears away many misconceptions. Victor statues, he shows, were not made exclusively of bronze, nor are they necessarily life-size. Plutarch's statement that only those who had won three victories were allowed to erect portrait statues, even if true of his own time, was certainly not true of Greek times. The vexed question whether victor statues were *ἀναθήματα* or, as Pausanias says, *ἐν ἁθλοῦ λόγῳ*, he compromises somewhat weakly: 'Some athletic statues were votive, some were not.' The distinction made by Pausanias is purely artificial. Dio Chrysostom, in a passage quoted by Hyde on p. 41, states that athletic statues were *ἀναθήματα* and contrasts them with honorary statues. Is a memorial window in a church a memorial or a dedication? Surely it is both, and so was the athletic statue in a Greek sanctuary.

The most valuable chapters in the book are those in which he classifies and discusses athletic types in art. It is often difficult to determine the motive of a statue, especially when the statue is a late copy or is mutilated, and some of Hyde's interpretations are very doubtful. Thus, I cannot agree with him in regarding the famous Subiaco marble as a belated survival of the archaic Knielauf motive. It is incredible that an artist who could conceive and execute such a torso should have so completely failed to represent the attitude of running. Nor can I agree that the two marble statues from Velletri now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori are 'our best representations of runners' (p. 198). They may be wrestlers, they may be *diskoboloi*, they cannot possibly be runners. Men do not run with their feet at right angles. A far more likely representation of a runner is the marble statue in Boston which Hyde interprets as a charioteer.

Hyde discusses in some detail certain heads from Olympia. The two archaic helmeted heads he assigns to statues of Hoplitodromoi. This may be correct; and if so the statues may have been those of Phanas of Pellene, and Phrikias of Pelinna, if the latter was a man and not a horse (Pindar, *Pyth.* x. 12). The date of the fine bronze portrait head of a boxer is much disputed. Hyde dates it in the third century, and on the strength of this assigns

it to the statue of Kapros. He discusses very fully an ideal head of a boxer, sometimes described as a head of Herakles. By careful comparison with the *Aglas* he shows that it is certainly Lysippean in character, but this does not justify us in describing it as an actual work by Lysippos himself or in identifying it with any particular statue of his. Such conjectures are fascinating, but in the present state of our knowledge most hazardous, especially when used as bases for further conjectures.

The last chapter, which is based on Hyde's earlier work, *De Olympionicarum Statuis*, is a useful contribution to the vexed question of Olympian topography, and vindicates the accuracy of Pausanias. Indeed, where, in my opinion, Hyde errs, is in not sufficiently appreciating this accuracy. He shows how Pausanias begins his round by describing the statues south of the Heraion, and then proceeds southwards till he reaches the statue of Telemachos, the basis of which was found *in situ* close to the south wall of the Altis. The next fixed point is the basis of Philonides, also found *in situ* close to the south-west corner of the Altis. Hence most writers assume that the statues enumerated by Pausanias (vi. 13, 11-16. 5) were placed between these two points, and that Pausanias describes them as he saw them, going from east to west. Hyde, however, proposes to place them east of the Telemachos statue, arguing from the fact that the inscription of Aristophon, the first on the list, was found just to the east of Telemachos, and one part of the base of Xenombrotos further east, near the Colonnade. Now, the blocks of buildings in the Altis were so freely used by later inhabitants for building, and are so widely scattered, that little reliance can be placed on their evidence except so far as they confirm Pausanias. In the case of Xenombrotos one block was found to the east, another inscription belonging to another statue in his honour was found to the south of the Temple, not far from the spot where we should expect from Pausanias to find it. Hyde admits that both statues must have stood together. The obvious inference is that they both stood south of the Temple. The next nineteen statues were placed by Hyde in his earlier work west of the Temple. He has now changed his opinion, and without any evidence assigns them to a row of bases south of the Altis wall and a shorter row opposite the Leonidaion. To this there are serious objections. First, it makes Pausanias retrace his steps needlessly. Secondly, these bases form a very remarkable and distinct group. They are large bases evidently belonging to one period, and from their size probably supported equestrian statues. Two of them actually bear the inscriptions of Roman magistrates. A little further east in the same line is the monument of Mummius. It is reasonable to suppose that on all these bases stood statues of Roman officials and benefactors, many of whose inscriptions have been found.

Two small errors may be noted. On page 47, speaking of the nudity of athletes, Hyde quotes the story of Pherenike as told by Philostratos. The latter is speaking not of athletes but of *γυμνασται* at Olympia. Again, on page 237 he wrongly describes as *μείλιχαι* the glove on the bronze arm in Fig. 52. The hard leather round the knuckle shows that they are *ιμάντες ὀξείς*.

If I have dwelt unduly on points on which I disagree with Hyde, it must be remembered that the whole subject is full of difficulties. In these cases the careful and ample references which the author gives enables the reader to form his own opinion. E. N. G.

The Temple Coins of Olympia. By CHARLES T. SELTMAN. Pp. x + 117, 12 plates. Reprinted from *Nomisma*. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1921. £2 2s.

Mr. Seltman has done a laborious piece of intensive work in Greek numismatics. The great feature of it is the scrupulous care with which he has recorded every die known to him, and the conjunctions of obverse and reverse dies. Thus he has secured a wider and more exact basis for the determination of the dates and character of the successive issues. On the other hand, he has not followed the example of Mr. G. F. Hill and others in stating in each case the position of the two types in relation to one another. In any case his twelve quarto plates of coins, and his exact descriptions of them in the text, constitute a far more complete apparatus of the coins than has before existed.

It is satisfactory to find that this new and valuable material completely confirms the

dates for the series adopted in the British Museum Catalogue (Peloponnesus, Gardner, 1887). But though Mr. Seltman accepts these dates, he resolutely refuses to connect them with the history of Elis. Thus he dates the first appearance of the head of Hera on the coins to 421 B.C., but refuses to connect it with the formation of a league between Elis and Argos which took place immediately after the peace of Nikias. He assigns some at least of the coins with the inscription API to about 271 B.C., but refuses to see in the inscription the name of the Elean tyrant Aristotimus, who ruled at that time. Such scepticism, which is certainly excessive, is based on his view that all the coins which bear the name of the people of Elis were in fact struck at Olympia, and belong exclusively to the sacred site. The coins bearing as types the eagle or Victory or the head of Zeus were, he thinks, struck in the precincts of the temple of Zeus—which, by the way, did not exist when the earliest of them were issued—and the coins bearing the head of Hera in the precincts of the Heraeum, which does not appear to have had any precincts.

It has long been recognised that the coins have a close relation to the sacred site, and were issued largely in connection with the agonistic festival. But against the view that they were struck continuously and in the Altis itself there are certainly objections. Only a few of them, under special circumstances, bear the name of Olympia. Some of these seem to date from about the time of the *συννοικισμός* of the people of Elis, when their citadel was built; for the rest Mr. Seltman accepts the generally received date of 363, just after the Eleans had expelled the people of Pisa from the presidency of the games. It is difficult to agree with him that the inscription OAYNHIIKON stands for *Ὀλυμπικῶν*, which he interprets as *Ὀλυμπικῶν ἀγώνων σῆμα*. A great number of parallels, and especially that from the coins inscribed *Ἀρκαδικόν*, suggest that the form is really neuter, *Ὀλυμπικὸν νόμισμα*. For the other reading no parallel can be cited. And when FAAEION occurs on one side of the coins and OAYNHIIKON on the other, it is hardly possible to avoid putting the two together: 'The Olympian issue of the money of Elis.'

However, the point is of no great importance; whether the coins were minted at Elis or at Olympia, they belong alike to the state of Elis and to the sanctuary of Olympia. That the Eleans, the wealthiest people of Peloponnese, had no state coinage is most improbable. That the Zeus mint and the Hera mint worked independently Mr. Seltman has certainly proved: and this is a notable gain.

The least satisfactory section of the book is that which deals with the weights of the coins (p. 109). The author formulates the view that 'it is the Olympian standard, and not the Aeginetan, as has been generally supposed, upon which the Elean coins were struck.' The two standards are in fact identical: both are of Pheidonian origin. Mr. Seltman accepts the dictum of Sir W. Ridgeway that 'the ancient mint-master was no more inclined than his modern representative to put into coins of gold or silver a single grain more than the legal amount.' But this is quite inconsistent with the facts. In the pure silver coins of Athens, and even in the gold coins of Philip and Alexander, which do not lose weight by oxidation, there are found variations, not of a single grain, but of several grains. It has been a matter of dispute among numismatists whether the standard weights of series of coins should be decided by weighing the heaviest known example, or by taking an average of the well-preserved specimens. Neither system is satisfactory if accepted mechanically: one must use one's wits. But the dominant fact, which must never be lost sight of, is the well-established custom, in the case of ancient minters as well as in the Middle Ages, that the responsible officials had to strike a definite number of coins out of a given weight of metal. They had no means of exactly regulating the weights of individual specimens, as does the modern mint-master, but tried to approximate to an average. Thus if a few of the coins were somewhat heavier than what was due, they struck others lighter than what was due in compensation. Where the blanks were cast in a mould, as at Syracuse, greater exactness was possible; but in many issues the wide variations show rougher measures of adjustment. Thus the many savants who have busied themselves in trying by weighing to ascertain, often to the hundredth of a gramme, the precise legal standards of coins have laboured in vain: an approximation is all that is possible. In this matter, as in the case of the arrangements of the Greek theatre, and in other cases, modern prejudices have hindered the full understanding of ancient conditions.

However, setting aside these historic doubts, we must conclude by expressing our gratitude to Mr. Seltman for placing before us so orderly an arrangement of so beautiful and interesting a series of coins. It is a laborious piece of work successfully accomplished, and its value will be great to all students of Greek coins.

Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) in the British Museum. By H. B. WALTERS, M.A., F.S.A., O.B.E. Pp. xxiv + 70, with 30 collotype plates and 78 figures in the text. London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1921.

This handsome volume is slimmer than one could have wished. The British Museum is unfortunately less rich in ancient silver-plate than some of its continental rivals; it contains no single finds at all comparable to the great hoards from Hildesheim or Boscoreale or Berthouville. Moreover, the exigencies of organisation have relegated two of the most noteworthy of the treasures which it does possess—those from the Esquiline and from Carthage—to a different department; they have been admirably handled by Mr. Dalton in his *Catalogue of Christian Antiquities*, but there are so many points of contact between them and the later of the pieces with which Mr. Walters deals that it would have been very convenient to have had the whole group brought together, particularly as it is for the study of this later period that the present Catalogue will be most valuable.

Greek silver-work of the best period is extraordinarily uncommon everywhere. It is therefore not surprising that there are few examples of it here. On the other hand, the London specimens of the craftsmanship of Alexandria, as of the provincial industries to which it gave birth, are fairly numerous and representative. The table-service from Chaource and the patera from Caubiac might be singled out for special mention. But there is much besides that is arresting. So far as Britain itself is concerned, the votive tablets from Barkway and Stony Stratford are perhaps the most intrinsically interesting objects. The exiguous set of fragments from Coleraine tells precisely the same story as does the much more abundant series discovered a year or two ago in Scotland; the two must have been buried about the same time and under very similar circumstances. The condition of the Capheaton treasure suggests a different reflection. To spare the decorated parts of vessels is more like a modern vandal than an ancient one. Can they have been mutilated, not before they were concealed, but after they were discovered in 1747?

Mr. Walters has performed his task of description carefully and well, and the notes which he adds will be of material assistance to those who have occasion to use the book. The Introduction is a lucid and helpful summary of what is known as to the technique and the history of the silversmith's art in antiquity. On p. xiv it is truly said that 'during the best period of Greek art, from the sixth century down to the end of the fourth, we hear little of working in silver.' But a reference to the passage in which Thucydides explains the trick played upon the Athenian envoys by the Egestaeans would have been in place here. A few lines further down, where we are told that 'a cup by Acragas with hunting-scenes also enjoyed great fame,' room might have been found for mention of Th. Reinach's highly ingenious interpretation of the *Acragantis venatio* of Pliny: it is a singularly attractive conjecture and would account for an otherwise unknown artist. These, however, are trifles. Taken all in all, the *Catalogue* with its excellent illustrations is worthy of the great national institution with which it is associated. And there could be no higher praise.

GAMMA.

Λεξικὸν Ἑρμηνευτικόν. By GREGORIOS N. BERNARDAKIS. Athens: Petrakos, 1918.

Mr. Bernardakis, who is perhaps best known in England as the editor of Plutarch's *Moralia* in the Teubner series, has now produced under the above title a second edition of an earlier work. Besides having undergone a general revision, this edition differs from its predecessor in giving the explanation of passages quoted under one head only, while by means of an

index, or 'Ευρετήριο, a reference to any passage there will show every page and column of the lexicon where it is cited. Consequently, though containing more matter, it is less bulky than the earlier issue. Nevertheless it is a volume of considerable size, as the following statistics will show. It contains 24 pages of Introduction, followed by 1283 pages of double columns, 8½ inches in height by 5 in width, a full column containing 63 lines. It will be admitted that this is a great undertaking for any one man to venture upon, and the author is to be heartily congratulated on having brought his work to a successful conclusion.

As the title implies, his object has not been to compile a complete dictionary of the language—as indeed is plain from the contents of the first page, ἀάω. ἀβακίω. ἀβακίς. ἄβαλε. ἀβάπτιστος. ἀβασκάντως. ἄβατος.—but rather to use selected words as pegs on which to hang explanations and emendations of passages where he does not agree with the reading or exposition accepted by other scholars. To deal with these at all fully would require a volume rivalling the lexicon itself, but a few may be selected from the examples cited by the author himself in his introduction, and therefore, it may be presumed, those by which he would wish to be judged.

In the following passages he holds that no emendation is needed. *Æsch. Pers.* 815. ἐκπαιδεύεται. “οὐδέπω γάρ, φησί, τῶν κακῶν κρηπὶς ὑπόκειται οὐδὲ συνέστηκε· τὰ γὰρ κακά, ἤγον· ἢ μέλλουσα τῶν νεωτέρων γενεά, ἐκτρέφεται ἔτι καὶ ἐκπαιδεύεται καὶ παρασκευάζεται. (When full-grown) μέγιστα κακὰ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐργάζονται.”

Æsch. Ag. 967. “ἐξέτεινε σκιὰν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν (= ὑπερ—) τῶν κυνικῶν καυμάτων.”

Soph. Phil. 1128 seqq. “ἐρμήνευσον: ὁρᾶς (ἐμὲ) τὸν Ἡρακλέους διώδοχον (= τὸν Ἡράκλειον), ὧδε ἄθλιον (= οὕτως ἀθλίως διακείμενον: < < ποῦ εὐρίσκομαι εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀθλίαν κατὰστασιν > >), οὐκέτι χρῆστέμενόν σοι (= τῷ τόξῳ) τὸ μεθύστερον.”

Soph. Aj. 1281. οὐδὲ συμβῆναι ποδί. Teucer interprets the ποῦ βάντος ἢ ποῦ στάντος of Agamemnon as follows: “ὅπουδὴποτε ἔβαινεν ἢ ὅπουδὴποτε ἵστατο Αἴας, καὶ γὰρ παρὴν, πρῶτος μὲν ἐγώ, δεύτερος δ' ἐκεῖνος: ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγοῦμαι, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐφεπόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῦ ῥήμασι πειθόμενος. Κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ οὐδὲ συμβῆναι ποδί = οὐδὲ σὶν σοὶ βῆναι (συμβαδίσαι ὡς ἴσον ἴσῳ) ἀλλ' ἀκολουθῆσαι.” But can we understand so much here, or again in *Eur. Heracl.* 884: “Νόει ὧδε: ἵνα αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἴδῃς τὸν (ἄλλοτε) κρατοῦντα καὶ (νῦν) τῇ σῇ χειρὶ κρατούμενον (ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς χειρὸς ἐξουσιαζόμενον.)”?

The following passages he would emend:—

Soph. Fragm. 950. Θεία for Θεῖα, explaining οὐχ ὑπάρχει γῆρας τῶν σοφῶν, ἐν οἷς ὁ νοῦς θείας τροφῆς (τῆς σοφίας) γεγευμένος (ἀπολελανκώς) διώγει τὸν χρόνον., and referring for ξένεστι χρόνῳ to *Aj.* 622.

Eur. Phoen. 22. πείρας (ἀόρ. τοῦ πείρω) for σπείρας, omitting 26, 27.

Ar. Eq. 755, where by a slip Ἀχαρν. is printed for Ἰππ. (p. 17). ἐμπολίζων for ἐμποδίζων. “εὔρηται δὲ τὸ ἐμπολίζω παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ ὡς συνώνυμον τοῦ ἐναξονίζω . . . Ἐμπολίζων λοιπὸν σημαίνει: περὶ τῶν διὰ τῶν δύο πύλων (τῶν δύο ἄκρων) τῶν σέκων σπαρτιά, καὶ οὕτω ποιῶν ὁρμαθοῦς.”

Arist. Poet. c. 21. οἷον τὰ πολλὰ τῶν μεγαλειωτῶν, Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος * * (Bywater). But A' has μεγαλιωτῶν, and Mr. Bernardakis would extract from this μέγαν Δι' αὐτῶν, writing the whole passage thus: οἷον τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν, μέγαν Δι' αὐτῶν Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος.

These citations will suffice to show what the author offers to his readers, and it must be left to our leading scholars to decide what can be accepted, and what must be rejected.

Non nostrum . . . tantas componere lites.

H. W. G.

Ἀθηναῖκον Ἀρχοντολόγιον. Α'. Οἱ ἄρχοντες Μπενιζέλοι. By D. G. ΚΑΜΠΟΥΡΟΓΛΟΣ. Athens: Sidéres, 1921.

K. Kampoúroglos has long been known as a profound student of Turkish Athens, upon which he has published three volumes of documents and three more of a history, unfortunately not continued after 1687. The present treatise of 208 pages is the first instal-

ment of a biographical and genealogical account of the Athenian archontic families, which formed the first of the four classes composing Athenian society in Turkish times. Of these families that of the Benizéloi—not to be confounded with the still greater name of the famous Greek statesman of our day—is the most interesting, having produced a considerable number of local celebrities under the Turks. Tradition connects the Benizéloi with the Acciajuoli, the Florentine Dukes of Athens; but the first documentary mention of any member of this, the foremost of the 12 chief archontic families, occurs in the office of the Blessed Philothée, daughter of Angelos Benizélos. This patriarch of the family was born about 1490, and his celebrated daughter, whose remains are still an object of veneration, was martyred by the Turks in 1589. The Benizéloi produced several prominent teachers, notably Angelos 'the triumphant,' so-called for his victory in a theological discussion, commemorated in the poem of Bouboúles; Demétrios, mentioned by Babin and Spon; and Joánnēs, the historian of Athens in the latter half of the eighteenth century. They can boast of an artist, who decorated the monastery of Phaneroméne in Salamis, and their name is commemorated in an inscription of 1682 in the still more famous monastery of Kaisariané, which was traditionally connected with them and the family of Chalkokondyles, the last Athenian historian of the Middle Ages. In modern times, as English readers will learn with interest, the mother of K. Gennádiōs, for long Greek Minister in London, was the daughter of a Benizélos. This scholarly little book ends with a genealogical tree of the Benizéloi.

WILLIAM MILLER.

New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature: Recent Discoveries in Greek Poetry and Prose of the Fourth and following Centuries B.C.

Edited by J. U. POWELL and E. A. BARBER. Pp. xi + 166. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 10s. 6d. net.

The need of such a volume as this, gathering together the results of recent discoveries, has long been felt, and the editors and contributors have earned the gratitude of all students. One may indeed wish—human beings are notoriously an ungrateful race!—that they had widened the scope of their undertaking to include recent additions to Greek literature of all periods; but that would, of course, have meant a much bigger volume, which in these days would have involved heavy expense, and we must be thankful for what we are given, hoping that the editors may some day follow up their gift with a second.

Apart from one or two exceptions, like the appendix to Chapter V, in which a brief description of the farce and mime in P. Oxy. 413 and the mime in Pap. Londin. 1984 is given, the editors have fixed their lower limit of time in the second century B.C.; thus the volume really includes only the sub-classical period of the fourth century B.C., and the Hellenistic period down to the virtual absorption of the Greek world into the Roman Empire. Within these limits of time the editors have cast their net widely, and the volume gives a very complete review of the recent discoveries. It does not aim at furnishing an exhaustive bibliography of the works mentioned, but the principal editions and most important commentaries are usually referred to, and the character and literary merits (or demerits) of the compositions are indicated.

There is possibly, here and there, a tendency to overrate the importance of the new finds, but that is natural enough in the circumstances, and is certainly better than the excessive depreciation with which some scholars, disappointed in their (often absurdly exaggerated) expectations, have treated them. Perhaps the tendency referred to is most marked in Mr. Lumb's chapter on Menander. That he should emphasise the many merits of that, in his degree, admirable writer, as against the quite unjust strictures of several critics, is all to the good; but he surely exaggerates them in more than one place. In his synopsis of the *Περικειρομένη* he rather misses the fun of Sosias's 'army'; and he should not speak (p. 91) of the fragments coming 'chiefly from the tombs and earthen vessels of Egypt'; 'ruins and rubbish heaps' would be a better representation of the facts. But these are small points; the chapter is to be welcomed as a salutary corrective to the popular depreciation of Menander.

Mr. G. C. Richards gives a very discriminating review of the *mimiambi* of Herondas; and wholly admirable is Mr. E. M. Walker's account of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* and the *Athenaion Politeia*. It is, however, invidious to single out individual chapters; the whole volume can be read with profit, though not all the views expressed in it will meet with equal acceptance. Already, too, some additions have to be recorded both to the list of new discoveries and to the bibliographical references on those dealt with; but that is inevitable so long as new discoveries of papyri continue to be made.

Callimachi Fragmenta nuper Reperta (*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, herausgegeben von HANS LIETZMANN, No. 145). Edidit RUDOLFUS PFEIFFER. Pp. 94. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1921.

This admirable series, which is now familiar to workers in many different spheres, continues to grow steadily, despite the difficulties of the time, and the present volume will be not less welcome to the classical scholar than its predecessors in the same field. The editor in his brief preface explains that his first intention was to include only the more important fragments found in the papyrus or vellum MSS. from Egypt, but he eventually decided to add also the smaller scraps recovered from scholia, lexica or papyri. These scraps are often small or of little value, but it is convenient to have a complete collection, and his decision is therefore to be commended. He gives, besides the texts, brief introductions and bibliographies to the single pieces and a rather full critical commentary, dealing separately with scholia (where these are found in the papyri concerned), questions of reading, and points of interpretation. He has collated the Berlin papyri, and incorporates new readings of the Geneva vellum fragment, supplied by Prof. Martin. As he has also done a good deal himself in the way of restoration and interpretation, it will be seen that the volume, like others in the series, is not a mere school-book but a substantial contribution to knowledge. In one respect, through no fault of his, it is ill-timed; it appeared just before the publication, in Part XV. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, of some important new Callimachean fragments. But this is a fate to which all workers in the field of papyrology are liable, and it may be hoped that a second edition will be called for, in which the new fragments can be incorporated. The editor indeed, in a note at the end, expresses the hope that he may be able to include them in an 'editio maior cum indice verborum,' which he is to publish shortly; and he also promises a volume of 'Kallimachosstudien,' to which there are frequent references in the notes to the present volume.

Jules Nicole, 1842-1921. Edited by CHARLES BERNARD. Pp. 79. Genève: Edition *Revue Mensuelle*, [1922]. Fr. 4.

This is a memorial volume in honour of the regretted Prof. Nicole of Geneva. Various scholars, Swiss, French, German, and British, have contributed appreciations or reminiscences of the deceased scholar, of whom an excellent photograph serves as frontispiece. Prof. Jouguet has compiled a bibliography of Nicole's works; Georges Nicole, the son of the subject of the memoir, contributes a translation of the *Georgos* of Menander, acquired and edited by Nicole, with a photograph of one page of the MS., and several of Nicole's articles, chiefly on papyri, but including also a very interesting one on Isaac Casaubon's *Journal*, are reprinted, together with some of his poems. The volume is a pleasing act of homage to the memory of an excellent scholar and very attractive personality, and it gives a good idea of the great services rendered by him to classical studies in general and to the University of Geneva in particular. The purchase of the Geneva collection of papyri is a lasting memorial of his enthusiasm and energy; and it is pleasant to know that the traditions set by him are being continued by his successor, Prof. Martin, who has recently been instrumental in securing an addition to the papyrus collection.

British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia (Nabataea, Arabia Provincia, S. Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Alexandrine Empire of the East, Persis, Elymais, Characene). By G. F. HILL, F.B.A. Pp. ccxx + 360, Map, 55 plates. London, 1922. £3 10s.

This volume brings much nearer completion the splendid series which it adorns; there remain to be published but the Catalogues of Cyrene, Carthage and N. Africa, Spain and Gaul, and at the other end of the world the coins of Alexander. Here we have an account of what may be called the Semitic and Iranian fringe: just as no one but Mr. Hill could have written it, so no one in the kingdom is competent to review it.

Of the most generally attractive group, the coinage of the Achaemenids (Pl. XXIV.-XXVII.), Mr. Hill has lately treated in this Journal and no more need be said: it leads on to the coins of Alexander struck at Babylon (Pl. XX.-XXIII.), which offer a clear example of the continuity of his empire with that of the Achaemenids; his satraps such as Mazaeus were more inclined to follow the Greek fashion. Mr. Hill is ready to allow that the famous decadrachm (Pl. XXII. 18) with the horseman attacking an elephant may celebrate the victory over Porus. In this and in the view that the punch-marks on the Darics were not impressed in India he is supported by Dr. G. Macdonald in the *Cambridge History of India*. The coinage of Mesopotamia (Pl. XII.-XIX.) is perhaps the least interesting part of the book, being mostly city issues of Antonine and later date with Greek and Latin inscriptions. Edessa furnishes the only exception with its royal coins, the earliest of them with Aramaic writing. In the other regions it is the Greek which gives way to Semitic scripts. The rest of the area is occupied by obscure kingdoms. The task of working out their skeleton history mainly falls upon the numismatist: from the coins we learn the kings' names and sometimes their dates; more often they have to be set in order by considerations of type and style; rarely do inscriptions or literary sources, Classical and Oriental, afford any help; but of all this evidence Mr. Hill is master.

Apart from names and dates, the Nabatean coins (Pl. I.-III.) are interesting for the simultaneous use of two standards intended for commerce in different directions; after the kingdom was reduced to a Roman province the emblems of various Semitic gods, some of them going back to Old Testament times, call for most attention (Pl. III.-VII. 2). The Sabaeen and Himyarite coins (Pl. VII. 3-XI. 19) with their imitation of Attic types are one more evidence of the wide range of Attic commerce: the Aramaic (?) inscription which appears side by side with the S. Arabian monograms has not yet been deciphered: Mr. Hill has separated from the Sabaeen and Himyarite series certain coins that he ascribes to the Katabanians and Minaeans. Other imitations of Attic types come from N. Arabia (Pl. XI. 20-26, LV. 2-9).

In the other Semitic region of Characene (Pl. XLIII.-XLVI.) round about Muhammerah the war, as is not surprising, has added to our knowledge: to it we owe a hoard of coins struck by a new king Attambelos (Pl. LV. 10-14) who comes before the known Attambeli, so that they must be renumbered. The name has been interpreted as 'the gift of Ba'al' but the literary Greek forms Ἀθάμβιλος, Σάμβιλος suggest something like an Arabic **ظ** or **ض** and a meaning like 'Ba'al has strengthened' (cf. Gedaliah): no form is very like the name on XLV. 3-XLVI. 16 which seems to read Atmabiaz. As between the two forms ABINHPTAOY and AΔINHPTAOY (cf. Josephus, Ἀβενήριος), the former is supported by the easy interpretation 'Nergal is my Father' (cf. Abijah), and the triangular form of B on the Avroman Parchments (*J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 26) makes a mistake easier: though again a form like Iddinna-nabu, 'the gift of Nebo,' gives a possible sense to the second reading: neither seems connected with the name on Pl. XLIV. 11, 12 that Lidzbarski plausibly reads Ibignai. The other names of the dynasty look rather Iranian.

In the true Iranian region Mr. Hill first discusses the coins of Andragoras and the related coins and ring from the Oxus treasure with Uḫṣu: he has convinced himself of their genuineness and puts them round about 300 B.C. in N. Persia. For the coinages of Persis (Pl. XXVIII.-XXXVII. 1, 250 B.C.-A.D. 230) and Elymais (Pl. XXXVIII.-XLII.) he

mostly follows Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe. They remind us that the Parthian Empire was only the greatest of the Iranian kingdoms.

But the chief importance of all these coins is not so much historical or strictly numismatic as epigraphic, as aids to the study of the dark ages of Semitic writing. By them we can trace the changes in Aramaic letters from the clear forms of Mazaeus till they merge into Protohebrew in Persis, into Mandaean in Characene, into something not unlike Estrangelo in Edessa and till in Nabatean a few forms are on their way to Kufic. The Himyaritic, the ancestor of Ethiopic, is clear enough save for its habit of making monograms: the Aramaic is less unfamiliar, but in these later alphabets several letters are like 7 and others like l, so conjecture would be unrestrained were it not for the severely critical spirit in which Mr. Hill takes the proposals of former scholars and nearly always produces an acceptable result.

Mr. Hill has given an excellent table to the degraded script of Persis. It would have been a help to the mere classic who wishes to study the coins intelligently, if the author had given the same to all the others: it is laborious to construct tables for oneself and those published are rather out of our beat. Also it would have been helpful if the coin-legends discussed in the Introduction could have been repeated in its text instead of being given only in the actual catalogue.

Six supplementary plates, giving room for nearly a hundred coins, include so many of the important specimens belonging to other collections, that the volume almost counts as a *Corpus Numorum* within its limits. It is a most solid contribution to the history of the Nearer East from Alexander to Ardashir.

E. H. M.

The Legacy of Greece. Edited by R. W. LIVINGSTONE. Pp. 424. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 7s. 6d.

The idea of this work is a happy and a timely one: a statement of what Greece has taught and can still teach the modern world. The writers describe the great and manifold achievements of a civilisation which owed comparatively little to its predecessors or its contemporaries: and they argue that the study of that civilisation has a special value for the world of to-day; since Greece is the source from which most of the ideas which constitute our modern culture are directly or indirectly derived, and if we would understand these ideas thoroughly we must investigate them at the source. In the words of the Dean of St. Paul's, our civilisation is 'a river which has received affluents from every side; but its head waters are Greek.'

Prof. Murray speaks of the straightforwardness, sanity and distinction of the Greek genius in an introductory essay which is a model of suavity. Dr. Inge, in his essay on religion, is not concerned with Hesiod and Æschylus, with Zeus, Dionysus and Apollo, but with the Christian Church, the dogma and organisation of which he shows to be rooted in Hellenism: he lays more stress than any of his fellow-contributors on the continuity of Western culture from Greek times to the present, and the eccentricity of his attitude may be forgiven him on that account. Prof. Burnet traces the development of Greek philosophical speculation, and maintains that our philosophers may learn from the Greeks to take a broader and humaner view of their task. The chapters contributed by Sir Thomas Heath, Dr. Charles Singer, and Prof. D'Arcy Thompson provide the best short account of Greek science in English and form one of the most valuable portions of the book. Dr. Singer writes so genially that it seems pedantic to point out that the picture on p. 266 is an Attic work of about 480-470 B.C., not an Ionian of about 400.

From this point onwards the chapters are less narratory and more reflective: the main facts about Greek literature, history and art being taken as known. Mr. Livingstone's essay on Greek literature follows the excellent precedent set by himself in his previous treatments of the subject. I wonder whether the lover of English literature might not accuse him of a certain unfairness. Unless we read Mr. Livingstone very closely, we may be inclined to say that he pays too much attention to the literature of the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries, which is after all only one phase of our literature; that he has a habit of placing the worst English verses he can find (pp. 264–266) beside the best Greek verses, and bidding us observe the superiority of the Greek; as if there were no bad or mediocre verses in Greek literature, whereas the lines quoted on p. 282 are a good example of the epic style turned somewhat blowsy; and that he is overstating his case when he maintains that such directness of expression as we find in the Homeric farewell of Hector can hardly be paralleled in our literature; since we can point to the Farewell of Launcelot and Guenever in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and to hundreds of other passages in the same book. The answer to these objections would be that Mr. Livingstone is especially concerned, in this essay, with dangers which beset us at present and to which we have often been prone in the past; that while simplicity, and moving simplicity, is a common quality, found even in Gipsy and Blackfellow tales, Greek literature is characterised by a union of simplicity with elaborate complexity through a strong sense of style and form; that although this union appears in our best writers as well as in Greece, all our best writers are products of a civilisation which is a branch of the classical, and nearly all of them have been directly, consciously and profoundly affected by classical literature.

Mr. Toynbee frightens us a little when he announces his intention of treating the history of ancient Greece as a work of art, or more precisely as a tragedy in five acts; but he treads the wire so deftly that we soon lay our fear aside. Mr. Zimmern discourses on the political thought of Greece with all the stops out, paints a richly coloured picture of the Greek citizen, who 'brought to politics the best of Conservatism, together with the best of Radicalism,' and then sets to work on a vaster canvas, where against a background of contorted personifications a baroque Thucydides is submitted to apotheosis. Prof. Gardner describes the Lamps of Greek Art, eight in number. I am not sure if he will win Greece many friends by belittling other artistic periods—Egyptian, Gothic, post-Renaissance—or by such challengeable statements as that the Greek athletes and spectators thought more of form (he means style) than the modern, or that 'among the most notable achievements of chemistry are poison-gases.' The notion of comparing the Vatican Demosthenes with Barnard's underrated Lincoln was a good one; but the Demosthenes should have been given his true hands; and the argument from photographs would be better away. The Heaulmière is hardly comparable with the Conservatori Shepherdess: especially as the head of the shepherdess is by an Italian sculptor of about 1870.

The book concludes with a spirited account of Greek architecture by Sir Reginald Blomfield.

The editor describes the book as the first of its kind in English. Zielinski's magnificent defence of classical studies has long been available in an English translation; but the plan of the present work is different. Its great interest and value will be clear, I think, from what I have said. Every Hellenist will find much in it which he did not know or had not thought of. It is not addressed, however, to Hellenists only, or perhaps mainly, but to a wider circle of educated and critical readers; and that is why I have signalled certain exaggerations which I regard as tactical errors.

J. D. B.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—In the notice of Mr. A. J. Reinach's *Recueil Milliet*, published in the last number of this journal (vol. xli, page 300, line 1), *exprimment* should be read for *experiment*. The editors apologise for this misprint, which was introduced after the proofs had been corrected. The reviewer is therefore not responsible for it.

THE INTERPRETATION OF GREEK MUSIC

I. INTONATION IN GENERAL

Inadequacy of our Theory. To whoever may desire to understand the music of ancient Greece, I would recommend that he put away from his mind that sense of superiority which our progress in counterpoint, harmony, form and orchestration has engendered, and devote his attention to the shortcomings of our music, for they relate to those very matters concerning which Greek music has the most to teach us.

Our music has come down to us from remote ages through the Greek system. The first stage in its progress was marked by the collection of a multiplicity of Harmonies and modes, not unlike those upon which the classical music of India is based. Of the diatonic scales, some were *soft*, employing septimal or soft intervals, and others were *hard*, employing semitones, and major and minor tones, differing among themselves in the order in which these intervals were strung together. The Greeks may have added to this collection. Their chief contributions to musical progress, however, were instrumental heterophony and the science of intervals. They were driven to the use of the former by the tyranny of the 'metrici.' Thus the long and short of Greek poetry led indirectly to the harmonic system of music, which is one of the main achievements of European civilisation. The foundations of musical science were laid by Pythagoras. The results of his labours were soon apparent in the classification of the enormous number of scales in use, the adoption of a musical notation based upon an intricate system of correlated keys, and the art of modulation. In the break-up of Roman and Greek civilisation, the subtle distinctions between the various Harmonies were the first features of the music to go under. Curiously enough, the innovations introduced by the master minds of Greece survived in the art of modulation, and the contrapuntal tradition. A new series of keys was invented. This degenerated, under the growing influence of keyed instruments, and the craze for unlimited modulation, into the musical freak of equal temperament, in which a scale, grotesquely out of focus, is set up as a standard and basis of theory. Players on the pianoforte and organ perform tempered music in tempered tones to admiring audiences. Orchestras are given tempered music to play, and are expected to find out for themselves without the guidance of an adequate theory, how to bring it into focus. Naturally enough, the Pythagorean or ditonal scale, which employs major tones only, and is for that reason the nearest thing in the hard diatonic to equal temperament, has an immense vogue. It is perhaps the ugliest scale that was ever put

together. The Indians and Greeks combined a ditonal tetrachord, for the sake of the contrast, with some other form of diatonic. There is no evidence¹ that they ever sang or played, as we do, in the ditonal scale. I think that we too would tire of it if it were not wrapped up in various ways and disguised by much modulation.

The theory, notation and terminology of temperament are unequal to the task of interpreting the Greek keys and describing the Greek Harmonies. I propose to name the intervals with which real music is concerned in the simplest terms possible, and to make slight alterations in the accidentals of the staff notation. The theory of real music, treated from the standpoint of the musician, is a new science.

Intervals. Of the names of intervals in the following table, some are new, such as those which include the appellation 'soft,' and the terms used to differentiate the varieties of the semitone. I have seen the terms false fifth and false fourth applied, quite unnecessarily, to the diminished fifth and augmented fourth. As I use them, they point out a vital distinction. The 'soft' intervals are derived from septimal harmony, that is; directly or indirectly, from the seventh partial tone. The others can all be got from different combinations of the first six partial tones and the intervals formed by them. Thus the fourth from the fifth gives the major tone $(\frac{3}{2} \div \frac{4}{3} = \frac{9}{8})$. The fourth less the major third is the semitone $(\frac{4}{3} \div \frac{5}{4} = \frac{16}{15})$. The major tone less the semitone is the residual semitone $(\frac{9}{8} \div \frac{16}{15} = \frac{135}{128})$. The major third less the major tone is the minor tone $(\frac{5}{4} \div \frac{9}{8} = \frac{10}{9})$; and the minor tone less the semitone is the small residual semitone $(\frac{10}{9} \div \frac{16}{15} = \frac{25}{24})$. The rough minor third, one of the most important intervals in music, contains a minor tone and a semitone $(\frac{10}{9} \times \frac{16}{15} = \frac{32}{27})$. If the major tone be subtracted from it, the diminished semitone or *λεῖμμα* will result $(\frac{32}{27} \div \frac{9}{8} = \frac{256}{243})$.

¹ The use of the ditonal numbers for the notes of the Lydian key, by late and ignorant authors (such as 'Anonymus'), is no evidence, in my opinion. Want of

space prevents my doing more than presenting a bald outline of the views I hold regarding the history of music.

TABLE OF INTERVALS FROM THE FIFTH TO THE SEMITONE

Interval.	Ratio.	Content in cents to the nearest integer.	Interval.	Ratio.	Content in cents to the nearest integer.
1. Fifth	$\frac{3}{2}$	702	13. Soft tone	$\frac{8}{7}$	231
2. False fifth	$\frac{40}{27}$	680	14. Major tone	$\frac{9}{8}$	204
3. Diminished fifth	$\frac{64}{45}$	610	15. Minor tone	$\frac{10}{9}$	182
4. Augmented fourth	$\frac{45}{32}$	590	16. Semitone	$\frac{16}{15}$	112
5. False fourth	$\frac{27}{20}$	520	17. Residual semitone	$\frac{135}{128}$	92
6. Fourth	$\frac{4}{3}$	498	18. Diminished semitone	$\frac{256}{243}$	90
7. Soft ditone	$\frac{9}{7}$	435	19. Soft semitone	$\frac{21}{20}$	85
8. Ditone	$\frac{81}{64}$	408	20. Small residual semitone	$\frac{25}{24}$	70
9. Major third	$\frac{5}{4}$	386	21. Small soft semitone	$\frac{28}{27}$	63
10. Minor third	$\frac{6}{5}$	316			
11. Rough minor third	$\frac{32}{27}$	294			
12. Soft minor third	$\frac{7}{6}$	267			

To these may be added the *simple quarter-tone* or comma ($\frac{81}{80}$; cents 22).

This interval results when the minor tone is subtracted from the major tone, or the rough minor third from the minor third, or the diminished semitone from the semitone. There are other varieties of 'quarter-tone,' but their importance is not such as to demand a special terminology. The quarter-tone in general may be defined as the remainder when one variety of semitone is subtracted from another. I propose also to use the term *enharmonic* in a special sense. If two notes differ in pitch by a simple quarter-tone I shall call the lower note the 'enharmonic' of the higher note. Thus, if the upper note in the interval of the fifth be replaced by its enharmonic, the false fifth will result.

Accidentals: Hard. I take $c\flat$ as the enharmonic of $c\sharp$, and $c\sharp$ as the enharmonic of $c\flat$. I distinguish the sharps in the same manner, using the signs \sharp , $\sharp\sharp$, $\sharp\sharp\sharp$, and for the flats I take \flat , $\flat\flat$ and $\flat\flat\flat$. In the matter of tuning, pitch C will be $c''\flat$. The table which follows shows how the notes are connected by strings of just fifths; separate signs for the different octaves are omitted, being unnecessary.

² Intervals 7 to 9 are all varieties of the major third.

ENHARMONIC PROGRESSION

1st string.	2nd string.	3rd string	4th string.
a \sharp	a \sharp		
d \sharp	d \sharp		
g \sharp	g \sharp		
c \sharp	c \sharp		
f \sharp	f \sharp	f \sharp	
	b \natural	b \natural	
	e \natural	e \natural	
	a \natural	a \natural	
	d \natural	d \natural	
	g \natural	g \natural	g \natural
	c \natural	c \natural	c \natural
	f \natural	f \natural	f \natural
	b \flat	b \flat	b \flat
	e \flat	e \flat	e \flat
	a \flat	a \flat	a \flat
		d \flat	d \flat
		g \flat	g \flat
		e \flat	e \flat
		f \flat	f \flat

The ditonal scale, being built up from fifths only, will take its notes from one and the same string. Hence notes of the same string will give the following intervals,—the fifth, fourth, ditone, rough minor third, major tone, diminished semitone. If the semitone or minor third above a given note be required, it will be found in the next higher string; the major third will be found in the next lower string. The note which is a minor tone above a given note also belongs to the next lower string. It may be observed that the low sharps (\sharp) belong to the first string, the low naturals (\natural) to the second, and the low flats (\flat) to the third; the ordinary sharps (\sharp) belong to the second, the ordinary naturals (\natural) to the third, and the ordinary flats (\flat) to the fourth. We can manage to dispense with high flats, but will on some rare occasions require three extra low flats (\flat). I think the following progression by semitones is worth the space it occupies, as it is easily memorised, and when grasped makes the whole system clear. The skhismatic progression is indispensable. The skhisma is the difference (approximately 2 cents) between the major third, and the nearest approach to that interval to be got from a string of fifths.

$$386 - (5 \times 1200 - 8 \times 702) = 386 - 384 = 2.$$

PROGRESSION BY THE JUST SEMITONE $\left(\frac{16}{15}\right)^3$ *Strings*

1.	2.	3.	4.
		f \sharp	g \sharp
	a \sharp	b \natural	c \sharp
	d \sharp	e \natural	f \sharp
	g \sharp	a \natural	b \flat
	c \sharp	d \natural	e \flat
	f \sharp	g \natural	a \flat
a \sharp	b \natural	c \natural	d \flat
d \sharp	e \natural	f \natural	g \flat
g \sharp	a \natural	b \flat	c \flat
c \sharp	d \natural	e \flat	f \flat
f \sharp	g \natural	a \flat	
	c \natural	d \flat	
	f \natural	g \flat	
	b \flat	c \flat	
	e \flat	f \flat	

PROGRESSION BY THE SKHISMA

String.

1. a \sharp d \sharp g \sharp c \sharp f \sharp b \flat e \flat a \flat d \flat g \flat c \flat f \flat b \flat e \flat a \flat
2. a \sharp d \sharp g \sharp c \sharp f \sharp b \flat e \flat a \flat d \flat g \flat c \flat f \flat b \flat e \flat a \flat
3. f \sharp b \flat e \flat a \flat d \flat g \flat c \flat f \flat b \flat e \flat a \flat d \flat g \flat c \flat f \flat
4. g \flat c \flat f \flat

The last table teaches us that, for all practical purposes, a high sharp is equivalent to an ordinary flat, an ordinary sharp to a low flat, and a low sharp to an extra low flat.

Accidentals: Soft. The hard minor seventh, a discordant interval, such as c \natural to b \flat , or g \natural to f \flat , is the octave less the major tone ($\frac{2}{1} \div \frac{9}{8} = \frac{16}{9}$; cents 996). When this interval is flattened to a certain point, it is resolved into a rich soft semi-consonance, without beats, the soft minor seventh, $\frac{7}{4}$, cents 969. In the notation, we shall mark the relationship between these intervals by a similarity of sign, and draw attention to the septimal origin of the soft minor seventh by using the figure 7. The soft counterpart of b \flat will be b \flat 7,

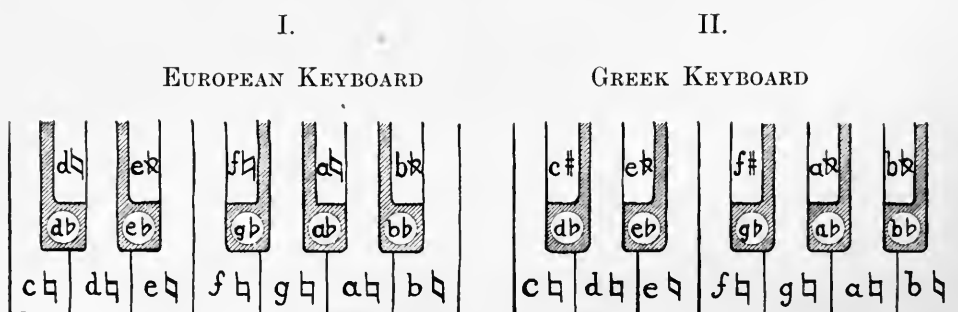
³ A low sharp is here followed by a low natural, a low natural by a low flat, and so on. If both are naturals or flats, the lower

note takes the lower variety of accidental. The varieties of hard diatonic are therefore easily described.

of $b\flat$, $b\flat7$, of $d\flat$, $d\flat7$, of $f\sharp$, $f\sharp7$. In the chord of the seventh $g\flat b\flat d\flat f\flat$, the root, fifth and seventh belong to the same string. It is therefore a matter of extreme simplicity to discover a note which is a soft tone below, or a soft minor third above a given note. For example, a $b\flat7$ is a soft minor third above $f\flat$, and $d\flat7$ a soft minor third above $b\flat$.

Suggestions for a Keyboard. The niceties of intonation with which we have to deal need not arouse any misgiving. One need not have a phenomenally good ear to learn to detect major tones, minor tones and soft intervals. I have known an uneducated Indian girl pick up in a very short time the soft intervals of some of the rarer Indian *rāgas*, and sing them with accuracy and without the slightest hesitation. When a European audience rewards a singer or soloist on the violin or 'cello with rapturous applause because of the exquisite *feeling* he has shown, the secret of his success is to be discovered in the felicity with which he has (perhaps unconsciously) managed his quarter-tones and other intonational nuances.⁴ Gifted musicians constantly employ these shades of meaning. My own limited experience further leads me to the opinion that the more highly educated and trained the performer the less sense of harmony does he exhibit.

The best way to train the ear to detect real intervals is to have an American organ constructed with seventeen notes to the octave, to arrange suitable music for it, and to familiarise one's self with different scales. I suggest the following keyboards and tuning, the one on the left for European music, and the one on the right to render the extant specimens of Greek music accurately intoned.



The extra keys may be coloured red ; they should be raised above the black keys and should be placed sufficiently far back to allow of easy access to the black keys. It is possible to place seventeen vibrators with their action side by side without widening the octave unduly. These keyboards will present no great difficulty to the player.

⁴ I have often heard really musical soloists jodeling for two voices, I have heard it in indulgence in septimal harmony. In Swiss the lower part.

TUNING METHOD (WITHOUT BEATS)

	I.	II.
Fifths from c ♮	(1) up g ♮-d ♮ a ♮.	(1) up g ♮-d ♮ a ♮.
	(2) down f ♮-b ♭ e ♮.	(2) down f ♮-b ♭ e ♮ a ♮.
Major thirds from c ♮	(1) up e ♮.	(1) up e ♮.
	(2) down a ♮.	(2) down a ♮.
Fifths from a ♭	(1) up e ♭-b ♭ f ♮.	(1) up e ♭-b ♭.
	(2) down d ♭-g ♭.	(2) down d ♭-g ♭.
Fifths from e ♮	(1) up b ♮.	up b ♮-f ♯ c ♯.
	(2) down a ♮-d ♮.	

The owner should learn to tune the instrument himself. Vibrators will not keep in tune for long; and in real music everything depends upon accuracy.

II. GREEK INTONATION

Preliminary. No one can tackle the Greek notation with any chance of success unless he makes a preparatory study of the structure of scales. Pythagoras was the father of this branch of science. Other philosophers could devise no better method than to lump together all the scales they knew and guess what equal division of the octave might produce all the notes required. This method was followed in ancient India. The number guessed was 22. The octave was conceived of as consisting of 22 śrutis, of which 4 went to the major tone, 3 to the minor tone and 2 to the just semitone. I mention this fact as I find the śruti figures convenient for the brief description of true diatonic scales. In Greece, musical philosophers thought the tetrachord the most useful instrument for the classification of scales.⁵ They divided their tetrachords into three genera, the enharmonic, chromatic and diatonic. Aristoxenos was a prolific writer who has been extensively quoted by later authors. He scorned the application of numbers to music.⁶ He preferred his own slipshod method of guesswork. Like the rest of the Greeks he thought in terms of the E mode. In order that what he says on the subject of the three genera may be better understood, I give the typical tetrachords in staff notation—

hypate	parhypate	lichanos	mese	hypate	parhypate	lichanos	mese	hypate	parhypate	lichanos	mese
											
ENHARMONIC				CHROMATIC				DIATONIC			

⁵ A scale might take tetrachord X followed by tetrachord Y. Thus two tetrachords might explain four scales, namely,

xx, yy, xy, yx.

⁶ Dr. Macran's *Harmonics of Aristoxenos*, Oxford, 1902, p. 189.

The two intervals between the hypate and the lichanos were termed the pyknon; the hypate was the barypyknos, the parhypate the mesopyknos, and the lichanos the oxypyknos. The hypate and mese were *φθόγγοι ἐστῶτες* or invariable tones and the parhypate and lichanos *κινούμενοι*, that is of course having regard to the construction of tetrachords. Aristoxenos gives one species of enharmonic, three chromatic, namely syntono-, hemiolio-, and malako-chromatic, and two diatonic, the soft, malako-diatonic, and the hard, syntono-diatonic. He tells us that the enharmonic *pyknon* contains two enharmonic dieses. He estimates elsewhere that the enharmonic diesis amounts to one fourth of the difference between the fifth and fourth.⁷ The enharmonic pyknon gives a lichanos a half tone above the hypate. He describes no other enharmonic tetrachord. He lays down that the lowest chromatic lichanos is one-sixth of a tone higher than the enharmonic. He also informs us that the tendency in his time was to degrade the enharmonic into a variety of the chromatic by widening the *pyknon* (*Harmonic*, i. 25). Ptolemy (*Harmonic*, i. 14) describes a number of tetrachords by relative string lengths. The enharmonic he gives may be represented thus $g \frac{1}{2}, a \frac{1}{2}, b, c \frac{1}{2}$. In such a scale, melody would naturally fall into some such figure as $g \frac{1}{2}, a \frac{1}{2}, c \frac{1}{2}, a \frac{1}{2}, g \frac{1}{2}$, the intervals being semitone $\left(\frac{16}{15}\right)$, major third $\left(\frac{5}{4}\right)$, soft ditone $\left(\frac{9}{7}\right)$ small soft semitone $\left(\frac{27}{28}\right)$. I have not space to discuss the rest of Ptolemy's scales. The inference to be drawn is that the enharmonic *pyknon* consisted of two intervals, semitone, quarter-tone,⁸ in that order, amounting together to a just semitone; the chromatic contained two semitones, and the diatonic a semitone followed by a tone.

The Diatonic falls into two broad classes, the soft, which employs septimal harmony, and the hard. The latter includes the ditonal and the True Diatonic. The True Diatonic is made up of three major tones, two minor tones and two just semitones. There are five varieties in common use in our own music. They were also contained in the Greek system of keys, as I shall show. Other forms of true diatonic scale are possible. As we think mostly in terms of the major scale, I give the five scales in that form. In order that the scales may be the better compared on the first of the two organs above described, I give two examples of each. The position of the false fourth or fifth, which is an important factor in the harmony, is shown by brackets, and the *sruti* figures are given below each scale.

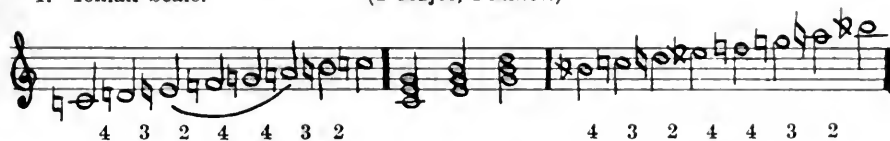
⁷ This is the major tone. The diesis of Aristoxenos was a conception of no practical value.

⁸ According to the classification herein followed. 'Quarter-tone' is here used in its general sense.

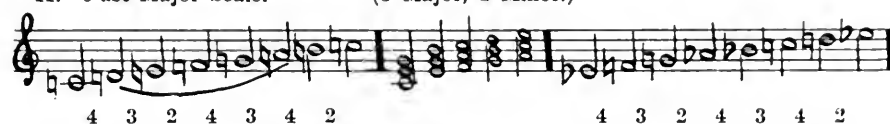
TRUE DIATONIC SCALES

COMMON CHORDS

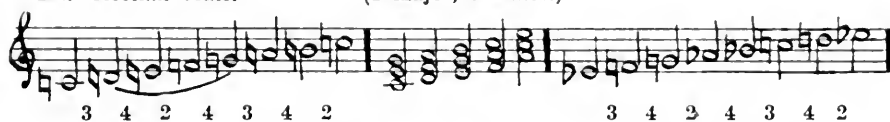
I. Ionian Scale. (2 Major, 1 Minor.)



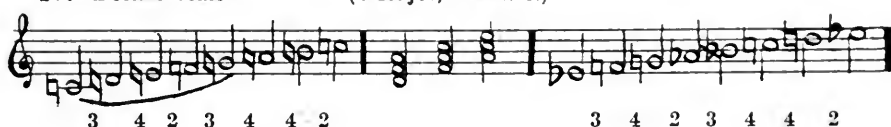
II. Just Major Scale. (3 Major, 2 Minor.)



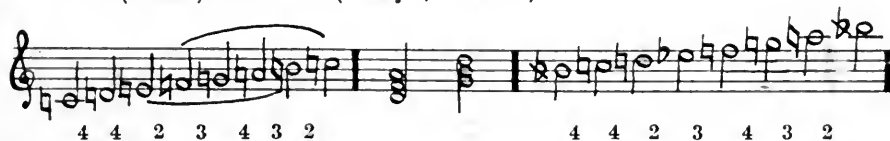
III. Aeolian Scale. (2 Major, 3 Minor.)



IV. Dorian Scale. (1 Major, 2 Minor.)



V. Scale of Raga Kanada (Indian). (1 Major, 1 Minor.)



In our music, diatonic passages of any length rarely remain faithful to one form of scale. Enharmonic changes are the rule rather than the exception. An example of Scale I is the opening theme of Tschaikowsky's *Seasons—July*; of Scale II, the first theme of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*; of Scale III, the main theme of the *Andante* from the fifth *Symphony*. Our Minor (descending melodic form) is generally in Scale III. IV and V are found in passing modulations, more especially the former. The fifth *Symphony* of Beethoven—first phrase in octaves—seems to me, as played, very like No. V, A mode.

I conclude this subsection with a note on the subject of modes. The C mode may be taken in Scales I, II, or III. IV is used when a passing modulation is made into the supertonic minor. I and IV suit the D mode, both fourth and fifth coming out true, but I is preferable as IV gives what is very little else than a variety of the minor mode. The oriental D mode is almost always in Scale I.

The E mode may be taken in II, III, or IV ; its ethos varies from sweetness to strength in that order. The same remark applies to the A mode which may be taken in Scales II, III, IV, or V. Scale V gives an extremely rugged and manly scale, very popular in India. The G mode is best in Scale I, and the F mode in Scale II. The B mode is merely a variety of the E mode, and need not be discussed separately. In harmonising the modes, if he wishes to preserve their purity, the student must avoid spurious concords. No common chord which contains either a false fifth, or a ditone, or a rough minor third, is permissible. The ditone may be replaced chromatically by the minor third, the rough minor third may be replaced chromatically by the major third, or, in suitable positions, the third of the chord may be omitted. The ditone, or rough minor third, or the corresponding sixths, may occur between passing notes.

The Introduction of Alypius. The Introduction of Alypius is the only comprehensive guide to the Greek notation extant. It is a fragment of uncertain date. It purports to exhibit the whole range of keys, that is to say fifteen, in the diatonic and chromatic genera, and six and part of three others in the enharmonic. In the first key, the Lydian, in the chromatic genus, four of the notes which mark the distinction between that genus and the diatonic are crossed out.

The first thing to notice is that the enharmonic, whenever exhibited, is identical with the chromatic. The second is that all the keys in all the genera follow the terminology of the E mode. It is the *pyknon* from the hypate to the lichanos in the E mode tetrachord which is changed to mark the genus. Nevertheless, the parhypate suffers no change in passing from one genus to another. Alypius has therefore not only confounded the chromatic with the enharmonic,⁹ but has likewise, in his enharmonic keys, confounded the parhypate with the lichanos.

Bellermann worked out the order of tones and half tones in the diatonic keys. The question which is still unanswered is—what was the order of major and minor tones? The amazing opinion of Bellermann and Westphal that the Greeks were well acquainted with equal temperament is based upon no evidence beyond a stupid passage from that unscientific writer, Aristoxenos.¹⁰ As regards pitch, Bellermann makes the Lydian key start from D. I prefer C, as it simplifies the notation, and gives a much more comfortable compass to the extant compositions.

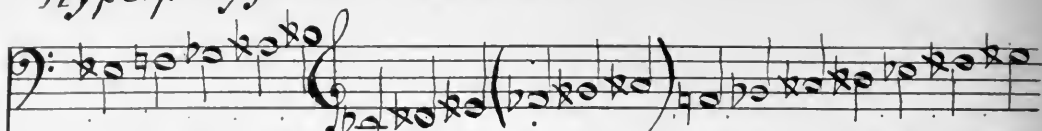
The keys are in what was known as the Greater Complete System. The section called the *synemmenon*, which I have enclosed in brackets, served as a modulatory bridge between each key and the next. The Hypolydian key and all the keys between the Lydian and Hyperdorian are of the same pattern. The *paranete synemmenon* and *trite diezeugmenon* in these keys are distinguished by different signs, although, at first sight, they seem to stand for the same note. Herein lies the clue to the Harmony. No other scale will fit into the scheme except Scale IV. When that scale is applied to the keys named, the whole notation of the diatonic stands revealed.

⁹ See the remarks of Aristoxenos above quoted.

¹⁰ Macran, p. 207.

Hyperphrygian — Scale IV—

Equivalents



Ω Φ Τ Π Μ Λ Η Γ Β * Ι Υ Φ Ι Μ' Λ' Η' Γ'
 γ F 4 3 7 < > N / 1 7 Z 1 7 7 7 < > N'

Hypodorian — Scale IV—



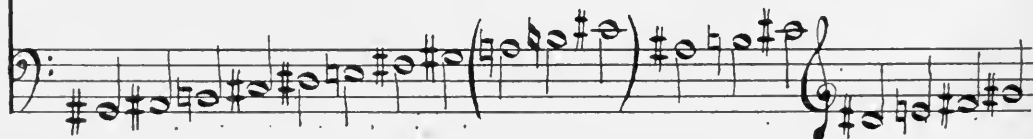
Δ 3 β Η — Μ Δ Ω Ψ Τ Π Φ Τ Π Μ Λ Η Γ'
 α ε ω ρ ε ω 1 γ 2 7 3 F 4 3 7 < > N

Dorian — Scale IV—

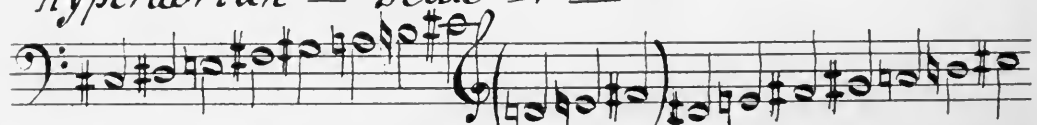


Η — Μ Δ Ω Ψ Τ Π Ο Κ Η Μ Λ Η Γ Β * Ι
 ρ ε ω 1 γ 2 7 3 Κ Λ > 7 < > N / 1 7

by Skhismatic Transposition —

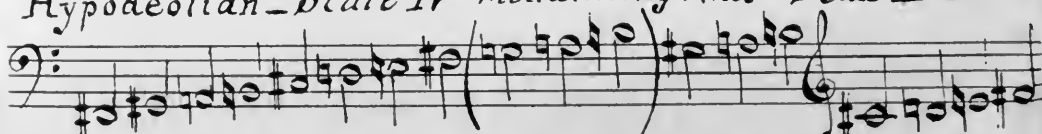


Hyperdorian — Scale IV—



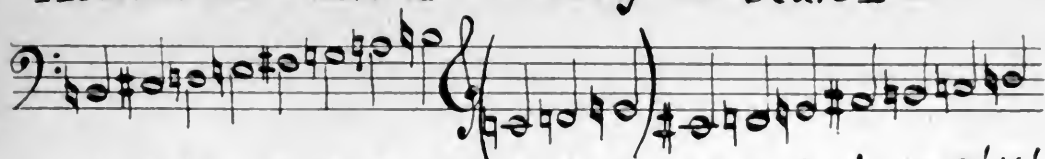
Δ Ω Ψ Τ Π Ο Κ Η Ζ Α * Γ Β * Ι Ο' Κ' Η'
 1 γ 2 7 3 Κ Λ > Ε 1 1 N / 1 7 Κ' Λ' >

Hypoaolian — Scale IV modulating into Scale III—



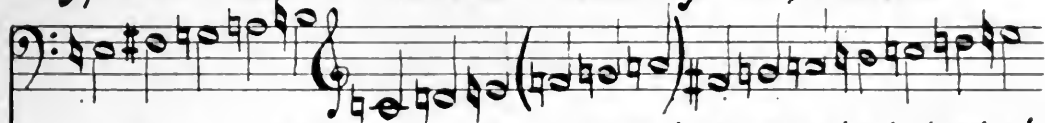
Π Η Η Δ 7 Χ Τ Σ Ο Κ Π Ο Κ Η Ζ Α *
 3 ρ η ε 1 γ γ 7 Σ Κ Λ 3 Κ Λ > Ε 1 1

Aeolian — Scale III modulating into Scale II —



Η ∇ Γ Χ Τ C O K I Z A Η Ζ Α * Θ Ο' K'
 Ξ Η Γ Υ Γ C K Λ < Ε \ > Ε \ Α Υ Κ' Λ'

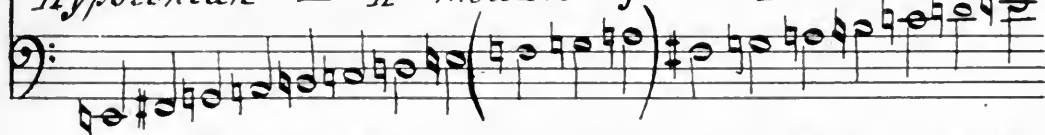
Hyperaeolian — Scale II modulating into Scale I



Χ Τ C O K I Z A Υ Θ Ο' * Θ Ο' K' I' Z' A'
 Υ Γ C K Λ < Ε \ Ζ Υ Κ' Α Υ Κ' Λ' < Ε \

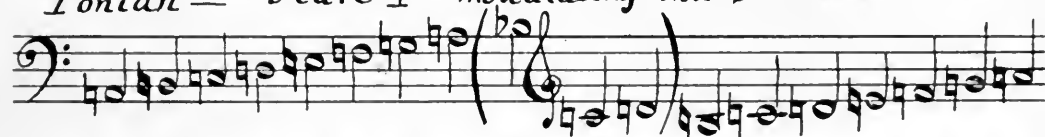
Equivalents

Hypoionian — II modulating into I —



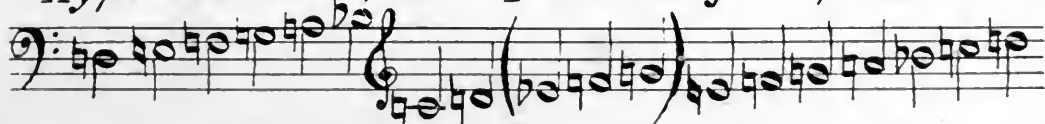
Η Ξ Θ Ω Η Γ Γ Χ Φ C O T C O K I Z A
 T 3 Η Η Ξ Η Γ Υ F C K Γ C K Λ < Ε \

Ionian — Scale I modulating into Scale V —



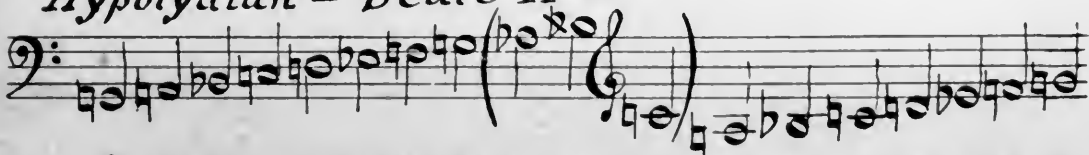
Ω Η Γ Γ Χ Φ C O Ξ I Z K I Z A Υ Θ Ο'
 Η Ξ Η Γ Υ F C K Ξ < Ε Λ < Ε \ Ζ Υ Κ'

Hyperionian — Scale V modulating into Scale IV



Γ Χ Φ C O Ξ I Z Ε Υ Θ Α Υ Θ Ο' Ξ I' Z'
 Γ Υ F C K Ξ < Ε Ξ Ζ Υ \ Ζ Υ Κ' Ξ < Ε \

Hypolydian — Scale IV —



Θ Ω V Γ Γ R Φ C P M I O Ξ I Z Ε Υ Θ
 Η Η Ξ Η Γ Γ F C O Γ < K Ξ < Ε Ξ Ζ Υ

The notation ignores the *skhisma*. No question of temperament is involved, as the Greeks never constructed an instrument to take the whole system of keys. Indeed, some of the keys were never used. I have made the necessary transposition at the most convenient point.

Let us now turn to the so-called chromatic and enharmonic keys. Of these, the Hyperlydian, Hypophrygian, Phrygian, Hyperphrygian and Hypodorian, all of which are in Scale IV, make use of signs which we have already identified. These keys, whether designated chromatic or enharmonic, prove to be built up of tetrachords of the type $c\flat, d\flat, d\flat, f\flat$. They are arranged in the order $c\flat, d\flat, d\flat, f\flat$, the *parhypate* and *lichanos* having changed places. These are enharmonic and not chromatic tetrachords. The Hyperaeolian and Hypoionian enharmonic and chromatic, which likewise use signs already ascertained, give a chromatic scale, which may be represented thus:—

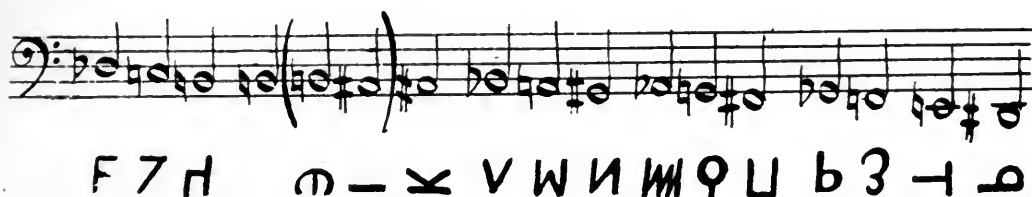
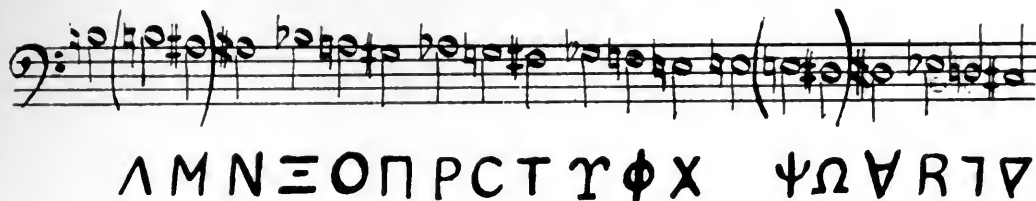
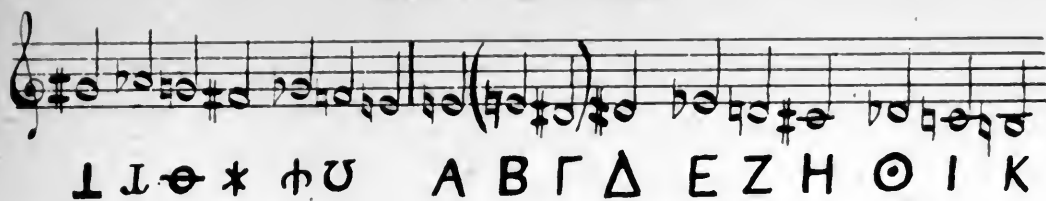
$b\flat, c\flat, c\sharp, e\flat, f\sharp, g\flat, g\sharp, b\flat$.

The rest of the keys contain four new signs:—

\propto and its octave $\overset{N}{\propto}$, and \vee and its octave $\overset{\Delta}{\vee}$. Alypius gives the instrumental sign of the third of these as E . Aristides Quintilianus (Meibom. p. 21) uses I , which appears, from the instrumental scheme below, to be correct. An examination of the remaining chromatic keys on the lines already indicated easily establishes \propto and $\overset{N}{\propto}$ to be a \sharp (skhismatic $b\flat$) and \vee and $\overset{\Delta}{\vee}$ to be $d\sharp$ (skhismatic $e\flat$). In the Lydian and Hypolydian enharmonic keys, Alypius takes $e\flat$ and $b\flat$ as enharmonics of $e\flat$ and $b\flat$ respectively. He is followed in this by Aristides Quintilianus. The three manuscript hymns, in most recensions, use $e\flat$ as enharmonic to $e\flat$. Some recensions of the hymns to Helios and Nemesis, however, give \wedge , which may be meant for Δ ($e\flat$). In the instrumental notes to the song from *Orestes*, I (corresponding to the vocal \vee or $e\flat$) again appears. From the context, it is evidently a wrong note, being intended for $e\flat$ (I). I think there is good reason to hold that the frame of the instrumental scheme (which see below) led the ignorant to suppose wrongly that $e\flat$ and $b\flat$ were the correct enharmonics of $e\flat$ and $b\flat$.

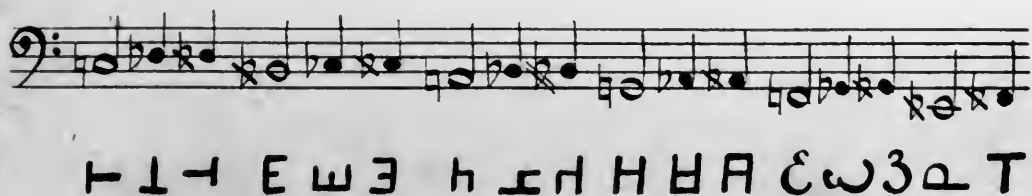
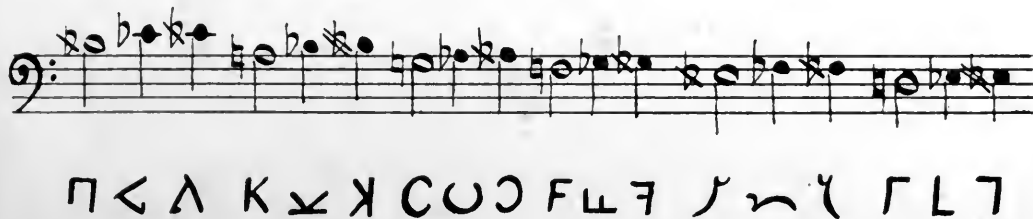
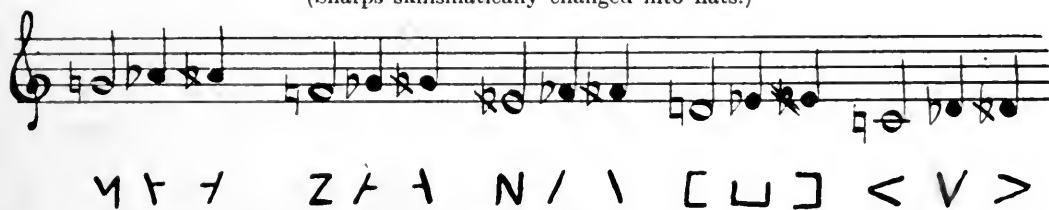
The truth of my interpretation is established not only by the versions it presents of the old Greek compositions but by the extraordinarily ingenious alphabetical arrangements here set forth:—

THE VOCAL SCHEME



THE INSTRUMENTAL SCHEME

(Sharps skhismatically changed into flats.)



It is evident from the instrumental scheme that the fully developed kithara was tuned to the ditonal scale. This was undoubtedly one of the many innovations brought in by the Pythagoreans. To them also must be awarded the credit for inventing the notation, and not to Aristoxenos. The bar of the kithara enabled the player to tighten the strings by any interval up to a full semitone. In India, the *bina*, which is the principal instrument, is tuned to a collection of notes based not upon any favourite scale, but upon considerations of convenience. The *nuances*, which transform the fret notes into the required scale, are obtained by pressing hard upon the wire or drawing it to one side. The Pythagorean method was similar; the bar gave any note required. The adoption of the relative string lengths of the ditonal scale for the intervals of the Lydian key by late and ignorant authors, such as Anonymus¹¹ and Aristides Quintilianus, is therefore no longer a mystery, and the assertion that Greek music was founded upon the ditonal scale stands refuted.

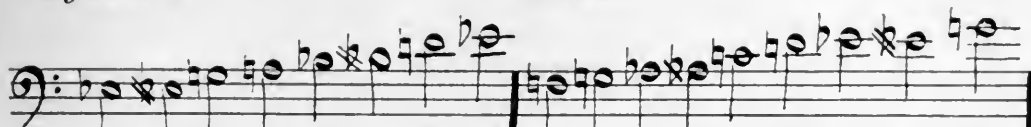
Other Notational Signs. The Epitaph of Seikelos, an inscription discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Tralles, and the papyrus fragment containing a chorus from *Orestes* (lines 338 to 343) bear rhythmic signs. The length of the notes is shown by marks placed above them, — for a note of two time-units and 𐀀 for one of three. A note upon which the beat comes bears a dot. In the chorus, a distinction is drawn between beats, one kind being denoted by a dot above the note, and the other by a dot at one side. I assume that the former method marks the main stress, and the latter a subsidiary stress. The epitaph makes use of the following additional signs (1) 𐀁 as in 𐀁𐀀, and (2) 𐀂 as in 𐀂𐀀. These are dealt with in *Anonymus de Musica*. Bellermann takes 𐀂 to mean *staccato*, 𐀃 to mean *quasi-staccato*, and 𐀄 to mean *legato*. 𐀄 is there applied to different notes, while the other two signs are also applied to repetitions of the same note. From this, and judging by the peculiarities of oriental music in general, I think it is more likely that 𐀄 stood for *portando* or the glide, 𐀃 for the 'leap,' that is for the absence of glide, and 𐀂 for *staccato*. The *staccato* sign was sometimes written thus, 𐀅.

III. SCALES, HARMONIES AND MODES

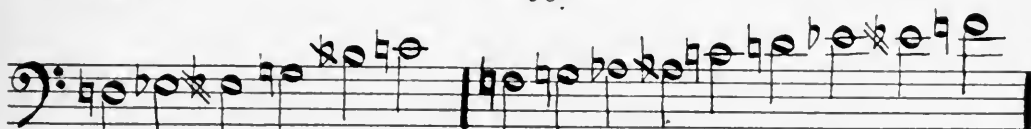
The Greeks employed three different methods of representing scales. In discussing the structure of scales, as we have seen, they made use of the tetrachord. In exhibiting the modes of a Harmony, they adopted the full octave (Ptolemy, *Harmonic* i. 16, ii. 14). It was also customary to show the *tessitura* of a composition by stringing together the actual notes contained. This method was probably the most ancient, as the further back one goes in the history of music, the more importance seems to be attached to matters of compass. The Dorian, for example, was in early times only allowed to descend a tone below the *hypate*. I think it very likely that this circumstance led the Church to suppose that the Dorian was a D mode. To illustrate my meaning, I give a few compass scales.

¹¹ *Anonymus de Musica*, edited by Bellermann (Berlin, 1841).

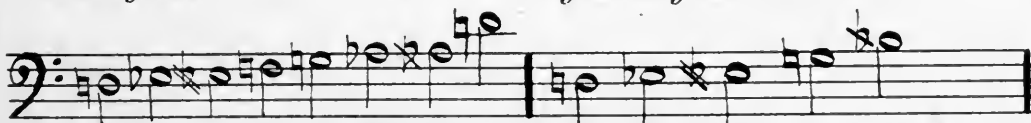
ARISTIDES QUINTILIANUS

*Lydian ***Dorian*


R V C O Ξ N Z E Φ C P Π I Z E Δ δ
 L Γ C K \times \square F C \cup \cup < \square \square <

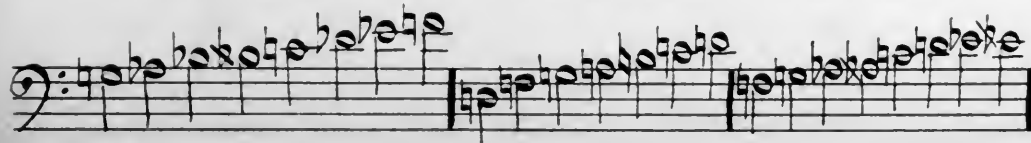
*Ionian ***Phrygian*


Γ R V C M I Φ C P Π I Z E Δ U
 Γ L Γ C Γ < F C \cup < \square \square Z

*Mixolydian**Syntonolydian*


γ R V Φ C P Π Z γ R V C M
 Z L Γ \square C \cup \cup \square Γ L Γ C Γ

OTHER SCALES

*God Save the King (in A \flat)**The Epitaph**The Chorus*


* The Lydian and Ionian appear to be misnamed. There are also mistakes in the notation.
 J.H.S.—VOL. XLII.

As regards the genera, we may acquire some further knowledge from the Greek compositions. The enharmonic or chromatic sometimes formed the sole basis of a composition. The enharmonic genus was much favoured in the strict classical school represented by the *agon* of Delphi. The enharmonics were frequently omitted, leaving a pentatonic scale as in the opening of the long hymn to Apollo. The enharmonic genus was often mixed with the diatonic as in other passages in the same hymn, and in the chorus from *Orestes*. A sparing use of the genus was also made in compositions in diatonic scales. This will be observed in each of the three manuscript hymns. The enharmonic seems to have been employed, like the chromatic chord of modern times to add piquancy to the music. The manner of its employment is well-deserving of study. The phrase $e\flat, d\sharp, e\flat, b\flat, a\flat, g\sharp, b\flat$ in the hymn to Calliope provides a beautiful climax to the melody. We have many such instances in our own music, but no one except the naturally gifted musician pays any attention to them. The following excerpt from the 'haunting' melody in the Unfinished Symphony is given in two renderings, A and B:—

A



B



In the passage marked $a\flat, g\sharp, a\flat$ is followed first by $e\flat$, which, being a just fourth below $a\flat$, leaves no doubt as to the intonation, and then by the enharmonically raised pair $g\sharp, a\flat$. Similarly, in the hymn to Calliope, $e\flat$ is separated by one note $d\sharp$ from its enharmonic $e\flat$, and the changed intonation is emphasised by a leap to $b\flat$. Schubert, needless to say, was neither a victim of the temperament habit, nor of the ditonal habit. A is therefore what he intended, and it is in the best Greek manner. I heard a small and well-trained French orchestra play the symphony. The 'cellos, who were led on that occasion by a celebrated soloist, played as in A. The violins replied with B. The next day in answer to my questions, the conductor said he had noticed the difference. The rendering of the 'cellos made certain notes flat. The rendering of the violins was *plus juste*, by which he meant, as he admitted, more in tune with the piano! Rendering B, to my mind, degrades the music into a kind of musical pun. And that is the rendering which is generally given. The surviving examples of Greek music throw very little light upon

the treatment of chromatic scales. There are interesting passages in the first of the mural hymns in which the chromatic, diatonic and enharmonic are all used together. The hymn to Calliope also employs a chromatic note. The orthodox Greek chromatic genus is still to be found in India in the Karnatic *rāga* Kanakangi amongst others. It is not, however, an interesting scale. Most of the Greek chromatic scales must have been compounded of mixed chromatic and diatonic tetrachords. Finally, to revert to the enharmonic genus, melodies in purely enharmonic scales would be much appreciated by the musical experts of India or Persia, at the present day. The best Indian singers make a lavish use of enharmonic changes. To the European, the singer appears to attack his notes in a slovenly way, beginning a little sharp or flat and sliding on to the correct pitch. That style of singing is strongly suggested by the chorus from *Orestes*.

The Harmonies and Modes. The modal scale, as used by Ptolemy, and by European musicians, takes no count of the compass of a composition. In the Greek system it stretched downwards for the space of an octave, either from the *nete diezeugmenon*, or from the *mese*; we take our scales from tonic to tonic. Aristotle compares the *mese* to the conjunction in speech, because it frequently recurs, and links the other notes together.¹² The *mese*, in that view, was the predominant note of the melody, or more briefly, the *predominant*.¹³ The *hypate* was the *final*, upon which the voice came to rest naturally, and without effort.¹⁴ These remarks will be found to apply most aptly to all the compositions except the last two manuscript hymns. Those hymns, to Helios and Nemesis, make the *hypate*¹⁵ the *predominant*, and the *mese* the *final*. This brings us to the important distinction embodied later on in the terms *authentic* and *plagal*. In the Byzantine period they were known as *εἶδος ἀτελές*, ending on the hypate (*i. e.* authentic), and *εἶδος τέλειον* (or plagal), ending on the *mese*.¹⁶ In the authentic mode, therefore, the predominant was a fourth above the final; in the plagal mode it was a fifth above. A further corollary to be drawn is that every complete parent scale had the latent capacity of producing fourteen modes.

The old Harmonies of Greece can best be discussed in the diatonic form. In Athenaeus 14. 624 is a fragment from Heraclides Ponticus in which the following passage occurs: 'The term *ἁρμονία* should not be applied to the Phrygian or Lydian scales; there are three Harmonies, as there are three tribes of Hellenes—Dorians, Aeolians, Ionians. . . . We must conceive a very low opinion of theorists who fail to detect differences of species, while they keep pace with every variation of pitch. . . .' The passage describes the *ethos* of the three Harmonies, and states that, in the author's time, the Aeolian was known as the Hypodorian, being below the Dorian on the *aulos*. Aristoxenus¹⁷ describes the scale-system in question thus: 'Others again, looking to the holes of the *aulos*, separate the three lowest keys, the

¹² *Prob.* xix. 20. See also *Prob.* 36.

¹³ This term is preferred to 'dominant,' being free from ambiguity.

¹⁴ *Prob.* xix. 334.

¹⁵ Or the *nete*.

¹⁶ Bryennios (circ. 1400 A.D.) John Wallis, *Opera Math.* iii. 259. Oxon. 1699.

¹⁷ Meibom. p. 37; Macran, 128. 193.

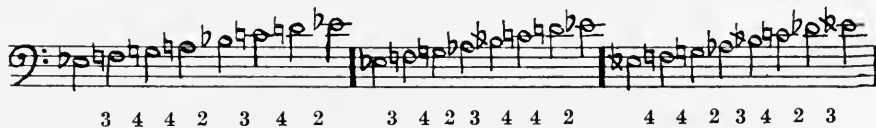
Hypophrygian, Hypodorian, and Dorian by an interval of three-fourths of a tone. . . . There is no reason therefore to connect the Aeolian with the Hypodorian of later times.¹⁸ We can identify the harmony with certainty from another source. The 'Introduction' formerly attributed to Euclid (Meibom. 20. 1) contains this passage, descriptive of the keys: 'Two Lydian keys, a higher, and a lower also called Aeolian; two Phrygian, one low also called Ionian, and one high; one Dorian; two Hypolydian, a higher, and a lower, also called Hypoaeolian; two Hypophrygian, of which the lower is also called Hypoionian.' This description accurately corresponds to the keys of Alypius, if we omit the Hypodorian and the high keys (Hyperlydian, etc.), three of which are merely low keys transposed an octave higher. The modes which formed the nucleus of the keys are at once apparent if we take octave scales upwards from either \mathbf{R} ($e\flat$) or $\mathbf{\Omega}$ ($e\flat$) in the 'higher' keys, and $\mathbf{\Gamma}$ ($d\flat$) in the 'lower' keys.¹⁹ The instrumental notes involved in this collection of scales include eight of the groups of three, beginning respectively with the letters $\mathbf{\Gamma}\mathbf{\Psi}\mathbf{FCK}\mathbf{\Gamma}<\mathbf{\Gamma}$ and finishing up with one note \mathbf{N} . I give below the resulting modal scales:—

THE HIGHER MODES

1. Hypolydian.

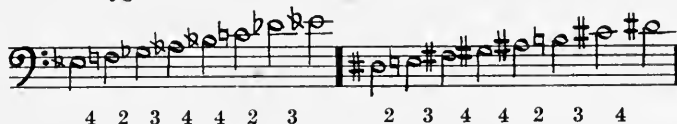
2. Lydian.

3. Hypophrygian.



4. Phrygian.

5. Dorian.

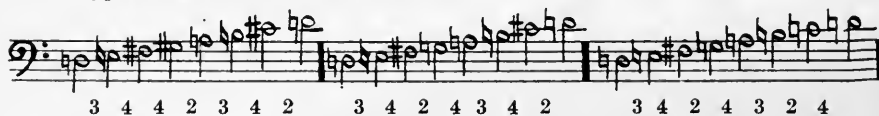


THE LOWER MODES

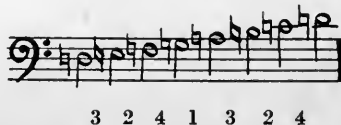
1. Hypoaeolian.

2. Aeolian.

3. Hypoionian.



4. Ionian.



¹⁸ Heraclides was a pupil of Plato.

¹⁹ As the notes are named by Alypius the *mese* is always the base of a Dorian tetrachord. The names have regard to the theoretical structure of the keys. They

are, in that sense, *functional* names. Each mode, however, had its own *mese*, the *mese* of *position*. This is clear from Ptolemy's scales, and from other indications.

The first batch are in one Harmony, Scale IV. That can be no other than the national scale *par excellence*, the Dorian. If the lower keys of Alypius be examined it will be found that they form a kind of patchwork cementing the whole structure. Two of them, the Aeolian and Ionian, are in distinctive Harmonies to which the others are merely introductory. Their titles are sufficient to proclaim that they are the two other famous Harmonies, which, with the Dorian, represented the three tribes of Hellenes. The Dorian was therefore an E mode, the Aeolian a C mode, and the Ionian a D mode. The symmetry of these scales is apparent when one describes them in *ῥυθμῶν* figures with the point of conjunction emphasised.

234 — 4 — 234; 342 — 4 — 342; 324 — 4 — 324.

Let me add that *our* Harmonies are the major and minor (descending melodic form). The former is supposed to be the just major (Scale II.), and the latter is the Aeolian, A mode. It is quite a mistake to think of the minor as the A mode of the major. This is only so, speaking generally, in equal temperament or the ditonal. As Mr. J. Curtis points out,²⁰ the Pythagoreans persuaded the theatre to accept the whole range of Dorian modes. In this way the *τρόπος* came into existence. The school founded by Pythagoras performed inestimable services to the art of music, but this innovation was a severe blow to the old national Harmonies, and was strongly resented by men of taste. The Lydian *τρόπος* was a poor substitute for the Aeolian. The Phrygian was a scale of extreme austerity. This may be realised from the Hymn to Nemesis. The more pleasing of the Dorian *τρόποι* were the Dorian, Mixolydian, and Hypodorian,²¹ as these were most suited to the Harmony. Among the Greeks, as the above quotation from Heraclides shows, the conceptions mode and Harmony were not clearly differentiated. It is not surprising therefore to find that many Greek writers used the terms *ἁρμονία* and *τρόπος* without discrimination. The distinction was that the *τρόποι* of any parent-scale differed, as regards intervals, in starting point only; they were octave scales cut out in different places from the same string of intervals. The Harmonies, on the other hand, were taken from different strings; their major and minor tones were arranged in a different order.

I add the following note upon the surviving examples of Greek music. The first mural hymn makes use of the Dorian *mode* in two forms, one in Dorian Harmony, commencing in the pentatonic form, the other in Aeolian Harmony. The latter on its second appearance is highly ornamented chromatically and enharmonically. The second mural hymn, in the instrumental notation, employs the Dorian and Hypodorian modes of Dorian Harmony. The Epitaph is in the Ionian, hexatonic form. The chorus from *Orestes* is in the Dorian with enharmonic embellishment. The three manuscript hymns are masterpieces. The way the cadences are managed and *tonality* maintained is most artistic. The hymn to Calliope is in a free form of the Dorian, employing a chromatic note and descending a fourth below the *hypate*. The hymn to Helios or Apollo is in the Mixolydian, and that to

²⁰ *J. H. S.*, XXXIII (1913), p. 35.

²¹ *I. e.* the E, B and A modes.

Nemesis in the Phrygian. It will be observed that the last two modes are clearly plagal. We may conclude that the Mixolydian was a plagal B mode somewhat resembling the Dorian, employing the chief cadences in the form a b, g b, g b being the *mese*, that it made use of the high d b frequently, this fact imparting to it the shrill flavour for which it was noted, and that it revelled in a variety of cadences borrowed from other modes. The leading note of the Dorian was a tone below the hypate (f b a tone below g b).

IV. RHYTHM

With the exceptions of the Epitaph and Chorus from *Orestes*, the extant compositions give no indication of rhythm. From this circumstance, the unwarranted inference has been drawn that the rhythm followed the metre. Greek music has thereby been made a laughing-stock. In ancient Greece, poetry wielded such an immense influence, that the melody of the *nomos*, or of the classical ode, was subordinated to the metre. This led to what we should regard as a straining by the poet after metrical effect, for no poetry could equal in scope or freedom the rhythm of music—and to the development of new forms of instrumental accompaniment. The *nomos* was sung by the priest to the kithara. His skill was shown, not in the melody of the voice part, which was so circumscribed, that no room for originality was left to him, but by an elaborate counterpoint on the kithara. Quotations from Greek authors, which in unequivocal terms describe the heterophony of the accompanying instruments, have been collected by Westphal.²² But the musician did not meekly submit to the poet. Much of the controversy between the 'rhythmici' and 'metrici' was due to a revolt, beginning as far back as the time of Euripides (480–406 B.C.), against the irksome practice of restricting the musician in the time he could allot to each syllable. Many quotations bearing on this point are to be found in Bellermann's notes to *Anonymus de Musica*. Dionysios of Halicarnassos, who wrote upon the subject of Greek pronunciation, at the beginning of the Christian era, regretted that, in his days, vocal and instrumental music subjected the words to the melody instead of the melody to the words. He gives an example from *Orestes* in which most of the accents are wrongly treated, and states further that musicians were wont to make the syllables fit the time, instead of cutting the time to fit the syllables. Very little imagination is needed to convince one that a musical and artistic nation could not have tolerated the tyranny of long and short in their music. The music of the two examples we have (the Epitaph and Chorus alluded to above) violates the metre in many instances. Then again, if we turn to *Anonymus de Musica*, we shall find a wealth of rhythmic forms which remind one of the *tālas* or musical measures of India.²³ Oriental music of the present day indulges in the utmost complexity of rhythm. The

²² Author of *Harmonik und Melopoie* (1863 and 1886) and *Musik des Griechischen Alterthums* (Leipsic, 1883).

²³ Some recensions of the hymn to Calliope contain instructions which seem to refer to the rhythm of the music.

absence of rhythmic signs in the three manuscript hymns presents no obstacle to the conclusion I wish to draw. In India, until recently, no one ever attempted to write down the rhythm of a song, although the notes in a kind of tonic-solfa were often placed above the words, just as in the examples before us. When popular teachers of music set to work to remedy this state of affairs, the only means that suggested itself to them was to take the unit of time known as the *matra*, and to put below each note a number or a fraction showing how many units of time or parts of such units it should occupy. Another row of signs was used to show where the beats came. The Greek metrical signs were obviously unsuited to any but the simplest forms of melody.

In my opinion, nothing can be more certain than that the music of the hymns to Calliope, Apollo and Nemesis did not slavishly follow the metre. It is therefore necessary to reconstruct the rhythm of these three specimens. The question arises whether the rhythm should be based generally upon accent or quantity, in other words, whether the strong beat of the bar should coincide with an accented rather than with a long syllable.

These three hymns belong to the second century A.D. It appears to me that the only way to make musical sense out of them is to follow the accents in preference to the metre. In the epitaph and chorus from *Orestes*, which are the only sure guide we have, the rhythm does not come amiss to the modern Greek. The chorus quite clearly makes rhythm follow accent. Some writers have traced the modern Greek stress-accent to the beginning of the Christian era. If the chorus from *Orestes* can be relied upon in this connexion, the stress-accent is to be credited with a much higher antiquity. Two views on the subject, widely held, are open to strong criticism. One is that the ancient Greeks, in conversation, put the ictus on the long syllables. In a great many words this would imply a stress upon one syllable, and a rise of pitch on another. One has only to realise the difficulty of stressing a syllable without raising the voice, or raising the voice in pitch but not in loudness, to hold that the very strongest evidence is necessary to support such a view. The opinion is based upon two assumptions—one that the arsis and thesis of poetry imported a stress,²⁴ the other that the stress thus inferred was not confined to poetry. The second view which many hold is that the Greek language could not have had any stress-accent, as the grammarians say nothing about it. Perhaps, in future generations, antiquarians will give as their considered opinion that the English language had no pitch-accent, as the lexicographers confined their attention to the ictus.

Is it not a curious circumstance that the Greeks divided their syllables into unit syllables and two-unit syllables, and subjected their speech-intonation to rule? The spoken word must always be fluid and liable to slight variations following the meaning. Even in regard to the position of the ictus, there can be no simple hard-and-fast rule. The pitch accent demands a considerable latitude and the relative length of syllables even more elasticity. What was it then that impelled the Greek poets to harness the metre and put shackles

²⁴ Mr. Goodell (*Chapters on Greek Metric*, Yale University Press, 1901) criticises this theory.

upon the pitch-accent of speech? With extreme diffidence I suggest the following answer. The laws of metre were older than writing. They served as a mnemonic system. No better device for the preservation of knowledge could have been invented. Poetry, founded upon this artifice, wielded unbounded influence. Like the Vedas, it was sung and not merely declaimed. In order that the subtleties of the metre should stand forth, the ictus of speech was suppressed, and the coincident pitch-accent was subjected to rule and made to do duty for both.

In the renderings which follow, the rhythm of the three hymns has been based broadly upon the ictuses as they occur in modern Greek, as much allowance being made as is reasonably possible for differences in the length of syllables.

E. CLEMENTS.

I have added a harmonised accompaniment to three of the Greek compositions, and a counterpoint to the hymn to Helios and the first mural hymn. My main object in writing these accompaniments is to draw attention to the correct harmonies. I merely give a few excerpts from the extremely fragmentary second mural hymn. Missing words in all cases have been copied from the Supplement to the Musici Scriptores Graeci, Teubner Series. In filling up lacunae in the music, the rules followed as far as possible have been :—

- (1) *The acute-accented syllable is raised.*
- (2) *The unaccented is lowered.*
- (3) *The grave remains at the pitch of the preceding syllable or is raised, generally one degree.*
- (4) *The circumflex takes the falling tone.*

SEVEN MUSICAL COMPOSITIONS OF ANCIENT GREECE.

The organ should be tuned as above described.

If a harp is used, it should be constructed and tuned as follows. The double-action harp, except for the skhismatic substitution of $d \flat$ and $g \flat$ for $c \sharp$ and $f \sharp$, gives exact intonation. The single-action harp gives $c \sharp$ for $e \flat$, $b \sharp$ for $b \flat$, $g \flat$ for $g \sharp$.

Double-action Harp.

Pedals : *First notch*, the diminished semitone.

Second notch, the just semitone.

Tuning : in C Major, Ionian Scale—

Just fifths from c : $g-d-a$, and f .

Major thirds : $e-e$ and $g-b$.

Single-action Harp.

Pedals : the diminished semitone (taken in some instances as a substitute for the residual semitone).

Tuning : in C Minor, Aeolian Scale—

Just fifths from c : $g-d$, and f .

Minor third : $c-e \flat$.

Fifths from $e \flat$: $b \flat$ and $a \flat$.

I. TO CALLIOPE

Key Lydian, Harmony
and Mode Dorian.

Ascribed to Dionysius,
2nd Century A.D.

Organ

(a)

voice & Organ

Α-ει-δε μου-σά-μοι φίλη, μόλῃς δ' ἑμῆς κατ' ἄρ-χου· αὐρῇ δὲ σὼν ἀπ·

(b)

ἀλ-σά-ων ἑμὰς φρένας δονεῖ—τω· Καλλιόπεια σοφὰ, μουσῶν προκάλεγί τε περὶ νῶϊ σοφῇ

ed accel.

μυστο-δόξα, λατοῦς γόνε Δῆ-λια Παιάν, εὐ-μενεῖς πάρεσ-τέ μοι.

A tempo

• (a) Two recensions have what may be the staccato sign (~ in one, — in another; it should be χ). The sign ~ is also to be found after the first syllable of λατοῦς.

(b) Some recensions have N for H.

II. TO HELIOS.

Key Lydian, Harmony
Dorian, Mode Mixolydian.

Ascribed to Dionysius,
2nd Century A.D.

Organ Allegro

Voices & Organ

f C C C C I C P C Φ C *dim.* Φ M M M M C Φ M I 7 M

Χιονο-βλέφαρον πάτερ Ἁ - οὐς, ῥο-δό-εσαν ὃς ἄντυγα πώ - λων

M I M I P M I Z 7 Z M Z M Z I M I M Z I M I

πικνοῦς ὑπ' ἰχνη-σι δι-ώ-κεις, χρυ-σέαι-σιν ἀγαλλόμενος κόμαις, περὶ

Z I M I P Φ C P P C C P M M M M M M I M I M

νῶ-τον ἀ-πείριτον οὐ-ρανοῦ ἀ-κτῖ-να πολύστρο-φον ἀμπλέκων, αἶγλας

P M I Z I M P C C P M M M C R Φ M M *cres.* M I

παλινδερ-κέα πα- γὰν περὶ γαῖ-αν ἀίπα-σαν ἑ-λί-σ-σων. πο-τα-

Z Z Z Z Z E I E Z P M I Z Z I M P C

-μοὶ δὲ σέ-θεν πυ-ρὸς ἀμ - βρό-τον τί-κτονσιν ἐπ' ἡ-ρατοῦ ἀ-μέ-ραν.

ρ C φ C P M M P P C M
 Σοὶ μέν χο-ρὸς εὐ-δοί-ας-τέρων κατ'
 I M M I P M I Z Z Z Z M Z Z M Z I E Z M I
 Ὁ-λύμ-πον ἄ-να-κτα χο-ρεύ-ει ἄ-νε-τον μέ-λος αἰ-έν ἄ-εί-δων, Φοι-βη-
 Z Z M I P φ Z Z ρρ ρ C P
 -ιδι παρ' ὁμέ-νος λύ-ρα. Γλαυ-
 M M M C P M M I 7 M I M I M M P M I Z Z
 -κά δὲ παρ' ἄρ-θε Σε-λά-να χρό-νον ὥ-ρι-ον ἄ-γε-μονεύ-ει
 M I Z I M I φ C P M P C f C C C C C P C P φ
 λευ-κῶν ὑ-πὸ σύρ-μασι κόσ-χων γάνυται δὲ τέ-σαι νόος εὐ-
 P M M I Z I M I φ C P M P C
 -μετὴς παλαιοί-μονα κόσ-μον ἔ-λίσ-σων.

III. TO NEMESIS.

Key Lydian, Harmony
Dorian, Mode Phrygian.

Ascribed to Mesomedes,
2nd Century A.D.

Molto Moderato

Voice

Organ

mf

fp

Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα βίου βό-πα, κυ-ανώπι θεά δύρατερ

Δίκας, ἃ κού-φα φρονύμαθ' αὐτῶν ἐπέχεις ἁ-δά-μαντι χαλι-νῶ.

* Some recensions, here, as at bars 20 and 26, give ^ (for 7).

ἔχθονα δ' ὕβριν ὀλοὴν βροτῶν μέλανα φθόνον ἐκ-τός ἐ-λαύ-νεις. Ὑπὸ σὸν τροχὸν ἅ-

IMMMIMMICP^M ΦΗ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ε Ζ Ι

Z ^ M M Υ Υ Υ Ε Ζ Υ Υ Υ Μ Ι Υ Ζ Ε Ι Μ M

Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ C M Φ P C Φ P P M Ι Φ M M R Φ C Φ Ι

C Φ Ρ Μ Ι Ζ Ε Ψ Ζ Ι Ι Μ Ζ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Ρ Μ C C Φ Ρ
 - στα-τον ά-στι-βή χαροπά μερόπων στέρνεται νύχτα· λήθοντα δὲ παρ' πόδα βαι-νεῖς γαν-

Φ Ρ Ρ Μ Ι Ρ Μ Λ Μ Ρ Φ Ρ C Φ Ρ Ρ C Ρ Μ Ι Ψ Μ Ι Ζ Ε Ι Μ Μ
 - ρούμενον αὐχέ-να κλί-νεῖς. Ὑπὸ πῆχυν αἰ-βίοτον μετρεῖς, γένεῖς δ' ὑπὸ κάλπιν ὄρνυν

Μ Φ Μ Φ Μ Μ Ρ C Μ Ι Φ Ι Ε Ε Ε Ε Ζ Ζ Ι Μ Ι Ρ
 κά-τω ζυ-γὸν μετὰ χεῖρα κρατοῦ-σα. Ἕλαθε μάκαιρα δικαιοσύνη

Ε Ε Ε Ζ Ζ Ι Μ Ι Ι Ζ Μ Ι Μ Μ Μ Ι Μ C Ρ Μ Μ Ζ Μ Ι Ζ Ε Ι Ι Μ
 Νέμεσι πεπρόεσσα βίου ροπά. Νέμεσιν δὲ δόκει ἀρ-δίταν, νύκην τινύσσεται ἄν

p legato

f

Z M M M U U U U Z E C M P M M M M M C M P M Z
 -βρί-μαν, νημερ-τῆ-α καὶ πᾶρεδρον Δίκαν, ἃ τὰν μεγαλο-ρί-αν βρο-τῶν νεμέ-
cresc. *roco* α *roco*
 σῶ-σα φέρεις κατὰ τὰρ - τὰ - ρου
ff

IV. CHORUS FROM ORESTES.

Key Lydian, Harmony
and Mode Dorian.Papyrus
fragment.

Trumpet
 Choir
 Κα-το-λο-ρύ-ρο-μαι μα-τέ-ρος αἰ-μα σῆς, ὅς' ἀνα-βακ-χέ-ν-ει. ὁ μέγας
 ὀλ-βος οὐ μόνι-μος ἐν βρο-τοῖς· ἀ-νά δὲ λαίφος ὥς τις ἀ-κά-του δο-ᾷς τινά-ξας
 δαί-μων κατέκλυ-σεν δεινῶν πόνων, ὥς πόντου λά-βροις ὀλε-θρίοι ἐν κύ-μα-σιν.
 * 7 is a mistake for γ.

V. DELPHIAN HYMN I.

Transposed, $b \cdot b(M) = g \cdot b$.

The bars imply no stress.

Original Key Phrygian,
modulating into Hyperphrygian.Mural Inscription,
3rd Century B.C.

Dorian, pentatonic (d) I M I M Y M

Voice

Κέκλυ-θ' Ἐλι-κῶ-να βα-δύ-δεν-δρον αἶ λά-χε-τε Δι-ὸς ἐ-ρι-βρό-μον θυ-γά-τρης εὐ-
 -ὦ-λε-νοι. Μό-λι-τε συν-νό-μαι-μον ἱ-να Φοῖ-βον ὠ-δα-εῖ-σι μέλ-ψῃ-τε χρυ-σε-ο-κό-μαν. Ὡς ἀνὰ δι-κό-
 -ρυν-βα Παρ-να-σί-δος τὰς-δε πε-πέρας ἔ-δραν ἄμ' ἄ-γα κλυ-τεῖς Δελ-φί-σι-ιν Κά-στα-λ' ἰ-δος εὐ-νύ-δρον
 -νά-ματ' ἐ-πι-νί-σσει-ται, Δελ-φὸν ἄ-νὰ πρῶ-να μαν-τεί-ον ἐ-ρέ-πων πα-γον.
 Ἦν κλυ-τὰ μέ-γα λό-ποι-ας Ἀθ-θίς εὐ-χα-εῖ-σι, φερό-πλο-ο ναί-ου-σα τρι-τῶ-νί-δος δά-πεδον ἄ-

Aeolian, E Mode (g)

Dorian hexatonic (d)

Aeolian, E Mode (g)

Γ Β Γ Λ Κ Γ Ο Μ Γ Κ Μ Λ Κ Λ Μ Λ Μ Ο Κ Λ
 -θραν-σεν. ἄ-γι-οις δὲ βω-μαῖ-σιν Ἀ-φαισ-τος αἰετ-δει νέ-ων μη-ρα τα-ού-ρων ὁ-μοῦ
 Γ Μ Ο Ι Ο Γ Θ Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ Ο Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ
 δὲ νῦν Ἀ-ραφ ἄτ-μος ἐς Ὁ-λυμ-πον ἄ-νά-κιδ-να-ται. λιγὺ δὲ λω-το-ὺς βρέ-μων
 Λ Κ Λ Μ Μ Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ Γ Β Λ Κ Γ Μ Κ Λ Μ Ο Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ Ο
 αἰ-ό-λοις μέλ-σιν ὠι-δὸν κρέ-κει χτυ-σέ-α δ' ἄ-δύ-θραυς κίθαρις ὕμ-νοι-σιν ἄ-να-μέλ-πε-ται.
 Dorian (d) Φ Υ Γ Υ Θ Γ Υ Θ Γ
 Ὁ δὲ τεχνι-τῶν πρό-ποις ἔσ-μός Ἀθ-δί-δα λα-χὼν τὸν κι-θαρί-σει κλυ-τὸν
 Υ Ι Θ Υ Γ Υ Γ
 παῖ-δα μεγάλ-λου Δι-ὸς ὕμ-νει. σὺ γὰρ παρ' ἀκρο-νιφῇ τόνδε πύγον αμ-βρό-των ἐκ μυ-χῶν
 Υ Γ Υ Γ Μ Υ Μ Ι Μ Ι Θ Γ Θ
 πᾶ-σι θνα-τοῖς προ-φύ-νεις ἔ-πε-α. τρί-ποδα μω-τεί-ον ὥς εἰ-λες, ἐχ-θρὸς ἐν ἑ-φράν.

-ρει δρά-κων, ό-τε τε-οί-σι βέ-λε-ον έ-τρη-σας αί-ό-λον έ-λικ-τάν φυ-άν.
 έσ-θ' ό δηρ συ-χνά συ-ρίγ-μαθ' έ-εις ά-δω-πρευ' ά-πέ-πνευσ' ό-μως.

[Concluding fragmentary portion omitted.]

VI. EPITAPH OF SEIKELOS.

Key Ionian, Harmony
and Mode Ionian.

Inscription found
at Tralles.

C I I K I I K I I I K O C O F C K I I
 'Οσον ζής φαί-νον μη δέν ό-λως εύλυ-ποι· προς όλιγον
 Hide not friend, let thy light shine. While thou livest do not grieve Life upon this
 K I K C O F C K O I I K C C C X I
 έσ-τί τό ζήν, τό τέλος ό χρόνος ά-παι-τεί·
 world is but a span. At the end stands Chronos impor- tu- nate.

NOTE.—The glide is shown by a line. The effect is immensely improved by substituting $f\frac{7}{4}$ for $f\frac{7}{2}$. Whether separate notational signs were used for the soft notes is unknown.

VII. EXCERPTS FROM DELPHIAN HYMN II.

In Instrumental notation, the bars imply no stress.

A. Harmony Dorian, mode Hypodorian,
hexatonic; key c \flat .

Mural Inscription,
1st Century B.C.

Instrument

Voice

ἴτ' ἐπὶ τη-λέθ-κο-πον τῶν-δε παρ-κx-σι-ᾶν ὁφ-ρύων δι-κόρy-φαν κλει-τὴν, ὕμ-
Aeolian E Mode (c) \square I \vee $<$ \vee

-ων κα-τόρ-χετε δ' ἐ-μῶν, πι-ε-ρί-δες, αἰ-νι-φο-βο-λους πέτρας καί-ιδ' Ἐ-λι-κω-νί-δας.

B. Harmony Dorian, mode Dorian, hexatonic; key d \flat .

\square \square $<$ \square \times \square

Πᾶς δὲ γά-θη-σε πό-λος οὐ-ρά-νι-ος ἀ-νέ-φε-λος ἀ-γλα-ός, νη-νέ-μους

\square $<$ \square $<$ \square \times \square \times

δ' ἐσ-χεν αἰ-θῆρ ἀ-ελ-λῶν τε-χυ-πε-τεῖς δρᾶ-μους, λῆ-ξε

At μελίπνοον δὲ λίβυς, the original mode is resumed. The modes of the two excerpts are employed alternately. At ὁ δὲ γέγαθ' ὅτι, a return is made to the Dorian in d \flat ; then, at ἀμφὶ πλοκάμων, the Hypodorian re-enters. Lines 124 to 168 are too fragmentary for any conclusion to be drawn. The music appears to end, in a different tempo, in the mode in which it begins.

E. C.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM MACEDONIA ¹

I. THESSALONICA AND THE PANHELLENION.

IN May, 1918, Captain A. E. W. Salt, then Base Censor at Salonica, sent me a rough copy of an inscription, about which he wrote: 'It is copied from a stone which I had cleaned, lying not 100 yards from my house near the Hippodrome, not, I think, in its original position.' I was unable to examine the stone personally, and my reading of the text is therefore based wholly upon Captain Salt's copy, which fortunately proves to be remarkably accurate if the difficulties of making such a copy and its provisional nature are borne in mind. It is here reproduced, save that I have ignored certain erasures and corrections, giving only the text as finally read by Captain Salt.

ΤΑ ΨΩΝ ΓΕ ΜΕΙΝΙΔΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΑ
 ΤΟΝ ΑΡΞΑΝΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΤΤΙΚΟΥ ΤΑΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΔ
 ΚΑ ΠΕΡΑΤΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΟ
 ΝΟΘΕΤΗΓΑΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΤΙΑΜΕΛΛΗ
 ΝΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΗΤΤΑΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ ΔΙΡΑΨΑΝΤΑ
 ΛΙΑΒΙΔΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ Ε
 ΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΤΙΑΜΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ
 ΛΑΙΡΝΡΟΥ ΠΑΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΛΟΝΕΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩ
 ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΝΤΑΚΑΤΙΡΩΤΑΡΧΗΣ Α
 ΤΑ ΕΝ ΗΛΑΜΠΡΑΤΑΥΤΗ ΤΟΛΕΙΔΟΝ ΑΕΞΥΠ
 ΕΧΕΣΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ
 ΠΗΧ ΜΥΡΙΔΕ ΛΟΓΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΚΘΕΙΑΣ
 ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΩΛΕ
 ΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΙΟΝΙΩ ΚΟΛΠΩ ΤΕ ΜΕΙΝΙΑ
 ΔΑΥΜΤΑ ΗΟΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ
 ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ

¹ Throughout this article I use the abbreviation 'Dem.' to denote M. G. Demitsas, 'Η Μακεδονία, Athens, 1896; the numbers refer to the inscriptions published in that work and not to its pages.

My transcription of the text is as follows :—

- Τ. Αἴλιον Γεμείνιον Μακεδόνα,
 τὸν ἄρξαντα τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ Πανελληνίου
 καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ ἀγο-
 νοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Πανελλή-
 5 νίων ἐν τῇ ἡΐ Πανελληνιάδι, ῥάψαντα
 διὰ βίου τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν, πρῶτον γε-
 νόμενον ἄρχοντα Πανελλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς
 λαμπροτάτης Θεσσαλονικέων πόλεω[ς],
 γυμνασιάρχῆσαντα καὶ πρωταρχήσα[ν]-
 10 τα ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ ταύτῃ πόλει, δόντα ἐξ ὑπ[ο]-
 σχέσεως εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν ταύτην ξύλων
 πῆχ(εις) μυρίους, λογιστεύσαντα ἐκ θείας
 προστάξεως τῆς Ἀπολλωνιατῶν πώλε-
 ως τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, Γεμεινία
 15 Ὀλυμπ[ι]ᾶ[ς] ἡ θυγάτηρ τῶν πατέρα
 εὐτυχῶς.

In the foregoing transcript I have retained mis-spellings where they seem to occur on the stone, and have marked missing letters by the usual convention of square brackets: I have not, however, thought it necessary to indicate all the points in which I have diverged from the copy, as these can easily be seen by comparing the copy with the transcript. Here I mention only those which are of importance.

In Captain Salt's copy the words ΗΠΟΛΙΣ stand at the head of the text: but they are a later addition in ink (the rest of his copy is in pencil), and they indicate, I imagine, a conjectural restoration.² As the concluding words suggest that we have here a memorial set up privately by the daughter of the man commemorated rather than one erected by the community, I have felt justified in rejecting Captain Salt's conjecture.

L. 3. Probably the *τε* of *ἱερατεύσαντα* are ligatured (as in *λογιστεύσαντα*, l. 12). The last letter of the line may be due to an engraver's error or to a mistake in the text which he followed. Cf. *πώλεως* (l. 13) and *τῶν πατέρα* (l. 15).

L. 6. I take the sixth element to be the monogram *ου*, which occurs in ll. 2, 3, 12. I can make nothing of the letter which follows the *τ* of *πρῶτον* and think it may be due to a slip of the modern copyist.

L. 10. The *τ* of *δόντα* may have been written in ligature with the *ν*, but as this ligature is not found in this inscription, though nine opportunities of using it presented themselves, it may be better to assume here also an oversight of the copyist.

L. 11. I read the last word of this line as *ξύλων*, although conscious that the change of *NT* to *ΛW* is a bold one.

² Incidentally it may be noted that the form *Σ* does not occur elsewhere in the copy.

L. 15. I have adopted the suggestion made to me by Dr. A. Wilhelm and read Ὀλυμπιάς in view of the space left in the copy between the Α and the succeeding Η. Ὀλυμπία is possible, but to my mind less probable.

The inscription, which was perhaps surmounted by a statue of Macedo, was erected by Geminia Olympias in honour of her father, T. Aelius Geminus Macedo, the first citizen of Thessalonica to preside over the Attic Panhellenion, who at the eighteenth celebration of the Great Panhellenia had been priest of divine Hadrian and ἀγωνοθέτης of the festival. In his own city he had held the offices of gymnasiarch and of first magistrate and had given 10,000 cubits of timber for the construction of the basilica, in or near which, it would seem, this memorial was erected. He had also by Imperial commission served as *curator* of Apollonia on the coast of the Adriatic.

No other record has, so far as I know, survived either of the father or of the daughter. The name Μακεδών is fairly common, and the cognate forms Μακεδονία (Dem. 27 = Ἀθηνᾶ, xx. 7), Μακεδονιανός (Dem. 380 = Ἀθηνᾶ, xv. 40; *I.G. Rom.* iii. 357), Μακεδονικός (Dem. 1) and Μακεδόνιος (Dem. 556?; *I.G. Rom.* iii. 1529) also occur.³ At Ancyra we have two records (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 184, 195) of a P. Aelius Macedo, who held high office in the province of Galatia, but despite the identity of *nomen* and *cognomen* we have no reason to connect him with the T. Aelius Geminus Macedo of our inscription. The *praenomen* usually associated with Aelius is Publius, but Titus is occasionally found, e.g. in a dedication from Istros (*Jahresh. Beiblatt*, xiv. 151) and in a Latin epitaph from Timacum Minus, the modern Ravna (*ib.* vi. 46).

The name Olympias occurs at Olynthus (Dem. 746, 749) and at Amphipolis (Dem. 892), and also on a sarcophagus at Thessalonica (*B.C.H.* xxxvii. 113), probably of the second century of our era, dedicated to Geminus Olympus⁴ by his wife Aequana Antiochis and their daughter Geminia Olympias, who also buried in it the fifteen-year-old daughter, named Megethin, born to her and her husband Castor. What relationship, if any, existed between this Geminia Olympias and that of our inscription must remain uncertain.

For the word εὐτυχῶς at the close of honorary inscriptions, especially common in the Thraco-Macedonian region, see G. Gerlach, *Griech. Ehreninschriften*, 98 f. To the examples there collected add *Corolla Numismatica*, 223 (Nicopolis ad Nestum) and *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv. 90 (Philippopolis). The same word closes several of the manumission-records found at Edessa (Ἀθηνᾶ, xii. 71 f., Nos. 2, 5, 6, 9).

The record of Macedo's activities falls into three sections, relating respectively to (a) his presidency of the Panhellenion, ll. 2-8; (b) the magistracies held in, and the benefaction bestowed on, Thessalonica, ll. 9-12; and (c) his office as *curator* of Apollonia, ll. 12-14. No indication is given of the order

³ For names derived from nationalities see F. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen des Griechischen*, 536 ff. Cf. Bechtel-Fick,

Griech. Personennamen, 332 ff.

⁴ So the transcript gives the name; in the commentary it appears as Olympius.

in which these various functions were discharged, but it is antecedently probable that Macedo reached the highest rank in the municipal magistracy of Thessalonica before becoming president of the Panhellenion and being selected by the Emperor to administer the affairs of an important city. The gift of timber for the basilica of Thessalonica may, however, have been his latest recorded action if, as seems probable, this statue was erected in, or just outside of, the building in question (τὴν βασιλικὴν ταύτην, l. 11).

For the *γυμνασιαρχία* in general, and particularly in Macedonia, see my note in *B.S.A.* xxiii. 75. *Πρωταρχήσα[ν]τα* (l. 9) refers to Macedo's tenure of the supreme magistracy of Thessalonica. For the archonship see von Schoeffer's article *s.v.* in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 565 ff., and W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche*, 285 f. On the Attic archons of the Imperial period P. Graindor's recent work, *Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens sous l'Empire* (Brussels, 1922), should be consulted; for the power of the archonship at this time see B. Keil, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags* (Leipzig, 1920). At Athens the first place among the archons is taken by the *ἐπώνυμος ἄρχων* (D. Fimmen, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxix. 130 ff.), who frequently bears the simple title *ἄρχων*, and Dio Cassius refers to his office as *ἡ μεγίστη παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχή* (lxix. 16): so far as I know, however, the title *πρώτος ἄρχων* is not found at Athens. The chief magistratēs at Thessalonica in Imperial times were the *πολιτάρχαι* (see my note *B.S.A.* xxiii. 79 f.), and I believe that the term *πρωταρχήσαντα* in the inscription under discussion refers to the chairmanship of this board and does not point to the supersession of *πολιτάρχαι* by *ἄρχοντες* at some unknown date. Thus at Andros we hear of *ὁ πρωτάρχων στρατηγός* (*I.G.* xii. 5. 724), at Magnesia sub Siplylo the phrase *στρατηγοῦ πρώτου καὶ . . . τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ* occurs (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1336), and the title *πρώτος ἄρχων* is borne by the first *στρατηγός* (*C.I.G.* 3407, 'Ελλ. φιλ. Σύλλ. xv. 54); at Blandus the chief of the *στρατηγοί* is designated *α' ἄρχων* (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 239), and the same seems to be the implication of the phrase *τὸν ἀναβάντα ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄρχοντα πρώτον*, which occurs in a Samian decree (*Ath. Mitt.* xlv. 31). But the question involves considerable difficulties, and this is not the place in which to discuss it at length.⁵ The verb *πρωταρχέω* is rare, but recurs in an inscription of Trajana Augusta (*I.G. Rom.* i. 750),⁶ while the variant *πρωταρχοντεύω* is found at Chersonesus Taurica (*I.O.S.P.E.* iv. 105). The title *πρωτάρχων* is met with at Thera (*I.G.* xii. 3. 326), at Cyzicus (*I.G.* xii. 8. 189) and at Trapezopolis in Phrygia (*O.G.I.* 492); far more often, however, we find the phrases *πρώτος ἄρχων* (*I.G.* xii. 3. 481, 1119, xii. 7. 240, etc.), *α' ἄρχων* (*I.G. Rom.* i. 713, 749, etc.), *ἄρχων πρώτος* (*ib.* iv. 1249, 1294, etc.), *ἄρχων α'* (*ib.* 619), *πρωτολόγος ἄρχων* (*C.I.G.* 2760-4, etc.), *ἄρχων τὸν α' τόπον* (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 7),⁷ *α' ἀρχῆς* (*ib.* i. 756), *ἄρξας τὴν πρώτην* (or *τὴν α'*)

⁵ I. Levy, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xii. 268 ff.; V. Chapot, *La Province Romaine d'Asie*, 237 ff.; W. Liebenam, *op. cit.* 558 f.; Keil and von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien*, No. 4.

⁶ Cf. *πρωτόκοσμος, πρωτοκοσμών* in numerous Cretan texts (*I.G. Rom.* i. 979, 981, 983-1002, etc.).

⁷ Cf. *στοατηγήσας τὸν πρώτον τόπον* (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 585).

ἀρχήν (*ib.* 564, 630, 631, etc.).⁸ The office could be held by the same person thrice (*C.I.G.* 2760–2, 2799, *I.G. Rom.* i. 564, iv. 700) or even four times (*I.O.S.P.E.* i. 22).

Macedo had also distinguished himself by his liberality in giving 10,000 cubits of wood for the construction of the basilica at Thessalonica. For the formula ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως cf. *I.G. Rom.* iv. 242, *C.I.G.* 2713, *Liverpool Annals*, iv. 43; we also find κατὰ ὑπόσχεσιν (*e.g.* in Dumont, *Inscr. et Mon. Fig.* 61 c). With the whole phrase we may compare *C.I.G.* 3841 h (Aezani) δόντος εἰς αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοδώρου ἀντὶ τῶν ξυλίνων . . . δηνάρια πεντακόσια, *I.G.* xii. 3. 324 (Thera) τὴν στοὰν ἐστέγασαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὴν τῶν ξύλων καὶ τῶν στρωτήρων ὕλην καὶ τὴν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν εἰς τὴν στέγην δαπάνην πᾶσαν παρασχόμενοι κατὰ δωρεὰν κτλ., *ib.* 326 εἰσὶ[γ]γείλεν . . . τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει βασιλικὴν στοὰν . . . ἐ[κ] τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευάσειν . . . ἕκ τε τῆς περιλειπομένης ξυλικῆς ὕλ[ης τὸν δρ]ύφακτον . . . [κ]ατασ[κ]ευάσας [π]α[ρα]-δώσειν. See also *I.G.* xii. 2, 14 (Mytilenē), *I.G. Rom.* iv. 556 (Ancyra). Of the various forms of timber used for constructional purposes we have a glimpse in *I.G.* xii. 9. 907 = *S.I.G.*³ 905 (Chalcis, A.D. 359). The abbreviation πήχ. for πήχ(εις) recurs in *C.I.G.* 4693 (restored by Kubitschek, *Num. Zeit.* li. 68 f.) and 4863 (where πή. is also used), and is found in papyri (*e.g. Oxy. Pap.* 1450, 1742). I know no other reference to a basilica at Thessalonica. For the basilica in general see the articles *s.v.* by Flather and Purser in the *Dict. of Antiquities*, by Guadet in *Dar.-Sagl.* and by Mau in *Pauly-Wissowa*, iii. 83 ff. To the places at which the existence of basilicas is attested (Mau, 85) we may add, besides Thessalonica, Nauplia (*I.G.* iv. 674, A.D. 364–75), Thera? (xii. 3. 1651), Gortyn (*I.G. Rom.* i. 977), Philadelphia (*ib.* iv. 1637), Aphrodisias (*C.I.G.* 2826), Aezani (*O.G.I.* 511 = *I.G. Rom.* iv. 580, *ca.* A.D. 170), Bosoa? (*Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped. to Syria*, III. A. 701, A.D. 330), Djeneine (Le Bas-Wadd. 2189).

Macedo also served (l. 12 ff.) by 'divine,' *i.e.* Imperial, mandate as *curator* of Apollonia, not far from the point at which the river Aöus falls into the Adriatic Sea. The town, described by Strabo as εὐνομωτάτη (vii. p. 316), was an important one, lying almost immediately opposite to Brundisium and forming one of the starting-points (Dyrrhachium was the other) of the Via Egnatia. In order to distinguish it from other towns of the same name it was sometimes called ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ (Hdt. ix. 92, Ael. *V.H.* xiii. 16), ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ (Dio Cass. xlv. 3 and here) or ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ (Paus. v. 22). For its history see Hirschfeld, *Pauly-Wissowa*, ii. 111 ff.; for the site and ruins of the ancient town Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, i. 368 ff., Heuzey-Daumet, *Mission Archéol. de Macédoine*, 393 ff., C. Praschniker u. A. Schober, *Archäol. Forschungen in Albanien u. Montenegro*, 69 ff., B. Pace, *Annuario*, iii. 287 f. Its coinage extends from the first half of the fourth century B.C.,

⁸ Compare the phrases ἀρξας τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχήν (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 61, 68, 69, etc.), ἀρξας τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν (*ib.* i. 759, iii. 407, 424, etc.), ἀρχων τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχήν (*I.O.S.P.E.* i. 22). I do not understand

the μεγίστην καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν of Benndorf-Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, No. 96: has the word ἀρξαντα slipped out before it?

or even earlier, to the reign of Geta (A. Maier, *Num. Zeit.* n. f. i. 1 ff., Head, *H.N.*² 314).

For the title *λογιστής*, the Greek counterpart of *curator reipublicae* or *civitatis*, see my note, *J.H.S.* xxv. 44 f. To the general references there given Mancini's article *s.v.* *curator* in E. Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico*, ii. 1345 ff., and D. Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis*, 61, should be added. I append a corrected and supplemented list of places at which the office is found, to supersede the very defective list given in *J.H.S. loc. cit.* Though still, I fear, incomplete, it may perhaps prove useful.

I. MAINLAND GREECE (references to *I.G.*). Athens (iii. 10, *B.C.H.* xiv. 650), *liberae civitates* (iii. 631), Epidaurus, Chaeronea, Coronea and Thebes (iii. 677), Troezen (iv. 796), Patrae (v. 1. 524), Arcadian Orchomenus (v. 2. 346), Tegea (v. 2. 152, 155), Corone (v. 1. 1398), Asine (v. 1. 1412), Chaeronea (vii. 3426), Amphissa (*C.I.L.* iii. 568).

II. THE ISLANDS. Histiaea (*I.G.* xii. 9. 1235), Andros (*I.G.* xii. 5. 758), Gortyn (*I.G. Rom.* i. 977).

III. ASIA MINOR AND CYPRUS (in alphabetical order: references to *I.G. Rom.* save where otherwise noted). Adanda (?) Ciliciae (*Mon. Ant.* xxiii. 168: see Rosenberg's note in *Hermes*, lv. 321), Alexandria Troas (iv. 1307), Antioch in Pisidia (iii. 304), Aphrodisias (*O.G.I.* 500, 509, *C.I.G.* 2791, *B.C.H.* ix. 71), Attalia (iii. 474, iv. 1168), Balbura (iii. 468), Bithynia (iii. 174-5 = *O.G.I.* 543: see Dittenberger's note), Cidyessus (Head, *H.N.*² 670), Citium (iii. 977), Cius (iii. 69), Cyzicus (*C.I.G.* 2782, *B.C.H.* xi. 349), Ephesus (*C.I.G.* 2977, *C.I.L.* ii. 4114, Orelli 798),⁹ Eumenia (iv. 739), Hormoeteni (*B.C.H.* ix. 395), Iasus (*ib.* xi. 216), Iconium (iii. 264), Ilium (iv. 218), Julia Gordus (iv. 1294), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*I.v. Magn.* 197), Magnesia sub Sipylo (iv. 1341, 1343), Nicaea (iii. 39 = *S.I.G.*³ 895; iii. 40, *C.I.L.* v. 4341), Nicomedia (iii. 6, 63 = *O.G.I.* 528; *C.I.G.* 3773, *C.I.L.* ii. 4114, v. 4341, vi. 1408, Orelli 798), Oenoanda (iii. 491), Olba (iii. 849), Philadelphia (iv. 1642), Priene (*I.v. Priene*, 230), Sagalassus (iii. 440), Sardis (*J.H.S.* vi. 348), Smyrna (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 19), Synnada (Head, *H.N.*² 686), Termessus (iii. 440), Tira (iv. 1660, 1662, 1664-5), Trajanopolis (iv. 626), Tralles (*C.I.G.* 2926), a group of cities (*C.I.G.* 3497). The title *ἐπιμελητής*—a close translation of the Latin *curator*—is rarely substituted for *λογιστής*.¹⁰

IV. ELSEWHERE. Callatis (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 581), Histria (B. Pârvan, *Anal. Acad. Române*, II, xxxviii. 623 f., No. 27), Gerasa (*C.I.G. add.* 4662 b), Syria (*C.I.L.* x. 6006),¹¹ Palmyra (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 1048: cf. *Rev. Bibl.* xxix. 378 f.), Egypt (*C.I.G.* 5085, 5090, *Oxy. Pap.* 42, 52, 53, 66, 83-87, etc., *Acta S. Didymi et Theodoraë*, 28 Apr. 304). *C.I.G.* 6829 is of uncertain provenance, and *I.G.* xii. 3. 1119 speaks in general terms of πόλεων ἐπιφανεστάτων λογιστείας εὐράμενον.

The foregoing list excludes the financial officials who existed before the

⁹ See J. Menadier, *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint*, 86 ff.

¹⁰ *O.G.I.* 492 (Trapezopolis in Phrygia),

A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* xii. 147 f. (Athens). Cf. W. Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*, 237.

¹¹ Cf. *C.I.L.* viii. 7039, 7059-60.

Imperial period in some of the Greek states,¹² as Athens, Delos, Aegiale on Amorgos (*I.G.* xii. 7. 515), Astypalaea (xii. 3. 168 = *S.I.G.*³ 722), Ephesus (*S.I.G.*³ 742), Eretria (*I.G.* xii. 9. 236), Halicarnassus (*B.M. Inscr.* 893?), Ios (*I.G.* xii. 5. 1005), Tenos (*ib.* 880–3, 885), Tragurium (J. Brunšmid, *Inscr. u. Münzen d. griech. Städte Dalmatiens*, p. 31). It also excludes λογισταί who supervised the finances of a σύνοδος, γερουσία or other body and not those of a whole city—e.g. at Clazomenae (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1555), Dia (*ib.* iii. 1427), Egypt (*O.G.I.* 722), Ephesus (*O.G.I.* 508, *C.I.G.* 2987 b), Rhodes (*I.G.* xii. 1. 83, 155) and Tralles (*O.G.I.* 501).

But the most prominent place in Macedo's record is reserved for his offices as president of the Attic Panhellenion, priest of divine Hadrian and agonothetes of the Panhellenia (ll. 2–5), offices which clearly constituted his greatest distinction and shed most lustre on his city, no citizen of which had previously presided over the Panhellenes (ll. 6–8). The phrase *πρώτον γενόμενον κτλ.*¹³ usually occurs in the fuller form *μόνος καὶ πρῶτος* (e.g. *I.G. Rom.* iii. 69), or *μ. καὶ π.* (or *π. καὶ μ.*) *τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος* (e.g. *I.G.* iii. 129, *C.I.G.* 3208, *I.G. Rom.* iv. 1344, *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 180), which in turn is expanded into *μ. καὶ π. τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος* in an inscription of Trajana Augusta (*Rev. Arch.* ii. 1915, 200). The title of the city also is comparatively simple. A letter from Thessalonica to the Delians in 240–30 B.C. begins *ἡ πόλις Θεσσαλονικέων Δηλίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν* (*I.G.* xi. 1053; F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscr. de Délos*, 49), but later a title devoid of laudatory epithets no longer contented the Greek city. In an honorary inscription Thessalonica is called, as here, *ἡ λαμπροτάτη Θεσσαλονικέων* <ἡ> πόλις (*Ath. Mitt.* xxv. 117); elsewhere it is termed *ἡ λαμπρὰ μητρόπολις καὶ κολωνεία Θεσσαλονικέων πόλις* (*A.-E.M.* xvii. 118 = *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 224), [*Θεσσα*]λονικαίων [*ἡ μ*]ητρόπολις [*καὶ κο*]λωνεία (*Dem.* 373), *ἡ [λαμ]πρὰ Θε[σαλο]νικαίων μη[τρόπο]λις καὶ κ[ολωνεία]* (*B. ph. Woch.* xxxi. 597) or *ἡ Θεσσαλονικέων μ. καὶ κ.* (*ib.* xxii. 957). In commenting on the inscription *A.-E.M.* xvii. 118, Mommsen says that, to the best of his knowledge, Thessalonica is first called 'colony' on coins struck under Decius (*B.M.C. Macedonia*, p. 128), and though this is questioned by P. N. Papageorgiou on the strength of an inscription dated *ἔτους γϞς'* (*B. ph. Woch.* xxii. 957), I have little hesitation in reckoning this date by the Augustan era and so assigning the inscription to A.D. 261/2 (*B.S.A.* xxiv. 66). The absence of the title *κολωνεία* in Macedo's record thus enables us to date it with some confidence between A.D. 200 (see below) and 251, the close of Decius' reign.

The triple title given to Macedo seems to have been the full official designation of the president of the Panhellenion, for it recurs in almost the same terms in two letters sent by the Panhellenes, one to the council and people of Aezani, the other to the *concilium* of the province of Asia (*O.G.I.* 504, 507 = *I.G. Rom.* iv. 573, 576): both open with the formula *Ὁ ἀρχων τῶν*

¹² Cf. H. Swoboda, *Staatsaltertümer*, in K. F. Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, i.* 3. p. 153.

¹³ Cf. *I.G.* vii. 106 (Megara) *πρῶτον*

Πανέλληνα, which Dittenberger now interprets as 'the first Megarian to be appointed a Πανέλληνη' (*O.G.I.* 504, note 1).

Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων (name) καὶ οἱ Πανέλληνες. Very similar is *I.G.* iii. 681, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν σεμνοτάτων Παν[ελλήνων] θεοῦ Ἀδ[ριανοῦ Πανελλ]ληνίου καὶ ἀγων[υ]θ[έ]τ[η]ν τῶν Πανελλήν[ων]. We may believe, with Dittenberger (*O.G.I.* 504, note 3), that normally the three offices were conjoined, though they are not always named together: e.g. in a Corinthian inscription of Hadrian's reign we meet an ἄρχοντα τοῦ Πανελληνίου καὶ ἱερέα Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου (*I.G.* iv. 1600), in an Epidaurian text we have an ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν Πα[νελληνίων] (*I.G.* iv. 1474),¹⁴ and another ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων occurs in an Attic inscription of about A.D. 250 (*I.G.* iii. 1199).¹⁵ The concluding words of a decree of the Panhellenes have been restored (*I.G.* ii.² 1088 = iii. 12) [ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν] Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἄρχων τοῦ σεμνοτάτου συνεδρίου τῶν Πανελλήνων] Τι. Κλ. Ἡ[ρώδης Ἀττικὸς Μαραθώνιος]. Philostratus refers to the tenure of the office by Herodes Atticus (ἐλειτουργήσεν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1, 5), and by Rufus of Perinthus (τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων Ἀθήνησιν εὐκλεῶς ἥρξεν, *ib.* ii. 17: cf. *I.G.* ii.² 1093 = iii. 17). For the priesthood of Hadrian see also *I.G. Rom.* iii. 20, 115 and *B.C.H.* xxxviii. 354; for the ἀγωνοθεσία see E. Reisch *ap.* Pauly-Wissowa, i. 870 ff., E. Saglio in *Dar.-Sagl.*, and the geographical list in W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung*, 542 ff. The frequent association of ἀγωνοθεσία and priesthood is illustrated by Dem. 55 ἀρχιερέως τῶν [Σεβαστῶν] καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου τοῦ κοινού] Μακεδόνων, 60 τὸν διὰ βίου ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τ. κ. Μ., 367, 373, 811, 812, etc.

The word Πανέλληνες first appears as a comprehensive term for the Hellenes in Homer (*Il.* ii. 530),¹⁶ Hesiod (*Op.* 526). Pindar (*Isth.* ii. 56, iii. (iv.) 48) and other authors (see Pape-Benseler, *Gr. Eigennamen*, s.v., and add *I.G.* xiv. 1294, and, I think, iii. 636), while the neuter τὸ Πανελλήνιον is used in the same sense (Eustath. pp. 18, 827, 1414). Πανελλήνιος was an epithet under which Zeus was worshipped in Aegina (Paus. i. 44, ii. 29, 30).¹⁷ The name Πανέλληνες bears a more precise and restricted meaning in two Acraephian inscriptions (*I.G.* vii. 2711-2), the earlier of which belongs to about A.D. 37 and the later to the reign of Claudius or of Nero. These refer to a League bearing the full official title τὸ κοινὸν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Φωκῶν καὶ Εὐβοέων (2711 ll. 1, 22), whose representative council (συνέδριον) met at Argos (2711 ll. 7, 101; 2712 l. 40). So long a title was unsuitable for general use, and it was variously abbreviated. Sometimes the term Ἀχαιοί is employed to represent the whole League (2711 ll. 50, 100; especially l. 119 ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν), sometimes Ἕλληνες is so used

¹⁴ Cf. *I.G.* ii.² 1077 = iii. 10, ἀ[ντ]άρχοντος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἀγ[ῶνος] τοῦ Πανελληνίου. In 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 184 the title may have been abbreviated to the simple ἄρχων (see below).

¹⁵ But the phrase τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ Πανελλήνιον of an Acraephian text is rightly interpreted by Perdrizet 'agonothète des

Πτώια, et député d'Acraephiae au Panhellénion' (*B.C.H.* xxii. 246).

¹⁶ The authenticity of the line has, however, been doubted in ancient and modern times.

¹⁷ Roscher iii. 1533 f. The inscription *I.G.* iv. 1551 is undoubtedly spurious.

(2711 l. 13 πάντων τῶν Ἑλ[λήνων], l. 15 τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, l. 20 τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων), but most frequently Πανελλήνες occurs in this sense (2711 ll. 10, 61, 67, 101 ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Πανελλήνων τῷ ἀχθέντι ἐν Ἀργεῖ; 2712 l. 45): once we meet with τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πανελλήνων συνεδρίῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ (2712 l. 39). The Emperor Gaius permitted the continuance of the League (2711 l. 29 ἐὼ ὑμᾶς συνισταμένους), but of its subsequent history we know nothing with certainty, nor can we trace its relation to that League of Achaeans of which a fragmentary decree has survived, dating from A.D. 211–222 (*I.G.* ii.² 1094 = iii. 18).¹⁸ C. G. Brandis (Pauly-Wissowa, i. 195 ff.) regards the κοινὸν of the Acraephian inscriptions as a temporary and *ad hoc* union for the purpose of congratulating Gaius upon his accession. He points to the absence from its title of all reference to various κοινά within the province of Achaea whose existence is attested in the Imperial period, and he emphasises the continued existence of the κοινὸν τῶν Φωκέων, the κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν and the κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. He sees a similar *ad hoc* combination in τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν Εὐβοέων Λοκρῶν Φωκέων Δωριέων, which honoured M. Junius Silanus, probably shortly before the battle of Actium (*I.G.* iii. 568 = *S.I.G.*³ 767). His arguments, however, fail to convince me. The appearance of a στρατηγός (for the title in *I.G.* vii. 2711 l. 1 is restored with practical certainty) at the head of the union and the phrase above quoted from the Emperor's reply seem to me to point to greater permanence than Brandis allows. Nor does he, in my judgment, take sufficient account of the vague and elastic nature of the term κοινόν. That there should be a κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν, for example, continuing its separate existence and its individual action within the larger federation (κοινόν) seems to me a perfectly simple and natural supposition. But this is not the place in which to discuss more fully this intricate question, to which I hope to return on a future occasion.

Hadrian's third visit to Athens witnessed in all probability the dedication of the Olympieum and the foundation of the temple of Zeus Panhellenios,¹⁹ with whom Hera appears to have been associated.²⁰ The account of Dio lxix. 16,

¹⁸ Marquardt's conclusion (*Röm. Staatsverwaltung*² i. 513) seems to me very doubtful.

¹⁹ Paus. i. 18, 9: cf. *I.G.* ii.² 1088 = iii. 13. An inscription found at the Epidaurian Asclepieum (*I.G.* iv. 1052 = *S.I.G.*³ 842) proves that the dedication of the Olympieum and the foundation (κτίσις) of the Panhellenion belong to the same year. E. Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian*, 55, refers this to A.D. 128/9 (cf. J. Dürr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 44, n. 202), but this involves the alteration of an η' in the inscription into ι'. W. Weber (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 208) assigns the two events to 131/2, and his

reasoning is accepted by F. Hiller von Gaertringen (*S.I.G.*³ 842) and by P. Graindor (*Chronologie des Archontes*, 130 f., 261). W. Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*, 278 f., 328 ff., argues conclusively against the identification by G. Hirschfeld of the Olympieum with the Panhellenion.

²⁰ This seems to follow from the words of Pausanias, *loc. cit.*, though Hitzig and Blümner in their commentary think that Hera may have had a separate temple. See C. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i. 690. W. Gurlitt, *op. cit.* 276. That the Empress Sabina was identified with Hera is a probable conjecture (W. Weber, *op. cit.* 272, note 994).

τόν τε σηκόν τόν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ὀνομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, is not quite clear, but probably means that from the outset the temple was regarded as shared between Zeus and his earthly vicegerent.²¹ In any case, the encouragement of the cult of Panhellenian Zeus led to the assimilation of the Emperor to the god, and he added to the title Ὀλύμπιος, which he had borne sporadically since A.D. 128/9, that of Πανελλήνιος.²² At the same time the Emperor enhanced the dignity and brilliance of Athens by making it the capital of a new union of Greek states, termed the Πανελλήνιον, which, though devoid of political significance, served to unite the Greeks, both European and Asiatic, and to revive the memories of the great civilising mission of Hellenism in the past.²³ At its head stood a council (συνέδριον), composed of representatives of the states comprised in the union, and presided over by the ἄρχων, whose title we have already discussed. This was termed [τὸ συνέδριον τὸ Πανε]λλήνιον (*I.G.* ii.² 1088 = iii. 12), [τὸ σεμνότατ]ον Πανε[λλήνων συνέδριον] (ii.² 1090 = iii. 15), [τὸ σεμνότατον συν]έδριον [τῶν Πανελλήνων] (ii.² 1092 l. 2),²⁴ or, more shortly, τὸ Πανελλήνιον (*I.G.* iv. 1600, xiv. 829 = *O.G.I.* 497, *O.G.I.* 506; possibly also *I.G.* ii.² 1093 = iii. 17),²⁵ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ Πανελληνίου (*O.G.I.* 504 l. 11), οἱ σεμνότατοι Πανέλληνες (*I.G.* iii. 681), or simply οἱ Πανέλληνες.²⁶ Each member (σύνηςρος, *C.I.G.* 3841; cf. *συνεδρεία*, *O.G.I.* 504 l. 7) of the council was entitled Πανέλλην, and the post was regarded as a high distinction (*I.G.* ii.² 1368 = *S.I.G.*³ 1109 and note 67). The following list shows the names and states of the Πανέλληνες known to us from inscriptions and literature: those who occupied the presidential chair are asterisked.

²¹ G. F. Hertzberg, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. 323 f.; F. Gregorovius, *Kaiser Hadrian*, 477; H. Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 625. Dittenberger, however, held (*O.G.I.* 504 note 6) 'superstite quidem principe [Hadriano] Iovis fuisse delubrum et sacerdotium, post obitum vero ad Divum Hadrianum alterum Iovem Panhellenium translata.'

²² *I.G.* [ii.² 1088 = iii. 12], iii. [485], 681, iv. 1600, v. 2. 127, vii. 70, [71], 72; *B.M. Inscr.* 501 [Ὀλύμπιον καὶ Πανελλήνιον καὶ Πανιώνιον; *O.G.I.* 504, 507; Head, *H.N.*² 321. About the same time we find at Ephesus a list of persons who celebrated mysteries in honour of Dionysus, Zeus Panhellenios and Hephaestus (*B.M. Inscr.* 600). Cf. *B.C.H.* xlv. 529.

²³ Cf. W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 430. Hadrian's attitude reminds us of the words penned by the younger Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 24. 2-4.

²⁴ The same phrase is restored in *I.G.* ii.² 1088 = iii. 12 *ad fin.*

²⁵ Only in the Thessalonian inscription is it called τὸ Ἀττικὸν Πανελλήνιον. The exact sense of Πανελλήνιον in *I.G.* ii.² 1093 = iii. 17 and ii.² 1107 = iii. 33 is uncertain owing to the mutilation of these texts. The phrase καὶ ἐκ Πανελληνίου οὐθέν (iii. 1141) is an unsolved enigma. I cannot accept Dittenberger's interpretation of Πανελλήνιον in *S.I.G.*³ 842 = *I.G.* iv. 1052 as 'concilium splendidissimum omnium Graecarum civitatum ab Hadriano Athenis institutum.' To my mind it refers to the temple of Zeus Panhellenios.

²⁶ *I.G.* ii.² 1091 = iii. 16 = *O.G.I.* 503; ii.² 1092 l. 6, iii. 85, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 184, No. 29, Πρακτικά, 1887, 54, *O.G.I.* 504 ll. 1, 3, 506, 507 ll. 1, 3. The curious phrase τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Συνπανελλήνων (*O.G.I.* 507 l. 9) is unparalleled and seems to refer to the constituent states rather than to their delegates met in council: cf. *συνπεπολιτευμένοι* ἡμεῖν (*O.G.I.* 504 l. 6).

Name.	State.	Period.	Reference.
*Titus Flavius Cyllus. . .	?	A.D. 156	<i>O.G.I.</i> 504.
*Claudius Jason.	?	A.D. 157	<i>O.G.I.</i> 507.
*Tiberius Claudius Herodes Atticus.	Athens	A.D. 131-38	<i>I.G.</i> ii. ² 1088; Philostr. <i>Vit. Soph.</i> ii. 1, 5.
M. Aurelius Alcamenes. ²⁷	"	A.D. 209-10	<i>I.G.</i> ii. ² 1077.
*Al. . . . ²⁸	" (?)	A.D. 251/2 (?)	<i>I.G.</i> iii. 1199.
Cn. Cornelius Pulcher.	Corinth	Hadrian	<i>I.G.</i> iv. 1600.
T. Statilius Timocrates Memmianus.	Argos	"	<i>I.G.</i> iv. 590.
Dionysius Pathas (?)	Methana	—	<i>I.G.</i> iv. 858.
Bassus Alleius.	Epidauros	—	<i>I.G.</i> iv. 1474.
Corinthas Nicephori f.	Sparta	3rd cent.	<i>I.G.</i> v. 1. 45.
Spondon Spondontis f.	"	"	<i>I.G.</i> v. 1. 47.
Xenagoras.	"	—	<i>I.G.</i> v. 1. 164.
Pasicrates.	"	—	<i>I.G.</i> v. 1. 164.
C. Curtius Proculus.	Megara	—	<i>I.G.</i> vii. 106.
Coranus.	Pagae?	—	<i>I.G.</i> vii. 192.
Heraclitus Heracliti f.	"	—	<i>I.G.</i> vii. 192.
Paramonus Aphrodisii f.	Acraephia	—	<i>B.C.H.</i> xxii. 246.
M. Ulpius Damasippus. ²⁹	Phocis	Septimius Severus or Caracalla	<i>I.G.</i> ix. 1. 218; Πρακτικά, 1909, 130.
*T. Aelius Geminius Macedo.	Thessalonica	A.D. 199/200	Present inscription.
*Aurelius (?) Rufus.	Perinthus	Antonines	Philostr. <i>Vit. Soph.</i> ii. 17; <i>I.G.</i> ii. ² 1093.
M. Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles.	Aezani	A.D. 156?	<i>O.G.I.</i> 504, 506, 507.
P. Claudius Dionysius.	"	Hadrian	<i>C.I.G.</i> 3841.
Primus?	Apamea	—	<i>I.G. Rom.</i> iv. 801.
M. Julius Praxis.	Apollonia (Cyrenaica)	A.D. 172-75	<i>I.G.</i> iii. 534.

To this list I am inclined to add the name of *Flavius Amphicles from an Eleusinian dedication, probably of the reign of Hadrian or Pius, which runs Οἱ ἐπὶ Φλαουίου Ἀμφικλέους ἄρχοντος Πανελλήνες ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δημητρείου καρποῦ ἀπαρχῆς ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 184, No. 29). Graindor, indeed, regards Amphicles as eponymous Athenian archon (*Chronologie des Archontes*, 131 f.), but there is no other evidence for an archon of that name, and the word may here be used in place of the fuller title ἄρχων τοῦ Πανελληνίου or τῶν Πανελληνίων.³⁰ If this is so, it seems to me not unlikely that the Amphicles in question

²⁷ I assume that Alcamenes, as ἀντάρχων of the Panhellenia, was a Πανέλλην.

²⁸ I have assumed that Al. . . ., being ἀγχνυθέτης of the Great Panhellenia, was also ἄρχων τοῦ Πανελληνίου.

²⁹ According to Πρακτικά, 1909, 129, 130, M. Julius Damasippus. He would appear to have been a citizen of the three Phocian towns of Anticyra, Amphiclia and Tithoronium: see *I.G.* ix. 1. 8.

³⁰ The order of the words seems to me to point to this conclusion. A Panhellenic

body would hardly designate itself by the name of a local archon, and if the archon's name was required for purposes of 'dating, the phrase ἐπὶ . . . ἄρχοντος would, I think, have stood at the beginning or at the end of the inscription. I cannot resist a suspicion that another archon's name may lurk beneath the enigmatic ἀρίστα[ν] of the similar Eleusinian text, *I.G.* iii. 85. Cf. 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 184, No. 30; Weber, *op. cit.* 273 and note 1002.

is Amphilches of Chalcis, said by Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 8, 10) to have been one of Herodes Atticus' best pupils (cf. *S.I.G.*³ 1240, P. Graindor, *op. cit.* 132 note 1). What is more likely than that Herodes Atticus, himself one of the earliest presidents of the Panhellenion, should have been followed in the office not only by his friend and pupil Rufus of Perinthus but also by Amphilches of Chalcis?

We cannot determine the number of states composing the Panhellenic union. It may, I think, be assumed that most or all of the states which figure in the above list were members, and there is evidence that the same is also true of Thyatira (*I.G.* ii.² 1088 = iii. 12, 13), Cibyra (xiv. 829 = *O.G.I.* 497), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (ii.² 1091 = iii. 16 = *O.G.I.* 503) and possibly Sardis (ii.² 1089). Part of the decree survives by which the Panhellenes granted to Magnesia its certificate of membership, and a votive offering set up by the state of Cibyra [κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τ[ο]ῦ Πανελληνίου ἐνγρα[φεί]σα εἰς τοὺς Πανέλληνας] (*O.G.I.* 497, restored by Dittenberger) relates to a similar occasion. In both cases the pure Hellenic descent of the state is emphasised, and doubtless the same qualification was demanded of all applicants seeking admission.³¹

Several texts attest the close relations existing between the Panhellenes and the Eleusinian sanctuary, but of their exact nature we are not informed.³² Nor are we told whether the council consisted of one representative of each state or whether, as is antecedently probable, the larger and more influential states sent several *σύνεδροι*. In support of the latter view we may note the fact that at Pagae two Panhellenes united in a dedication (*I.G.* vii. 192), while a list of ἐπι[ιστάται τῆς ἀναθέ]σεως at Sparta contains the names of at least two, and apparently of four, Panhellenes (v. 1. 164). Nor, again, do we know how long the Panhellenes held office. Dittenberger was convinced that the presidency of the Panhellenion was an annual office (*O.G.I.* 504 note 4),³³ but P. Graindor strikes a note of caution in his assertion that 'il est seulement probable et non certain que les fonctions de synèdre des Panhellènes étaient annuelles' (*op. cit.* 138 note 3). Perhaps each state in the union settled the question as it liked, and though, at least in democratically organised states, annual election would probably be in favour, it is almost certain that to an office which must involve considerable expense there was an unlimited right of re-election. No argument can be drawn from the phrase ἐν τῇ ἡΐ Πανελληνιάδι, which denotes a year and not a period of four years (Graindor, *op. cit.* 255).

One of the chief functions of the Panhellenes was to conduct the festival of the Panhellenia, instituted by Hadrian in connexion with the foundation

³¹ A. von Domaszewski, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiser*, ii. 201, Weber, *op. cit.* 272 f.

³² *I.G.* ii.² 1092, iii. 85, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1894, 184, No. 29, Πρακτικά, 1887, 54. Cf. A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 169 note 2, W. Weber, *op. cit.* 273 f.

³³ One difficulty seems to have passed

unnoticed. Cyllus and Jason, though apparently presidents in successive years, both bear the title ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων (*O.G.I.* 504, 507), which should only be held by every fourth president if the office is annual and the Great Panhellenia are a pentaeteric festival.

of the Panhellenion.³⁴ According to R. Neubauer (*Comment. Epigr.* 52) and A. Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, 168 ff.), it was modelled on the Eleutheria, which since 479 B.C. had been celebrated every four years at Plataea in commemoration of the Greek victory over Mardonius; A. Mommsen, however, points out (p. 168 note 6) that Neubauer was certainly at fault in holding that the Eleutheria were renamed by Hadrian and transplanted to Athens.³⁵ The Πανελλήνια—which bear the epithet *μεγάλα* in the inscription of Thessalonica, in *I.G.* iii. 1199, *O.G.I.* 504, 507, and probably in *I.G.* ii.² 1093 = iii. 17—are frequently mentioned, especially in the records of victories won by athletes and others (*I.G.* iii. 32, 128, 129, 1184, xiv. 739), usually with an explicit reference to Athens (*I.G.* iii. 127, 128, vii. 49, xiv. 1102, *Inscr.* v. *Olymp.* 237, *B.M. Inscr.* 611, 613, 615, *I.G. Rom.* iii. 370).³⁶ The title was reminiscent of the ancient contest reputed to have been founded by Hellen in 1520 B.C. (*I.G.* xii. 5. 444 vi.). Of the character of the festival literature gives no details and inscriptions but few; we may, however, conjecture that it followed closely the customary, more or less stereotyped lines.³⁷ We hear of boys' contests (*B.M. Inscr.* 613, 615), and of competitions of runners (*ib.* 611, 613, *I.G. Rom.* iii. 370), wrestlers (*I.G.* xiv. 739), boxers (iii. 128, *B.M. Inscr.* 615?), *παγκρατιασται* (*I.G.* xiv. 1102) and heralds (iii. 129, *Inscr.* v. *Olymp.* 237). There are reasons for supposing that the Panhellenia were first celebrated in A.D. 131/2 and thereafter took place annually, early in the month Metageitnion: the use of the epithet *μεγάλα* (v. *supra*) suggests that, like the Panathenaea and certain other festivals, they were celebrated with special pomp and splendour every fourth year.³⁸ If this is so, the festival over which

³⁴ Dio Cass. lxix. 16 *ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο*; Hieron. *ad Abr.* 2148 *Hadrianus agonem edidit*. Cf. W. Weber, *op. cit.* note 736; E. Cahen *ap. Dar.-Sagl. s.v.*

³⁵ I cannot accept T. Mommsen's identification (*Provinces of the Rom. Empire*, i. 266) of the κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν εἰς Πλατῆας συνιόντων (*I.G.* vii. 2509 = *S.I.G.*² 393) with the Hadrianic Panhellenion. I further agree with Dittenberger (*O.G.I.* 497 note 5) in declining to identify τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος (*I.G.* xiv. 829) with the Panhellenion, as is done by T. Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) and R. Cagnat (*I.G. Rom.* i. 418).

³⁶ The references in *I.G.* iii. 681, 682 are doubtful. *I.G.* ii.² 1077 = iii. 10 refers to δ ἱερώτατος ἀγὼν ὁ Πανελλήνιος, iv. 1474 to δ ἀγὼν τῶν Πα[νελληνίων]. The legend Πανελλήνια appears on some Attic coins of the third century (Head, *H.N.*² 390).

³⁷ For the programmes of the leading Greek festivals see T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone*, 20 ff.

³⁸ A. Mommsen, *loc. cit.*, P. Graindor, *op. cit.* 261 f. Professor Graindor has

kindly confirmed this view in a private letter, from which I quote these words: 'Comme les Panathénées, les Panhellénia se célébraient certainement chaque année mais aussi, avec plus de solennité, tous les cinq ans: c'est, du moins, ce que me paraît résulter, de toute évidence, de l'emploi de l'expression *μεγάλα Πανελλήνια*.' Further evidence for the annual recurrence of the ἀγὼν may, I think, be found in *B.M. Inscr.* 613, which records three victories won at that festival in boys' races. For the reorganisation of the Panathenaea under Hadrian see Graindor, *B.C.H.* xxxviii. 396 ff., *Chronologie*, 255 ff. Pentaeteric festivals were common under the Empire: see, e.g., *I.G. Rom.* iii. 61, 67, 1422, 1423 οἱ μεγάλοι πενταετηρικοὶ Ἀγούστειοι (Ἀντωνίνειοι) ἀγῶνες at Prusias, *ib.* 319, 804 οἱ μεγάλοι π. Καισάρηος ἀγῶνες at Apollonia and Aspendus, *ib.* 487 τὰ π. μεγάλα ἰσολύμπια Οὐεσπασιάνεια at Oenoanda, *ib.* iv. 579, 858, *C.I.G.* 2987 b, etc. A. Wilhelm, *Die penteterischen Feste der Athener* (*Anzeiger d. Akad. in Wien*, 1895, ix.) is inaccessible to me.

Macedo presided, the eighteenth of the pentaeteric series (l. 5), would be that of A.D. 199/200. The word Πανελληνιάς is new, but is formed on the analogy of 'Ολυμπιάς, Πυθιάς, etc. Cf. *I.G.* v. 1. 479 ἀγωνοθέτης τῆς δευτέρας 'Ολυμπιάδος, 659 νεικήσας παίδων πάλην Οὐραυιάδα τρίτην, xiv. 1102 νεικήσας 'Ολύμπια (Alexandrina) πανκράτιον 'Ολυμπιάδι ἔκτη, *Ath. Mitt.* viii. 325 νεικ[ήσ]αντα παίδων πάλην 'Ολυμπιάδα να', etc.

I cannot determine the meaning of ῥάψαντα in l. 5 of the Thessalonian inscription. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the copyist has been at fault here, yet no convincing correction suggests itself. Is it possible that Macedo may have been a kind of poet laureate to the Imperial house? Cf. [Hesiod] *fr.* 265 ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ 'Ομηρος ἀοιδοὶ μέλομεν ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδὴν Φοῖβον.

II. TWO UNPUBLISHED EPITAPHS FROM GALATISTA.

To the kindness of Mr. A. J. B. Wace I owe copies of the two following inscriptions.

1. At Galatista, by a spring. Grave stele of marble: .25 m. × .41 m., letters .02 m. Above the inscription is a decorated gable and below it are two broken rosettes. Date, probably second century B.C.

ΛΕΜΩΝΙΠΠΟΝΙΚΟΥ

[Πο]λέμων Ἰππονίκου.

The name Πολέμων occurs in an inscription of Amphipolis dating from the Macedonian period (*S.I.G.*² 832, Dem. 848) and in an epitaph (Dem. 150) found between Yanitsa and Vodena (Edessa). It also appears in Leake's copy of the pre-Roman inscription of Aivatli (Lete) published *C.I.G.* 1967 b (Dem. 677), but the reading is doubtful (see *B.S.A.* xxiii. 94, No. 19). Ἰππόνικος is found in G. P. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 26 No. 42.

2. At Galatista, in a house. Grave monument (*cippus*): .55 m. × .33 m., letters .04 m. with traces of red paint in them.

ΚΑΙΑΥ
ΗΛΙΑΕΛΠ
ΙΣΑΡΗΛΙΜ
ΑΝΕΙΚΗΤΜΤ
ΜΛΥΚΥΤΑΤ
ΜΤΕΚΜΕΚΤΜ
ΝΚΟΙΜΝΙΩΓΜ
ΝΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡ

- - - καὶ Ἀν-
[ρ]ηλία Ἑλπ-
ις Ἀρηλίῳ
Ἀνεικήτῳ τ-
5 ᾧ γλυκυτάτ-
ῳ τέκνῳ ἐκ τῶ-
ν κοινῶν κόπω-
ν μνείας χάρ-
[ιν].

The illiterate character of this inscription, which probably falls in the third century of our era, is shown by the persistent disregard of the syllabic division of the lines. I know no other example of the use of \mathbf{M} , in place of $\mathbf{\omega}$, to denote ω . The omission of the ν in 'Αρηλίφ (l. 3) may be a mere error, or it may reflect the popular pronunciation at the period: the representation of $\alpha\nu$ by α is specially frequent in the word *εατόν*, etc.; see *B.S.A.* xxiii. 71, K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik d. alt. Inschr.*³ 154, note 1318; E. Schweizer, *Grammatik d. Pergamen. Inschr.* 91; E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri*, 114 f. Mr. G. F. Hill has kindly drawn my attention to the occurrence of the form \mathbf{APHAI} on coins of Trajana Augusta (*B.M.C. Thrace*, 178, No. 12) and of Marcianopolis (F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, i. 1. 213 f., Nos. 614–21) dating from Caracalla's reign. The names 'Ελπίς (Dem. 44, 627) and 'Ανείκητος (Dem. 1, 727, 786, *B.C.H.* xxxv. 238) occur elsewhere in Macedonia. For the phrase *ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν κόπων* see *B.S.A.* xxiii. 83: the epitaph must have begun with a reference to the father of the dead.

Mr. Wace also copied a *cippus* at Galatista, close to that published in *B.S.A.* xxiii. 84, No. 12: .47 m. \times .1.3 m., letters .02 m. This proves to be Dem. 785, published by Duchesne (*Archives des Missions Scient.* III. iii, No. 125) but apparently much damaged in recent years. Mr. Wace's version of l. 2 ($\mathbf{\text{OMITWTEKNWNI}}$ in place of Duchesne's $\mathbf{\text{\Delta OMITIWCEBBIWNI}}$) is worth noting.

III. ΗΡΩΙ ΗΡΟΠΥΘΩΙ

In a recent number of the *Revue de Philologie* (xlii. 60 ff.) M. Paul Foucart published the above text from a squeeze, which he found among a collection left to him by Charles Blondel, sometime member of the French School at Athens. It bore no indication of provenance, but the lettering suggested that the inscription belonged to the second half of the fourth century B.C. This early date and the position of the word *ἥρωι* preceding the proper name with which it is associated seem to M. Foucart to prove that we have to do not with an epitaph but with a dedication to a 'true hero' Heropythus, and he proceeds to develop the theory that this was the same Heropythus who is spoken of by Arrian (*Anab.* i. 17. 11) in a passage which describes how, on the advent of Alexander the Great in 334, the Ephesian democrats *τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Φιλίππου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος) καταβαλόντας καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνορύξαντας τὸν Ἡροπύθου τοῦ ἐλευθερώσαντος τὴν πόλιν ὥρμησαν ἀποκτείνειν*. Arrian does not, it is true, refer to Heropythus as having received the title and worship of a hero, but what is more likely than that the liberator of the city should be honoured not only with a tomb in the market-place but also with heroic worship? The case of Brasidas affords a striking parallel.³⁹ Hence M. Foucart naturally concludes that 'l'inscription

³⁹ Thuc. v. 11 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Βρασίδαν . . . δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὐσης· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται . . . ὡς ἥρωϊ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδῶκασιν . . . καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν . . . νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτήρᾳ τε σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι κτλ.*

que nous venons d'étudier provient du premier ou du second héroon d'Héropythos' (p. 61).

I hesitate to call in question so attractive a theory, set forth with such skill and cogency and supported by the weight of M. Foucart's authority; but I think it right to draw attention to certain facts which to my mind tell powerfully against it. The inscription was not, as M. Foucart thought, previously unpublished. It was edited by Duchesne in his 'Mission au Mont Athos,'⁴⁰ and, twenty years later, by M. G. Demitsas ('H Μακεδονία, i. 636, No. 766). Duchesne placed it among the inscriptions of Potidaea-Cassandra and noted that it was found 'au métokhi du couvent de Dokhiarion,' and though it may possibly have been brought by sea from Ephesus to Chalcidice,⁴¹ such a supposition is unlikely in itself and unsupported by any evidence. Further, Duchesne expressly describes it as a 'stèle funéraire carrée,' and adds that 'le bas-relief représente un banquet funèbre.' In view of this explicit statement of the only scholar who has described the monument, we must, I think, regretfully abandon M. Foucart's view, since he certainly knew nothing of its find-spot and of the accompanying relief. Blondel, who died⁴² on 16th September, 1873, must have seen the stone before Duchesne, whose mission extended from February to June, 1874; that Blondel paid at least one visit to Chalcidice is certain.⁴³

So far we have reached only a negative result, nor can I maintain with confidence any positive conclusion. It is possible that, even if the connexion with Ephesus disappears, we have here a dedication to 'un héros véritable': the inscription, that is, may be similar to the votive relief inscribed *Κυρίῳ Ἡρώϊ* 'Hρακλ[εῖ] found at Drama and published by S. Merdjidis.⁴⁴ But Duchesne's description of the monument and the absence of any other mention of a hero Heropythus in Macedonia or Thrace are serious difficulties in the way of such a theory. Two alternatives then remain for consideration.

(1) Hero may be a feminine proper name and the stone may commemorate jointly Hero and Heropythus. 'Hρώ is familiar as a personal name and occurs in an epitaph from Athos which apparently precedes the Roman period and in another from Amphipolis which belongs to the age of the Antonines.⁴⁵

(2) It seems to me, however, more probable that we have here an early example of the application to the dead of the term *ἥρωας*, 'appellation devenue banale à l'époque gréco-romaine' (Foucart, *loc. cit.*). So far as I can judge,

⁴⁰ *Archives des Missions Scient.* III. iii. 270, No. 115 (Paris, 1876).

⁴¹ E.g., an inscription from Cape Taenarum was found in the island of Syme (*I.G.* v. 1. 1233).

⁴² G. Radet, *L'Histoire et l'Oeuvre de l'École Française d'Athènes*, 457.

⁴³ Radet, *op. cit.* 325, 'en classant les papiers de Blondel, Foucart avait remarqué des scolies qui portaient l'indice de la bibliothèque conventuelle du monastère de Vatopédi.'

⁴⁴ 'Ερευναι καὶ μελέται τοπογραφ.καί (Athens,

1885). See also Dem. 1064. Cf. the Thracian dedications *κυρίῳ Ἡρώϊ* (Dumont, *Inscr. et Mon. Fig. de la Thrace*, Nos. 24, 32, 39).

⁴⁵ The earlier inscription is published, after Leake, *C.I.G.* 2007 l, Le Bas 1416, Dem. 775, the later *B.C.H.* xviii. 425, Dem. 863. The objection that we should have 'Hρωί on the stone is strong, but not to my mind fatal. *Μαρτῶ* is found as a dative at Thessalonica (*C.I.G.* 1989, Dem. 486), and the 'Hρωί *Λυσάνδρου* of an epitaph at Aix (*C.I.G.* 6954) may perhaps afford a parallel.

the inscription Τιμοζήλῳ Δαφναίου ἥρωι from Salonica, which also accompanies a relief representing a funeral banquet, is likewise comparatively early,⁴⁶ and I am inclined to assign to the pre-Roman period several other Macedonian inscriptions which use the term ἥρως.⁴⁷ As regards the order of the words, our example may go back to a time when no stereotyped tradition existed, and even later, when usage had created such a tradition, we find occasional deviations from it, as in Duchesne 68 (*J.H.S.* viii. 365, No. 8, Dem. 435) 'Ἡρωὶ Πατροβίῳ τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ τέκνῳ κτλ.⁴⁸ Although at first sight there may seem to be an impassable gulf fixed between the semi-divine heroes of the Greek mythology and the humble folk, sometimes slaves or even children, who in later times received heroic honours, yet it must be remembered that, once an unquestionably human being was heroised for outstanding services,—the founding of a colony, maybe, or the liberation of a state,—there was no means of defining precisely the nature or value of the services justifying the bestowal of this honour. Consequently the 'héros véritable' shades off imperceptibly into the rank and file of the ἥρωες. What service Heropythus had rendered to his community we have no means of determining. An interesting review of the multiplication of heroes in the historical period is given by Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. 1134 ff., and by Deneken in Roscher, i. 2516 ff., but the best general review of the whole subject will be found in P. Foucart, *Le Culte des Héros chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1918), and L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* (Oxford, 1921).⁴⁹

A few words may be added on a point to which M. Foucart does not allude in his article. The liberator of Ephesus is named 'Ἡρόπυθος by Arrian, *loc. cit.*, and this name, though rare, is usually retained, being known,⁵⁰ e.g., as that of a Colophonian writer (Athen. vii. 297 E), of one or two Chians (*G.D.I.* 5656–7) and of a Magnesian (*S.I.G.*³ 685), and appearing also in the decrees inserted in Demosthenes xviii. 164, 165. Roth, however, would substitute 'Ἡροφύτου for 'Ἡροπύθου on the strength of a passage of Polyaeus (*Strat.* vii. 23. 2), in which Mausolus is spoken of as ἐς Πύγελα παριὼν ὡς δεδιὼς 'Ἡρόφυτον 'Εφέσιον. It is almost certain that Polyaeus and Arrian refer to the same man, but it would seem that, if any change is to be made, it should be in the text of Polyaeus, where 'Ἡρόφυτον is Roth's conjectural restoration of the Προφυτόν of the archetypal manuscript F.

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⁴⁶ Duchesne, *op. cit.* 246, No. 77 (Dem. 533): Duchesne calls it 'assez ancien.'

⁴⁷ Dem. 23, 145, 150, and perhaps also 870.

⁴⁸ Cf. also Delacoulonche, *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, v. (Paris, 1858) 795, No. 43 (Dem. 67).

⁴⁹ For the funeral banquet on grave-stelae see P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* v. 107 ff. and Deneken, *op. cit.* i. 2571 ff.

⁵⁰ The names Δημόπυθος and Μητρόπυθος also occur: names with Πυθ- as their first element are very common (F. Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen des Griechischen*).

NOTES ON THE ἀριστεία OF THEBES

I. THE SPARTAN FORCES AT LEUCTRA

ACCORDING to the calculations of Busolt, whose elaborate essay on the Spartan army may be regarded as the standard work on this subject, the forces which King Cleombrotus took into action at Leuctra consisted of four out of the six *μόραι*, each containing 35 out of the 40 service classes, and 300 *ἰππεῖς*, or Guards.¹

That 35 classes were mobilised for the campaign of Leuctra is directly attested by Xenophon² and cannot be called into question. That four out of the six *μόραι* took part in the battle is an inference from another passage in Xenophon, which states that *three years previously* Cleombrotus was despatched to Central Greece with four *μόραι*.³

This inference is only valid if we may assume that the Spartan forces in Phocis were maintained at undiminished strength from 374 to 371 B.C. But such an assumption is hardly justified. A priori it is unlikely that a force representing some 60 per cent. of the entire military establishment of Sparta should have been marooned in Central Greece for three years on end. The Spartan government was of necessity most economical in the use of its citizen troops.⁴ As a general rule it reserved them for the critical operations of a field campaign and recalled them home at the close of each fighting season. For the routine duties of garrison service it relied almost entirely on mercenaries. But the emergency which had necessitated the sending of a large field force to Phocis in 374 B.C. had passed away long before the campaign of Leuctra. In 374, no doubt, a strong Theban force was concentrated for the invasion of Phocis. In 373 and 372, however, the Thebans were preoccupied with the coercion of Thespieae and the occupation of Plataea;⁵ and in view of the ill-concealed hostility of Athens⁶ and the presence of an Attic force on the Boeotian border at Oropus,⁷ we may fairly assume that a considerable portion of the Theban field forces had during these years to be called away from the Phocian frontier. In the spring of 371 B.C. Thebans and Spartans alike were more

¹ *Hermes*, 1905, pp. 387-449. Professor Toynbee (*J.H.S.* 1913, p. 271) reaches similar conclusions.

² *Hellenica*, vi. 4. 17.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 1. 1.

⁴ In 374 B.C. the Spartans had to refuse an urgent request from Polydamas of Pharsalus for assistance against Jason of

Pherae, because they could not beat up an army of any sort for this purpose (*Hellen.* vi. 1. 17).

⁵ *Hellen.* vi. 3. 1. For the date see Grote, *History of Greece* (1903 ed.), vol. viii, p. 150 *sqq.*

⁶ *Vide* the *Plataicus* of Isocrates.

⁷ *Ibid.* 20.

taken up with diplomatic negotiations than with military operations.⁸ Under these circumstances we may well doubt whether the Phocians continued to be in such danger as to require the continued presence of four strong μόραι.

A further doubt is suggested by the smallness in numbers of the Spartan contingent actually engaged at Leuctra. This force, according to Xenophon,⁹ was only 700 strong. Accepting these figures, Busolt has reckoned out that by 371 B.C. Sparta's total military establishment had sunk to some 1000 men.¹⁰ This conclusion does little credit to the premiss from which it proceeds. In 418 B.C., as Busolt has shown, Sparta's military population numbered about 2200.¹¹ This leaves us with a depopulation of more than 50 per cent. to explain away. But neither the wastage of previous wars nor the social and economic changes which befell Sparta in the early years of the fourth century¹² will account for such a catastrophic reduction in numbers. We are therefore driven to infer that the 700 Spartans at Leuctra constituted a smaller portion of the Spartan citizen levy than Busolt assumes.

Another difficulty in the way of Busolt's estimate is this. About 380 B.C. the Spartans introduced a 'formula togatorum' for their allies, by which each dependent community was bound to contribute a fixed quota of soldiers to each joint expedition.¹³ In 374 B.C. Xenophon expressly mentions that the allies of Sparta contributed their allotted share to Cleombrotus' force, and there is no reason for supposing that in 371 B.C. the Peloponnesian contingent in this force had been reduced below the normal. Now the normal ratio of other Peloponnesians to Spartans and Perioeci was 6:1. But if the Laconian contingent at Leuctra was over 2000 strong, as on Busolt's showing it must have been,¹⁴ it follows that the other Peloponnesian contingents exceeded 12,000, and that the entire Peloponnesian corps numbered some 15,000 combatants. If to these be added the Phocian and Heracleote divisions which accompanied Cleombrotus,¹⁵ the grand total of his force cannot have fallen far short of 16,000–17,000 men. But this total considerably exceeds the estimate of 11,000 men given by Plutarch,¹⁶ and it is quite out of keeping with

⁸ This consideration seems decisive against Beloch's theory that Cleombrotus' force was not sent to Phocis until 371 B.C. (*Griechische Geschichte*, 1st ed., vol. ii. p. 251, n. 3).

⁹ *Hellen.* vi. 4. 15.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 425. Busolt further concludes that at Leuctra the proportion of Spartan citizens to Perioeci in the μόραι had sunk to 1:5. Professor Toynbee (*loc. cit.*) establishes a ratio of 1:10. Neither of these estimates is inconceivable, for in Spartan field tactics the rear-rank men were trained merely to follow No. 1 in each file (Xenophon, *Resp. Lac.* ch. 11), and one Spartan as πρῶτοστάνης to each file would at a pinch be sufficient. But we should feel happier if we could assume a less complete dilution of the μόραι with περίοικοι.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 417.

¹² The πόρρα of Epitadas, which permitted the concentration of the Spartan land in a few hands, probably belongs to the middle rather than to the beginning of the fourth century (Toynbee, p. 273). In any case, its effects by 371 B.C. could not have been devastating.

The severe depopulation upon which Aristotle comments (*Politics*, ii. 5) was the result of the disasters which befell Sparta after Leuctra.

¹³ Diodorus, xv. 31.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 422. Professor Toynbee raises the Laconian contingent to 4,480 hoplites.

¹⁵ *Hellen.* vi. 4. 9.

¹⁶ *Pelopidas*, ch. 20.

the conclusions of the most recent historians, who argue with considerable force that the disparity of numbers between Cleombrotus' and Epaminondas' armies cannot have been great, and are therefore inclined to regard Plutarch's allowance as rather generous.¹⁷

We must therefore relinquish the view that the Spartans had four *μόραι* engaged at Leuctra: their contingent must have been considerably smaller. Any more exact estimate can only be guess-work. But if we accept Plutarch's figures for Cleombrotus' force as being approximately correct, we may assume that his Peloponnesian contingent represented τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα,¹⁸ and that the Laconian quota consisted of 1400-1500 men. If we deduct from these the 300 Guards, there remains a force sufficient to make up two strong *μόραι*.¹⁹ This estimate fits in well with Xenophon's figure of 700 for the Spartan citizen troops. As the 300 Guards formed a special corps, we have 400 Spartan soldiers of the line left over, *i. e.* 200 men to each *μόρα*. On this reckoning the proportion of Spartans to Perioeci in each *μόρα* was roughly 2:3, which was also the relative strength of their respective contingents at First Mantinea,²⁰ and the ratio of their casualties at Leuctra itself.²¹ We may therefore conclude tentatively that the Laconian contingent in this battle was two *μόραι* strong.

II. WHERE WAS ARCHIDAMUS?

In telling the story of Leuctra modern historians since Grote have invariably given preference to the account of Xenophon over that of Diodorus. But Professor Bury, instead of rejecting Diodorus' version *in toto*, has discerned a substratum of truth in his assertion that the army of Prince Archidamus joined hands with King Cleombrotus' force in time to participate in the battle. While he shares the accepted view that Archidamus was not actually on the field at Leuctra, Professor Bury suggests that Archidamus marched out from Sparta *before* the battle and fell in with the remnants of Cleombrotus' army on the second or third day after the fighting.²² On this hypothesis, as he points out, a further reason is supplied for Cleombrotus' devious line of march via Creusis, for this harbour was obviously suited to serve as a joint base for two co-operating forces from Phocis and Peloponnesus; and the delay in the retreat of the defeated Spartan forces from their camp at Leuctra can be reduced from a

¹⁷ Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, v. p. 412; Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, i. p. 156, n. 2.

¹⁸ This was the strength of the corps levied for service against the Chalcidians in 382 B.C. (*Hellen.* v. 2. 20).

¹⁹ The strength of the *μόρα* varied according to the number of service classes mobilised. According to Busolt's careful calculations, the *μόραι* engaged at Leuctra numbered at most 576 men each.

²⁰ Busolt, p. 433.

²¹ Professor Toynbee assumes that the

Guards' corps was practically annihilated, and that the total losses of the Spartan citizen troops were relatively far heavier (*op. cit.* p. 271). But according to Xenophon the battle at first went in favour of the Spartans at the point where King Cleombrotus stood (*Hellen.* vi. 4. 13). The impact of the Theban phalanx therefore fell upon the *μόραι* rather than upon the Guards, in which case the Perioeci probably suffered their full share of casualties.

²² *History of Greece* (1913 ed.), p. 596.

week or more²³ to a matter of one or two days. To these arguments it may be added that in the light of Professor Bury's theory the strictures which Isocrates makes Archidamus pass on Cleombrotus' leadership²⁴ gain a good deal of point. In Xenophon's version of events it is hard to see where the bad leadership comes in: Cleombrotus here appears as a good general who has the misfortune to meet a great general. But if Cleombrotus precipitated an action a few days before the arrival of reinforcements which would have made the issue safe for Sparta, Archidamus had good reason for saying that Leuctra had been thrown away by bad strategy.

On the other hand, Professor Bury's reconstruction involves the rejection of Xenophon's detailed and explicit statement that Archidamus' force was mobilised *after and in consequence of* Leuctra.²⁵ Although a slip in Xenophon's memory on this point was possible, it should not be assumed without further investigation.

It will be agreed that the arguments drawn from Cleombrotus' route of march and from Isocrates' aspersions on him are in any case but a make-weight. While these incidents fit in excellently with Professor Bury's version of events, they are not out of harmony with Xenophon's account. Whether Cleombrotus expected reinforcements from Peloponnesus or no, it was worth his while to make a detour via the Boeotian seaboard and so to turn the strong defensive positions in north-western Boeotia. Whether Isocrates' comments on Cleombrotus were just or not, they were in any case appropriate to Isocrates' purpose, for in the passage in question it was his cue to explain away the disaster of Leuctra as the result of mere bad leadership.

The main point at issue is whether the beaten Spartan army spent a week or so in contemplating the scene of its defeat. On Xenophon's showing, it could not have heard of Archidamus' expedition, and therefore could not have been waiting for him to come up and retrieve the previous disaster. Again, though the first day or two of its stay at Leuctra may have been taken up with the burying of the dead, for which purpose the Thebans had granted it a truce, these burial operations will not account for a delay of a week or more in its retreat.

But there remains one simple explanation which if true is all-sufficient, that the Spartans remained *in situ* because their retreat was cut off or at all events endangered. Professor Bury, it is true, assumes that the Spartans had an open road, and on his behalf it might be pointed out that a resolute hoplite force could not be stopped except by being engaged at close quarters, as Agesilaus proved on his march through Thessaly in 394 B.C.²⁶ But the army of Leuctra was demoralised as well as defeated,²⁷ and the furtiveness with which it eventually withdrew to Creusis, and that too under a convention which secured it from attack,²⁸ indicates that it expected to be waylaid and did not

²³ In assuming that the delay did not exceed a week in duration, Professor Bury states the case as unfavourably as possible for himself. A detailed calculation will show that seven days represents the *minimum* lapse of time.

²⁴ Archidamus, § 9: δεδυστυχημένοι δοκούμεν . . . διὰ τὸν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἡγησάμενον.

²⁵ Hellen. vi. 4. 16-17.

²⁶ Ibid. iv. 3. 3-9.

²⁷ Ibid. vi. 4. 15, 24.

²⁸ Ibid. vi. 4. 25-6.

feel equal to cutting a path for itself. The haste with which Archidamus' force was moved forward also suggests that its task was not so much to beat the Thebans in a return match²⁹ as to extricate a beleaguered force.

Thus it appears that the Spartans had an adequate, not to say a compelling reason for staying on at Leuctra. In that case there is no need to overthrow Xenophon by antedating Archidamus' advance.

III. THE 'PHYLARCHUS' INSCRIPTION

Our chief source of information about the federal council of the Arcadian League is an inscription recording a grant of *προξενία* to one Phylarchus of Athens by the Council and Assembly of the Arcadians, and setting forth the names of fifty deputies, drawn from ten of the Arcadian communities, who evidently constituted the federal council at the time in question.³⁰ Unfortunately the date of this inscription has long remained a matter of dispute among scholars, some of whom would assign it to the fourth century B.C., others to the third.

A definite *terminus ante quem* has recently been provided for our document by Hiller v. Gärtringen, who has pointed out that some of the communities which figure in it as independent constituents of the Arcadian League were absorbed in 361 B.C. in the borough of Megalopolis, and thereby lost the right of separate representation on the federal council.³¹ This may be taken as proof conclusive that the decree was issued not later than 361 B.C.

By this discovery the margin of doubt as to the date has been enormously reduced, for since the Arcadian League only came into existence in 370 B.C., it is evident that the Phylarchus decree must belong to the ensuing decade.

Is it possible to fix the date still more precisely? On the strength of the words *πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην εἶναι Ἀρκάδων πάντων* Hiller v. Gärtringen has further inferred that the decree was not drawn up until after the battle of Mantinea, because then, and then only, did the Arcadian federal state comprise the entire territory of Arcadia. Our document, therefore, must fall within the limits of the Athenian archon year 362/1 B.C.

This argument has at least the merit of enabling us to assign the decree to a very definite occasion, viz. the negotiations for a new Arcadian-Athenian alliance which ensued after Mantinea, and resulted in a treaty of which we still have a record in the 'Molon' inscription.³² But two objections can be urged against it.

(1) It is by no means certain that the 'Ἀρκάδες' of the Molon inscription really stood for all Arcadia. Before the battle of Mantinea the Arcadian

²⁹ Else Archidamus would have waited for his Peloponnesian allies to fall in, instead of hastening on ahead of them (*Hellen.* vi. 4. 26).

³⁰ Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 171; Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, No. 193; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*

(3rd ed.), No. 183; Niese, *Hermes*, 1899, pp. 542-548.

³¹ *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1911, pp. 349-360.

³² Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 119.

League had notoriously been sundered into two hostile sections, and as we are nowhere explicitly told that the rift was subsequently mended, we cannot be sure that the party which entered into alliance with Athens was not a sub-group (presumably the Mantineian group) which pretended to speak on behalf of the Arcadians in general.

(2) Whatever the precise extent of the Arcadian League may have been in 362/1 B.C., it is clear that the federal Arcadian council, as detailed in the Phylarchus inscription, was not properly representative of Arcadia as a whole, for on this council *the deputies of the North Arcadian communities* of Alea, Caphyae, Cynaetha, Pheneus, Psophis and Stymphalus *are conspicuous by their absence*.

So far, then, 362/1 B.C. remains a possible date, but ceases to be the only conceivable date for Phylarchus' decree.

This brings us to the crux of the problem, which is to reconcile the expression 'πρόξενον Ἀρκάδων πάντων' with the *de facto* non-representative character of those who conferred this pan-Arcadian title.

The difficulty cannot be evaded by assuming that the absence of the deputies from northern Arcadia was accidental. Though one or two councillors might have been ill in bed or otherwise engaged, it is inconceivable that all the twenty or thirty representatives of six district communities should simultaneously have been prevented from attending.

Again, we cannot suppose that the North Arcadian communities were deprived of seats on the federal council on the score of their insignificance. True enough, none of them was as important as Mantinea or Tegea; but none of them was more Lilliputian than Lepreum, which furnished two deputies, or Thelpusa, which provided five.

A more plausible suggestion is that only the larger Arcadian cities enjoyed permanent representation on the Arcadian council, and that the lesser communities took it in turn to provide the remaining deputies. A parallel for this might be found in the constitution of the League of Nations, which provides permanent seats on the League Council for the 'Big Five' only, and allots a beggarly representation of four members to the remaining signatories of the Covenant. But under such a system we should expect to find a better distribution of the available seats among the minor communities. Whether these seats were filled by annual election or on some fixed principle of rotation, it is incomprehensible that in any given year the entire northern zone of Arcadia should have been excluded from the council, while all the tiny communities of the south sent their full quota of delegates.

There seems no escape from the conclusion that, *in spite of its claim to speak on behalf of Ἀρκάδες πάντες, the council of the Phylarchus inscription was only representative of southern and central Arcadia, and that the inscription itself belongs to a period at which northern Arcadia had not yet joined the League.*

The council's profession was therefore a hopeful anticipation of the future rather than an accurate description of the present.

Once we admit that the League was incomplete at the time of the decree in honour of Phylarchus, we win a new *terminus ante quem* for this document.

In 366 B.C. the town of Stymphalus, which does not figure in our inscription, had become a member of the League, for in that year it provided the federal *στρατηγός*.³³ The decree was therefore issued at some earlier date than 366 B.C.

On the other hand, the inscription contains the names of several councillors from Megalopolis, and therefore must be subsequent to the foundation of that city. The year in which Megalopolis was founded is a matter of dispute, but 369 B.C. is the earliest possible date.³⁴

Our conclusion, therefore, is that the Phylarchus decree belongs to 369, 368 or 367 B.C.

The precise occasion on which Phylarchus was appointed *πρόξενος* cannot be ascertained. But the commonest service for which this title was conferred was the rendering of assistance to travellers, and especially to official emissaries. It therefore appears not unlikely that Phylarchus befriended some Arcadian embassy on the occasion of the peace negotiations of Delphi (368 or 367) or Susa (late 367).

IV. I.G. VII. 2408

This inscription, which records a grant of *προξενία* by the Boeotian federation to a citizen of Byzantium, has been used as a means of dating Epaminondas' naval campaign and the punitive expedition which the Thebans sent to Thessaly to avenge the death of Pelopidas. The list of eponymous Boeotarchs at the foot of this document contains the names of the two generals, Malecidas and Diogeiton, who took command of the punitive expedition to Thessaly,³⁵ but it omits the names of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Since it is practically certain that Epaminondas was a Boeotarch in the year of his naval campaign, and Pelopidas in the year of his death,³⁶ it has been argued that the year of Malecidas and Diogeiton's Boeotarchy must be a different one.³⁷ Now Pelopidas died in 364 B.C.³⁸ Therefore the expedition of the two generals must be dated forward to 363. Epaminondas' naval campaign can be assigned on general grounds to either 364 or 363. *Ex hypothesi* it does not belong to 363; therefore its date is 364.³⁹

³³ *Hellen.* vii. 3. 1.

³⁴ See Niese, *Hermes*, 1899, pp. 527-542. The date selected by Niese, 367 B.C., is rather too late, as Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*, v. p. 433) has pointed out. The foundation of Megalopolis probably stands in connexion with the second Peloponnesian expedition of Epaminondas, which befell in 369 according to the common dating, or in 368, according to the more credible reckoning of Clinton and Niese (*Hermes*, 1904, pp. 84-108).

³⁵ Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, ch. 35. The 'Maleitus' of Plutarch's text can safely be identified with the 'Malecidas' of the inscription.

³⁶ Pelopidas was Boeotarch every year (so Diodorus, xv. 81), or thirteen times (so Plutarch, ch. 34) since 378 B.C. Since Epaminondas' fleet must have been a federal Boeotian armament, and not merely a Theban affair, it may be taken for granted that its admiral was a Boeotarch (*pace* Meyer, *op. cit.* v. p. 462).

³⁷ Köhler, *Hermes*, 1892, p. 638.

³⁸ The eclipse which preceded his death took place on July 13, 364. (Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse*, pp. 24-5, 182.)

³⁹ Beloch, *op. cit.* ii. p. 281, n. 3.

This conclusion stands in conflict with Plutarch's account, which declares that Malecidas' and Diogeiton's army went out hot-foot to avenge Pelopidas. On the face of it this version is more credible than a theory which interposes a long delay between Pelopidas' death and the avenging expedition, and a further investigation will show that there is after all no reason to reject it.

The evidence of the inscription would be conclusive if it could be proved that Malecidas and Diogeiton were Boeotarchs *once only*. But there is no ground whatever for asserting that these two generals did not hold office repeatedly, as the Boeotian constitution undoubtedly allowed them to do. The date of our inscription, therefore, remains indeterminate. For all that we can prove to the contrary, it remains quite possible that Malecidas and Diogeiton were Pelopidas' colleagues in 364 and avenged his death in the selfsame year. It is equally possible that Epaminondas was their colleague in 364 or in 363, or in both these years, and our inscription leaves it an open question to which year his naval campaign belongs.

M. CARY.

A BLACK FIGURE FRAGMENT IN THE DORSET MUSEUM

IN the Dorset County Museum at Dorchester¹ there are thirteen fragments of Attic Black Figure pottery² which form part of a collection of antiques acquired by the Museum in 1885 from the late Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A. Most of Mr. Warne's collection consists of objects of local interest, and nothing is known of the history of the Greek fragments beyond the fact that on the back of one of them³ is written the name Campanari. This fragment no doubt came from Campanari's excavations in Tuscany, but there is no evidence to show whether all the pieces have the same provenance, nor even whether they were all acquired by Mr. Warne from the same source.

The most interesting of the sherds is a fragment of an eye-kylix which once bore the signature of the maker. The clay is fine and clear, the glaze good. The outside decoration needs no description, since every detail can be seen in the photograph here published (Fig. 1). The inside is black with a line reserved in ground colour just below the rim. As it stands to-day the inscription . . . ζ ΕΡΟΙ . . . is somewhat baffling. The remaining ζ of the signature tells us little, since there are not more than half a dozen known Black Figure potters whose names do not end in this letter. The identification of the master, therefore, depends on the discovery of a signed vase with kindred decoration.

Eye-kylikes were common in Athens in the later Black Figure and early Red Figure periods, and in the Black Figure technique there have come down to us eleven with potters' signatures. They are as follows:—

Amasis, one (fragmentary). Boston Mus. of Fine Arts, No. 03.850 (*A.J.A.* xi., 1907, p. 159, Fig. 2).

Exekias, one. Munich, No. 2044 (*Wiener Vorleg.* 1888, Taf. VII. i.).

¹ My thanks are due to the Curator, Capt. J. E. Acland, for very kindly giving me permission to publish this fragment.

² They are as follows: (i) fragment of the eye-kylix dealt with in this article; (ii) and (iii) two kylix fragments which fit together; bearded man in chiton and himation running to right and looking back, carrying an aryballos on a string; (iv) fragment of kylix; lower part of man in himation walking to left wearing winged shoes; (v) fragment of kylix; ivy- and vine-branches and grapes, rays; (vi) fragment of kylix: lion's head, neck, and part of tail, floral decoration; (vii) fragment of kylix: nude man riding mule, head and shoulders of man of larger size; (viii) fragment of kylix: be-

tween eyes in black silhouette seated figure of Dionysos with rhyton, vine-branches and grapes in field; (ix) fragment of kylix: winged female figure in chiton and himation to right; (x) fragment of kylix: deep black rim, below it band of palmettes, leaves black and purple; (xi) fragment probably of kyathos: sphinx to right, looking back, branches. The two following are B.F. on pale ground: (xii) fragment of kyathos with modelled female head at base of handle; on each side of handle, leopards, branches; (xiii) part of rim of same or similar vase, female figure in chiton, branches, part of black object (? eye). Of these Nos. (i) to (v) are good early work.

³ No. (iv) of previous note.

Nikosthenes, six. Louvre, F 121, F 122 (*Wiener Vorleg.* 1890-1891, Taf. V. i.); Florence, No. 3888; New York (Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection, Metropolitan Museum*, p. 77, Fig. 46); Munich, No. 2029, and Rouen, No. 450 (Klein, No. 63).⁴

Pamphaios, two. Louvre, F 127 *bis*; Vatican, Helbig's No. 543 (*Mus. Greg.* ii. 66, 4).

Hischylos, one, painted by Sakonides. Cambridge, No. 60 (Gardner, *Catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Collection*, Pl. XXII.).

Andokides, one, in 'mixed' style. Palermo (Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art* x. Fig. 180).

On vases in general with this prophylactic eye there is considerable variety in its rendering. Sometimes it is drawn in outline, leaving the 'white'



FIG. I.—FRAGMENT OF KYLIX.

of the eye reserved in the ground colour of the clay, while the coloured part is represented by painted rings. Often the 'white' is covered with a coat of paint, either a realistic white or more often black, so that the eye stands out in silhouette against the red ground of the vase. The coloured rings of the pupil and iris are then painted on according to the taste of the painter over the black or white of the silhouette. Now, in spite of the very large number of permutations and combinations possible in the colouring of the eye, a study of eye-vases shows that there was a certain standardisation and that individual artists tended generally to use the same type. At least, on

⁴ This vase, which Klein and Nicole could not locate, is now in the Musée des Antiquités at Rouen, and has been published

by the Director, M. Léon de Vesly, in *Notes Archéologiques*, Rouen, 1908.

vases which group themselves together on other grounds the eyes are frequently found to be uniform. Of the signed kylikes listed above, the two from the workshop of Pamphaios both have eyes drawn in outline, the pupils coloured black with a tiny purple dot in the centre covering the mark of the compass-point, and the iris (reading from the inmost ring outwards) purple, white, black. Five of the kylikes of Nikosthenes have eyes precisely like those of Pamphaios, except that in the former the mark of the compass point is not always covered with purple. The sixth, the one in Munich, has an additional black ring in the iris, that is, the pupil is black, the iris purple, black, white, black. Of the four potters who are represented by only one cup each, Andokides has on the black-figured side of his cup an outlined eye with a black pupil and three rings of black for the iris, while Sakonides paints his eye in white silhouette with the pupil black, the iris black, purple, black, and Exekias uses the same eye as Pamphaios. The fragmentary kylix of Amasis in Boston is the only one which has an eye identical with that of the Dorchester fragment, that is, an eye drawn in outline with the pupil purple, the iris black, white, black. This Amasis eye is extremely rare on black-figured vases though common on red-figured. Of nearly 300 black-figured eye vases of various types which I have examined, not one except the cup signed by Amasis had an eye of precisely this description. Only 32 had the pupils coloured purple, and in every case the purple pupil was found on an eye that was painted in silhouette, and which therefore belonged to a different class from the outlined eyes of the Boston and Dorchester fragments.

Further comparison of our fragment with the signed black-figured cups shows that it shares other peculiarities of the kylix of Amasis. Both have only one figure in the space between the eyes. That of the Boston cup is all lost except a tiny piece of fringed drapery and an ivy spray, but measurements show that there was room there for only a single figure.⁵ On the other hand, the remaining signed cups, except when they follow the Ionic fashion of putting a nose between the eyes, fill that space with a group of two or more members.⁶ The size of the signed kylikes is generally large, those of Pamphaios, Nikosthenes, Exekias and Hischylos (Sakonides) varying from 28 to 38 cm. in diameter, while that of Andokides measures as much as 43.5 cm. The kylix of Amasis, however, in its complete state was only half the size of the others, measuring 17.5 cm., which was also the diameter of the Dorchester cup. Also the Amasis cup is the only one which, like ours, has the two words of the signature written symmetrically one over each eye.

There are thus good grounds for associating the Dorchester kylix with the Boston kylix of Amasis. It remains to be seen whether the other signed vases⁷ from that master's workshop have enough in common with our fragment to bear out the attribution.

⁵ Walton, *A.J.A.* xi. (1907), p. 159.

⁶ An exception is the kylix of Nikosthenes, Louvre, F 121, which on one side has the single figure of Heracles with an enormous club.

⁷ Three amphorae and four olpae, cp. Nicole, *Corpus des Céramistes grecs*, *Rev. Arch.*, 1916, corrected by Hoppin in *A.J.A.* xxi. (1917).

There are certainly a number of points in which the figure between the eyes of the Dorchester vase reflects the idiosyncrasies of the Amasis painter (assuming that the amphorae and olpae are all the work of one hand). We have here the fringe, which, though it cannot be regarded as the trade-mark⁸ of Amasis' work, is habitually used by him and occurs only rarely on vases signed by other potters.⁹ The small foldless himation passing under the right arm with the end thrown over the left shoulder appears several times on his signed vases (*e. g.* the figure of Poseidon on the Louvre oenochoe), and the pattern on it of purple spots and rosettes formed of a ring of white dots round a purple centre is equally familiar. The beard with its parallel incised lines is of the type normally used by the Amasis painter. The eager movement of our reveller, though it contrasts with the rather stiff repose of most of his figures, is paralleled by the Dionysiac figures beneath the handles of the Boston amphora (Klein, No. 3) and by the maenads on the reverse of the amphora in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and is surpassed in liveliness by the trumpeter and the Phrygian archer on the shoulder of the latter vase. The awkward drawing of the right arm is an unsuccessful experiment which recalls once more the Paris maenads and finds a still closer analogy on the Würzburg amphora attributed with good reason to the Amasis painter by Karo.¹⁰ On the other hand, the execution of the Dorchester fragment is of a different order from that of the larger vases with their meticulous accuracy. There is nothing in them so careless as the incision outlining the hand which holds the oenochoe, or the hasty way the purple of the himation borders is laid on, seldom entirely filling the space between the incised edges. More important is the difference in the rendering of certain details, *e. g.* the muscles of the knee, which the Dorchester painter has represented in a manner unknown on the vases signed by Amasis.

There is no single figure on any of the signed works of the Amasis painter which is obviously brother to ours. There are, of course, none of the same type with which to compare it. The groups painted in the panels of the olpae and on the amphorae are of a larger size and of a more serious nature than this single decorative figure which fills the gap between the eyes on the Dorchester vase. The tiny figures which form a frieze of subordinate decoration on some of the larger vases are just as far removed in the opposite direction. The only kylix figure which we know to have been painted in the workshop of Amasis is practically all lost. If, therefore, we compare our fragment only with the amphorae and olpae we must come to the conclusion that though it resembles them in many points it is not by the hand of the same painter.

Now there is no evidence that the Amasis kylix in Boston is by the same hand as the larger vases signed by Amasis. As the kylix has no human figures and the other vases have no eyes there is no basis for comparison. The Dorchester fragment, which has both elements—the eye exactly matching the Boston eye, which is of a most unusual type; the figure resembling

⁸ Karo, *J.H.S.* xix. (1899), p. 138.

⁹ *E. g.* on the pyxis in Florence signed by Nikosthenes.

¹⁰ The fourth figure from the right on the small frieze above the panel on each side of the vase, *J.H.S.*, 1899, Pl. V.

the figures of the *olpae* and *amphorae*, yet not having quite the same individuality—suggests that possibly the *kylikes* which Amasis put on the market were painted by a different and rather less competent painter than the one who decorated the costlier vases, but one, nevertheless, who was influenced by the same models and traditions. It is perhaps significant that the formula used by the painter of the *kylikes* was ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ, while the painter or painters of the larger vases, except perhaps the lost *olpe* (Klein, No. 6),¹¹ used ΜΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

As to the period at which the *kylikes* of Amasis were made, the evidence is scanty, but that afforded by the one certain example in Boston suffices to show that it connects more closely with early red-figured *kylikes* than with black-figured. The eye used by Amasis was the peculiar property of the Red Figure painters, and decoration with a single figure only between the eyes was their habitual practice. The probability is, therefore, that the Boston *kylix* was made during the later period of Amasis' activity, which appears to have overlapped the beginnings of the Red Figure technique.¹²

If the Dorchester fragment be accepted as a product of Amasis' shop, this probability is heightened, for, allowing for the difference of technique, there is something in the drawing of our bearded votary of Dionysos which recalls more than anything else the *ephebes* who occupy the same position¹³ on the earlier red-figured eye-cups.¹⁴

The painter of the Dorchester cup probably did not confine himself to the decoration of *kylikes*. There is in the Louvre a *skyphos* (F 70) of unusual shape¹⁵ with Black Figure scenes done in a style so similar to that of the fragment here published that it is tempting to suggest that it, too, represents the less ambitious products of the later days of Amasis. This *skyphos* has already been recognised by Pottier¹⁶ as reflecting the style of Amasis, but it has closer affinities with the Dorchester *kylix* than with any of his larger vases. The decoration is on much the same scale, and the striking resemblance of style is borne out by a correspondence in details which is too close to be due to chance coincidence. There are the same ivy sprays, the same garlands, purple borders, fringes, and patterns on the garments, the same rendering of eyes and knees, and the slender *oenochoe* from which a youth pours wine into a *kylix* held out by a maiden suggests the same metal original as does that on our fragment.

One further point may perhaps be noted. The wine-cup in the left hand of the Dorchester figure has the general shape of a *kantharos*, but instead of the high vertical handles characteristic of that type of cup it has small hori-

¹¹ For this Klein gives ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ, copying apparently from an old drawing of the vase.

¹² Hauser, *Jahreshefte des oest. arch. Inst.* x. (1907), p. 3; Loeschke in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1748.

¹³ E. g. the trumpeter on the *kylix* in the Vatican, Alinari photo, No. 35782.

¹⁴ It is, therefore, a question whether Amasis is to be regarded as one of the first to

introduce the Ionic eye-*kylix* into the Attic potteries (Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, trans., p. 102), or whether in his later years he followed a fashion already made popular by others.

¹⁵ Both sides of the vase are figured in *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Plate LXIX.

¹⁶ *Catalogue des Vases Antiques du Louvre*, p. 746.

zontal ones resembling those of a kylix. Did the painter start with the intention of drawing a kylix such as the one on the Louvre skyphos and then expand it into a kantharos, forgetting to alter the handles to correspond? Or did he deliberately draw a cup of this un-Attic shape? Whatever his original intention may have been, the vase as he has left it bears a curious resemblance to the cups of Naukratis, and suggests that he was not unfamiliar with the pottery of the city from which Amasis has been thought to have derived his Egyptian name.

ANNIE D. URE.

THE CONSTITUTIVE ACT OF DEMETRIUS' LEAGUE OF 303

THE important inscription from Epidaurus, published in Aug. 1921 by M. Cavvadias,¹ raises many questions beside those dealt with in the very full commentary. Cavvadias attributes the document to 223 and the Achaean League. It is, I think, certain that it cannot belong to the Achaean League, and almost certain, as I hope to show, that it belongs to 303 and the revived League of Corinth of Demetrius I. The last few lines of the inscription have long been known (*I.G.* iv. 924), and have been exhaustively studied by A. Wilhelm,² who placed the fragment which in *I.G.* is marked β; Cavvadias does not refer to Wilhelm's study, and unfortunately omits any mention of β from his restoration. The document contains no proper names.

A preliminary point is to restore l. 13, if possible. Ll. 11-18 run as follows:—

- 11 συνέρχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς συ-
 12 νέδρους ἐμ μὲν τῇ εἰρήνῃ το[. ?ἐ]ν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ
 ὅσακις ἂν δοκῇ
 13 συμφέρειν τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ [τοῖς ἀρχουσι? κα]ὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων
 ἐπὶ τῆς κοι-
 14 ν]ῆς φυλακῆς καταλειμμέν[ωι- Συ]νεδρεύειν δὲ ὅποσας ἂν ἡμέρας οἱ
 πρόεδροι
 15 τοῦ συνεδρίου παραγγέλλωσ[ιν- Τ]ὰς δὲ συνόδους γενέσθαι τοῦ
 συνεδρίου, [ἐ-
 16 ως μὲν ἂν ὁ κοινὸς πόλεμος λυ[θῇ, ο]ὗ ἂν οἱ πρόεδροι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡ
 ὁ<ι> ὑπὸ τῶν βα-
 17 σιλέων ἀποδεδειγμένος στρ[ατ]ηγὸς παραγγέλλῃ, ὅταν δ' ἡ εἰρήνη
 γένηται,
 18 οὗ ἂν οἱ στεφανῶνται ἀγῶνες ἄγωνται.

Now these two clauses balance each other; one declares *when* the συνέδριον is to assemble, and the other *where*. This can hardly have been decided by two such different sets of authorities; if 'the king' helped to say *where*, he must also have helped to say *when*. Consequently for Cavvadias' tentative restoration in l. 13 [τοῖς ἀρχουσι? κα]ὶ, I suggest that we must read [τῷ βασιλεῖ] ἡ. The inscription is not written στοιχηδόν, and the lines vary

¹ P. Cavvadias, 'Η Ἀχαϊκὴ Συμπολιτεία κατ' ἐπιγραφὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν Ἐπιδαύρου. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1918, 115. The inscription in question is No. 3, p. 128; I shall also have to refer to Nos. 2 and 3 β.

² *Attische Urkunden*, I. 1911, pp. 31-44. Cf. U. Wilcken, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des korinthischen Bundes*, Sitzungsab. Akad. München, 1917, Abh. 10, p. 37.

considerably in length; taking Cavvadias' arrangement of the fragments and measuring the gap, τῶι βασιλεῖ ἡ fits very well, while the mark on the stone (it is the lower half of an upright stroke) which Cavvadias restored as the iota of καὶ may just as well be the lower half of the second upright of H. It follows from this restoration that, if the decision is to be made by the σύνεδροι (or their πρόεδροι), acting in the one case in conjunction with 'the king or the general appointed by the kings,' and in the other case in conjunction with 'the king or the person left (appointed) by the kings for the common protection,' then the person appointed for the common protection and the kings' general are the same man, his formal title being given the first time only.

I will now first give briefly the reasons why the League of the inscription cannot be the Achaean. (1) The Assembly is a συνέδριον (ll. 15, twice) composed of σύνεδροι (ll. 11, 13, 22, 24, 37). The term συνέδριον is unknown to the Achaean League, whose two Assemblies are, in Polybius, always σύγκλητος and σύνοδος.³ (2) Nomographi (l. 23) are to be chosen by lot ἐξ ἔθνους ἡ πόλεως, i. e. the constituent members of the League comprise ἔθνη as well as cities. There were no ἔθνη in the Achaean League, any ἔθνος joining being broken up into cities or districts.⁴ There was one exception, Elis; but Elis was not a member till later than 223. (3) The League officials include γραμματεῖς (ll. 24, 26). The Achaean League had only one γραμματεὺς.⁵ These γραμματεῖς must be those of the various constituent members of the League, whether ἔθνη or independent cities. (4) Five πρόεδροι (ll. 16, 21) are to be elected from the σύνεδροι. This office and title are unknown in the Achaean League, and apparently are unknown everywhere else except at Athens. (5) When peace is restored, the League meetings are to be held (l. 18) οὐδ' ἂν οἱ στεφανῶνται ἀγῶνες ἄγωνται, i. e. at the four Panhellenic festivals. The Achaean League in 223 could never have contemplated holding its meetings at Delphi or Olympia, Delphi, moreover, being actually and Elis indirectly controlled by the unfriendly Aetolians. Cavvadias attempts to restrict the meaning to the Isthmia and Nemea; but the Greek cannot, I think, mean this. In fact, the meetings of the Achaean σύνοδος in the years following 223 were *not* held in accordance with the provisions of our inscription (either for peace or war), but continued to be held as usual at Aigion.⁶ (6) There is a joint kingship, which excludes the Achaean League of 223 (see *post*). (7) The provision of a general ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς φυλακῆς is unknown to the Achaean League. (8) That Antigonos Doson should have been given the right to interfere in what were, in fact, domestic concerns of the Achaean League, as 'the king' of ll. 11-18 would be entitled to do, is almost incredible, seeing that the basis of Doson's League was the old formula that the constituent members (of whom the Achaean League was one) were to be ἐλευθέρους

³ Details, etc., in Swoboda, *Staatsaltertümer* (in Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, 1913), p. 388 *seq.* That Pausanias calls the σύνοδος συνέδριον is immaterial. Plutarch gives σύνεδροι once (*Arat.* 35), but Polybius never.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 381.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 410.

⁶ Polyb. 2, 54, 3. 4, 7, 1; 26, 7-8; 82, 7.

πολιτείαις καὶ νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις.⁷ Philip's interference in 218, when he supported a particular candidate for the generalship, is represented by Polybius (4, 82, 5-8) as a usurpation, inspired by Apelles. (9) Our inscription is written in ordinary Hellenistic Greek, and should therefore deal with the relations of several states, as both Wilhelm and Cavvadias point out.—These reasons seem to me to be conclusive.

Cavvadias' reasons for attributing the inscription to the Achaean League are three. (1) The stone was found built up in a wall together with the stone containing No. 2, a list of νομογράφοι of the Achaean League at a time when it included Sicyon, Argos, the Acte, and Megalopolis; and Cavvadias thought that the two were probably connected and that No. 3 might be the νόμος provided for by No. 2. (As, however, No. 3 provides for the appointment of nomographi, the connexion, if any, might have to be reversed, No. 2 being that appointment.) But two stones, even if taken from the same precinct, used in a later building have not necessarily any connexion with each other. (2) The League in question is a league of cities only. This is negated by l. 23, ἐξ ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως. (3) L. 18, τὰ δὲ δόξαντα τοῖς συνέ[δ]ροις [κύρια] εἶναι, fits (he considers) the Achaean League, but not Doson's, since Polyb. 4, 26, 2 shows that the acts of the συνέδριον of Doson's League were not κύρια. But there is nothing in this point. Even if [κύρια] be correct, the distinction cannot be maintained; for the acts of the synedri of Doson's League were κύρια with certain exceptions, *e.g.* declaring war;⁸ and the acts of the σύνοδος of the Achaean League (with which Cavvadias equates the συνέδριον of the inscription) were in no better position, as the σύνοδος (among other disabilities) could not declare war, that being reserved to the general assembly, the σύγκλητος.⁹ Also κύρια, if correct, may fit other Leagues beside the Achaean.

We are then, it appears, dealing with a League which comprised both ἔθνη and πόλεις, which contemplated holding its (political) meetings at the four Panhellenic festivals, and in which 'the king' had authority. That 'the king' must be some Macedonian is certain; the only alternative (if it be one), Areus I of Sparta, has been considered and rejected by Cavvadias for reasons quite conclusive. There are consequently three alternatives to be considered: the League of Corinth of Philip II and Alexander, dissolved in 323; the revival of this League by Demetrius I in 303; and the League of Doson and Philip V. As regards the letter-forms of the inscription, I note here that Fränkel called *I.G.* iv., 924, fourth or third century; Wilhelm (*l.c.* p. 33) has said it is certainly (*sicherlich*) fourth century; Cavvadias says in one place (p. 129) that it is third century, and subsequently (p. 135) that it *may* (δύναται) be third century. Evidently then the fourth century is open, if historical considerations point that way.

Now Wilhelm definitely attributed *I. G.* iv., 924 to the League of Corinth;

⁷ Polyb. 4, 25, 7; 84, 5. Cf. 2, 70, 4.

⁸ *Ib.* 4, 13, 6, ἐπεκύρωσαν; 4, 26, 2, τοῦ δόγματος κυρωθέντος. This shows that the inability to declare war of 4, 26, 2,

constitutes only an exception to their powers.

⁹ Swoboda, pp. 393, 396.

and there is a very startling parallel in language between the Covenant of that League and our inscription; l. 25 τῶι ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς φυλακῆς καταλειμμέν[ωι recalls Pseudo-Demosthenes, *On the treaty with Alexander*, § 15, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ φυλακῇ τεταγμένους (cf. *I.G.* ii.², 1, 329). (As we have already seen from our inscription that the person appointed ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς φυλακῆς is probably the same as the general of 'the kings,' it seems to follow that Kaerst's interpretation of the phrase in Pseudo-Demosthenes is probably right; ¹⁰ that is, the phrase does, in fact, refer to Antipater.) Nevertheless, there can be little question, now that we have more of the document of which *I.G.* iv. 924 formed part, that it does not refer to the League of Corinth at all. (1) There is a joint or double kingship,¹¹ which puts both Philip II and Alexander out of the question. (2) The League is engaged in a war, κοινὸς πόλεμος (ll. 7, 12, 16, 36), and that war is on the Greek mainland, making it necessary for the synedri to contemplate having to meet in different places. This puts every year from the foundation of the League of Corinth to its dissolution in 323 out of the question, except the autumn of 331; and as to 331, the circumstances and duration of Antipater's campaign against Agis of Sparta prohibit the idea that in the middle of that brief struggle delegates from the League States met to settle a new constitution, Alexander, moreover, being in Asia and Antipater otherwise engaged. (3) The scale of penalties for failure to send troops. For brevity's sake I refer once for all to Wilhelm's discussion; it suffices to say here that the penalty in our inscription of twenty drachmae a day for a hoplite shows that a hoplite's pay was two drachmae a day, the same payment as is provided for in the treaty between Aetolia and Acarnania of *circ.* 272 (*Syll.*³ 421), while in Alexander's time his hypaspists only got a drachma a day (*I.G.* ii.² 1, 329), and as they were his best heavy-armed infantry, a hoplite cannot possibly have got *more*; consequently we are dealing with a period later than Alexander, when the fall in the value of money consequent on the circulation of the Persian treasure had taken effect.—The League of Philip II and Alexander may therefore be left out of consideration; and the question is, Demetrius or Doson?

There are a number of facts which are ambiguous. The find-spot, Epidaurus, was in Demetrius' League (*Plut. Dem.* 25) as well as (through the Achaean League) in Doson's. In all the three Panhellenic Leagues the organ of the League was a συνέδριον or assembly of σύνεδροι,¹² and the Macedonian king was called ἡγέμων.¹³ The scale of penalties affords no help as between 303 and 223, for it seems that the rate of pay remained much the same;¹⁴

¹⁰ Wilhelm, *l.c.* p. 47 (cf. Niese, 1, 38), contended that the phrase in Pseudo-Demosthenes denotes a special authority representing both Alexander and the synedri of the League of Corinth; while Kaerst (*Rhein. Mus.* 52, 532; *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, 1², 529), followed by Wilcken, *op. cit.*, interpreted it as meaning 'das makedonische Königtum selbst und seine Organe.'

¹¹ Ll. 13, 16, τῶν βασιλέων; l. 29, συμφερόντων τοῖς βασιλείσιν.

¹² Philip and Alexander: *Syll.*³ 283 and 261, and much literary evidence. Demetrius: *Diod.* 20, 46, 5; *Plut. Dem.* 25. Doson: *Polyb.* 4, 25, 5; 26, 2, 5, 28, 3; 102, 9; 103, 1.

¹³ Philip II: *I.G.* ii.² 1, 236. Demetrius: *Plut. Dem.* 25. Doson: *Polyb.* 2, 54, 4.

¹⁴ Doson's treaties with Eleutherna and Hieropytna; Wilhelm *op. cit.*, with references. Unfortunately not in Dittenberger.

neither does the war on the Greek mainland, which may equally well be the Cleomenic war or the war of Demetrius and his League against Cassander. The resemblance already noted to Alexander's League with regard to the *κοινὴ φυλακὴ* does not help, for both Demetrius and Doson were largely copying Alexander. But there are five points which should enable us to decide.

(a) The joint kingship. In ll. 11-18 we have before us, twice, an alternative authority for doing something, either 'the king' or 'the general of the kings'; that is, if 'the king' be not actually at the *συνέδριον* himself, or for some reason be not acting, his place is to be taken, not by a general appointed by himself, but by one appointed by 'the kings.' 'The kings' then were both in existence at the moment when our document was drawn up, and cannot (as Cavvadias thought) refer generally to the dynasty. In 303 Antigonos I and Demetrius I satisfy this condition. We do not know their precise relationship as joint kings; but as Demetrius took orders from Antigonos, and in particular formed the League of 303 pursuant to such orders¹⁵ (the idea being his father's), there is no difficulty in supposing that his deputy would be appointed in his father's name as well as his own, or (l. 29) that something should be spoken of as agreeable to them both. But when we turn to 223, we are met by the difficulty that Doson was sole king. Certainly there is a reference to 'the kings' in an inscription of Eretria (*I.G.* xii. 9, 199), which Tsuntas, who published it,¹⁶ interpreted as meaning a joint kingship of Doson and Philip V; but I think no one has adopted this suggestion, and the inscription undoubtedly belongs to 303 or 302; Ziebarth in *I.G.* xii. 9 prints it among a group of inscriptions of the end of the fourth century. On the other hand, the evidence that Doson and Philip V were *not* joint kings seems complete.^{16a} Polyb. 4, 2, 5 says that Philip *παρελάμβανε τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν*, and this verb seems regularly to mean to take over from a dead predecessor as an inheritance, the term for a joint king succeeding to the entirety being *διεδέξασθαι*.¹⁷ Doson's political testament (Polyb. 4, 87, 7) is irreconcilable with a joint kingship. Above all, there is Doson's own dedication on Delos to commemorate Sellasia (*I.G.* xi. 4, 1097), made at the very end of his life; in this he is sole king without reference to Philip. And this is common sense; for the reason for a joint kingship (*e.g.* Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II in 285/4) would normally be an old man's desire to make safe the coming transition of power; but Doson died unexpectedly in the prime of life. 'The kings' then of the Epidaurus inscription are Antigonos I and Demetrius I, and 'the king' is Demetrius. There is epigraphic evidence for Greek states referring to Demetrius simply as 'the king,'¹⁸ and to him and his father as 'the kings.'¹⁹ But our inscription may have named Demetrius previously.

¹⁵ Diod. 20, 99, 1; 100, 5; and in particular, 20, 46, 5.

¹⁶ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, 80, No. 2.

^{16a} Certainly one cannot set up Eusebius' statement (Schoene, 1, 239, 240), that Philip after Doson's death *χωρὶς τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος* . . . *ἀρχεῖν ἤρξατο*, against Doson's Sellasia dedication. It merely shows that Eusebius' source

did not understand Doson's real position.

¹⁷ The evidence is collected in my *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 433.

¹⁸ *I.G.* xi. 2, 146, A. 1. 76 (Lysixenos' year, 301, *i.e.* it refers to an event of 302); *I.G.* xi. 4, 566, 1. 10.

¹⁹ *I.G.* xi. 4, 1036, 1. 46, and 566, 1. 7; *I.G.* ii.² 1, 495, 555, 558, 560; *Syll.*², 347.

(b) The four Panhellenic festivals. In 223 Aetolia was, to Doson, an unfriendly neutral, barring his way through Thermopylae (Polyb. 2, 52, 8). She controlled Elis, and Elis' attitude was similar. Doson's League, therefore, cannot have thought of holding meetings at Delphi or Olympia. (The known meetings up to 217, two at Corinth and one at Panhormus, are no argument, being in war-time.) On the other hand, whether Phocis (as is probable) or Aetolia controlled Delphi in 303, Phocis was in Demetrius' League²⁰ and Aetolia (whether or not in his League) was his ally (Diod. 20, 100, 6); while Elis, freed in 312 by Antigonos' general Polemaeus (Diod. 19, 47), and not apparently attacked again by anyone, would be favourable to Aetolia's ally and may well have been in the League, though our scanty sources do not say. But there is more than this. It is very probable, as Droysen originally suggested, that the *συνέδριον* of the League of Corinth met (or was meant to meet) at the four great festivals (it certainly met at the Pythia), and, if so, Demetrius was almost bound to adopt the same idea. I refer for details to Kaerst's study of this question;²¹ it looks as though his prophecy (p. 529) about Demetrius' League, 'Wir würden dann hier ebenso . . . die panhellenische politische Aktion wieder an die panhellenische Festfeier angelehnt finden,' has come true.

(c) The fleet. L. 40 *seq.* of our document (= *I.G.* iv. 924) gives the scale of penalties for not supplying troops, calculated for four categories: horse-men, hoplites, light-armed, and something else. Wilhelm placed here the fragment β of *I.G.* iv. 924, which contains the word *ναύτην*, and made the fourth category sailors. He read (end of line 42 and beginning of 43) [$\kappa\alpha$ | $\tau\alpha$ δὲ] *ναύτην* [. . . δ] *ραχμῆς*. Cavvadias' reading is [$\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha$] | $\tau\alpha$ το[$\xi\acute{o}\tau\eta\nu$ πέντε δ] *ραχμῆς*, the principal new fragment, which he numbers β' , showing four letters TATO at the beginning of l. 43, after which it breaks away. Now β in the diagram in *I.G.* has a sort of tail which reaches to the margin and shows a blank space of four or five letters, and from the shading it appears that the surface has gone; and I imagine that it will be found that the break is a splintered one and that the tail of β fits *underneath* that part of the surface of β' which bears the letters TATO. Only examination can show if this be correct; but if it be, then the reading seems clear: [$\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha$] | $\tau\alpha$ τὸ[ν] *ναύτην* [. . . δ] *ραχμῆς*. Now it is known that the maritime cities of Demetrius' League had to supply ships (*I.G.* xii. 9, 210). But this is very doubtful as regards Doson's League. We hear of no warships in the Cleomenic war; and in the Social War Philip V gives no thought to the sea till the second year, when he decides that he must take to the water, and so begins by hiring some Illyrian vessels, and subsequently collects a few from his allies and improvises a Macedonian fleet by putting his phalangites to the oar.²² The matter is not certain; but Philip's improvisations seem quite inconsistent with a definite provision for naval warfare in the constitution of the League.

(d) The *πρόεδροι* of our inscription recall Demetrius' beloved Athens, who was in his League, but not in Doson's; and they recall nothing else.

²⁰ Beloch, 3, 2, 300.

²² Polyb. 5, 2 *seq.*; 4, 29, 7.

²¹ *Rhein. Mus.* 52, 1897, pp. 526–529.

(e) Our inscription generally calls the constituent members of the League in question πόλεις (ll. 11, 21, 37, 40), but refers once to ἔθνη (l. 23). This excludes Doson's League, whose constituent members were all ἔθνη or κοινά.²³ The position in regard to Demetrius' League is unknown, but the probabilities agree well enough.

The result then is that (epigraphical reasons apart) historical considerations imperatively demand the attribution of the Epidaurus inscription to Demetrius' League of 303. The only argument for attributing it to Doson's League would be that it was found built up into a wall with another stone containing an inscription referable to about Doson's time. This does not necessarily mean anything at all.

Now what sort of a document is our inscription? It is clear that it is not a treaty or συνθήκη forming the League; we possess the very end of it (shown by the blank stone below), and it contains neither oath-formula nor any other mark of a treaty; moreover, l. 37 probably refers to the preceding συνθήκαι, —[ἀν] δέ τις πόλις μὴ ἀποστε[ίλῃ κ]ατὰ τὰς [συνθήκας] συνέδρους—, while the reference in l. 40 to τὴν δύ[ναμιν τῇ]ν τεταγμένην shows that the contingents of the members had already been settled, presumably by the συνθήκαι. It seems equally clear that it is not a decree or law of the σύνοδοι; no doubt they could have decided as to their meetings, fixed a quorum, appointed πρόεδροι, and other such matters, but they could never have decreed such provisions as l. 18 τὰ δὲ δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδ[ρ]οις [κύρια] εἶναι, or l. 20 περὶ δὲ τῶ[ν ἐν] τῷ συνεδρίῳ δοξάντων μὴ ἐξέστ[ω ταῖς] πόλεσιν ἐνθύνας λαμβάνειν [παρ]ὰ τῶν ἀποστελλομένων συνέδρω[ν]. It must then be an act of the constituent assembly of the League, a constitutive act.²⁴ The League would be formed by a number of treaties; delegates or πρεσβεῖς from the constituent members would then meet and pass the constitutive law of the League, of which I take our document to form part; subsequent meetings would be held by the synedri.

This being so, one can probably restore the gap in l. 40:—καὶ ἄν τις πόλις [μὴ ἀ]ποστείλῃ τὴν δύ[ναμιν τῇ]ν τεταγμένην, [ἦν ἂν ὁ ἄρχων? πα][ραγγέλλῃ, κ.τ.λ. The spacing of the letters in the inscription varies, and as far as I can see from measurements the twelve letters given for this gap by Cavvadias constitute a maximum, while eleven would be fully sufficient. As the contingent of each city was already τεταγμένη, fixed (i. e. by the treaties, presumably), it cannot have been provided that some one should fix it again. On the other hand, the calling out of the contingents already fixed would certainly rest with Demetrius as commander-in-chief. Hence I would read, after τεταγμένην, [ἀν ὁ ἡγέμων πα]ραγγέλλῃ.²⁵

It is unfortunate that the latter part of l. 36 is so broken. Cavvadias prints the reading of *I.G.* iv., 924: Προεδρεύειν [δὲ]ων ραστ

²³ Emphasised by Beloch, 3, 1, 737.

²⁴ See the interesting study of the constitutive law of the League of Corinth given by Wilcken, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Cf. *I.G.* ii.² 1, 236 (Philip II and

League of Corinth): πολεμήσω—καθότι—δ ἡγέ[μων κελεύει]. Also the proceedings of Philip V in the Social War with regard to the League troops.

[. *Αν]. But Wilhelm considers that Nikitsky's later reading βασι (for ραστ) is certain. As Μακεδόνων is out of the question in 303, the reading must be Προεδρεύειν [δὲ τ]ῶν βασι[λέων.—*Αν . .], i. e. there is a space of two letters vacant at the end of the line; the lines end irregularly, and as many as three spaces are vacant at the end of ll. 5 and 6. The subject of the sentence being τοὺς προέδρους, the real question now is, was the preposition ἀντὶ or μετὰ? If μετὰ, one would expect τοῦ βασιλέως, as Antigonus' presence could hardly be expected; still, the proedri might be considered in theory the colleagues of both kings. If ἀντὶ, a rather startling vista is opened up. I see no means of deciding.

Lastly, one must look at the fragment 3 β. As it contains part of an oath-formula, it belongs to a συνθήκη, as Cavvadias points out; it cannot, therefore, be part of our inscription, No. 3. It may not belong to the same period at all. Whether it can be part of one of the preliminary συνθήκαι of Demetrius' League may depend on the true reading of l. 31, which Cavvadias gives as [βασ]ιλείαν τὴν α? - - - . What Cavvadias' representation of the stone shows, however, is clearly a lambda, Λ; perhaps a fresh examination might show if it be really Λ, or Ἀ[ντιγόνου, or Δ[ημητρίου. The two proper names in 3 β, Ἀχαιοὺς and Ἡλειοὺς, offer no difficulty. Elis, we have seen, may well have been in Demetrius' League; and as to Achaea, Demetrius freed some towns in 303 (Diod. 20, 103, 4). I am aware that many text-books state that Alexander dissolved the Achaean League in 324; but the statement is quite unfounded. The passage in Hyperides (κατὰ Δεμ. col. 18) runs καὶ τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὧν ἦκεν φέρων παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ τοῦ τοὺς κοινοὺς συλλόγους Ἀχαιῶν τε καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Βοιωτῶν [breaks off]. The words as they stand have no meaning, and we have no right to invent one. The invention is not even probable; for if Alexander really gave these three peoples a first-class grievance by ordering the dissolution of their Leagues (he can have had no time to carry out the dissolution, any more than he had time to carry out the restoration of the Samians, which he *did* order in 324), how came it that Achaea and Arcadia refused to join the Greeks in the Lamian war, while Boeotia heartily aided Antipater? In fact, Polybius (2, 41) is quite explicit about the old Achaean League; its dissolution took place somewhere between Alexander's time and the 124th Olympiad (284/3–281/0 B.C.), and he implies that it was not an act but a process. If Ἀχαιοὺς *must* mean a League (why not a Folk?), there is no difficulty about supposing that the old Achaean League existed in 303. But 3 β *may* not belong to this period.

The conclusion then is that in the Epidaurus inscription No. 3 we have part of the constitutive act of Demetrius' League of 303, a League of which the literary sources tell us comparatively little, but which is epigraphically attested by three inscriptions of Eretria (*I.G.* xii. 9. 198, 199, 210). Details of procedure apart, we see that Demetrius' League was primarily (though not exclusively) based on cities, that it was planned on a Panhellenic scale, and that, after Cassander was overthrown, it was to meet at the four Panhellenic festivals. The adoption of the system of πρόεδροι was meant as a compliment to Athens.

The inscription also confirms the well-established fact that Antigonos I regarded himself (and Demetrius) as standing in Alexander's place and monarch of the whole empire; for Demetrius envisages the day when, himself in Asia, he shall hand over the conduct of the League's affairs to a general appointed 'for the common protection,' just as Alexander had entrusted them, under the same title, to Antipater.

W. W. TARN.

BRONZE WORK OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD AND ITS RELATION TO LATER ART

'In the pottery of the Geometric style,' says Dr. Buschor in his *Greek Vase Painting*,¹ 'are latent the forces which we see afterwards expanding in contact with the East as well as the oldest beginnings that we can trace of that brilliant continuous development which led to the proud heights of Klitias, Euphronios and Meidias. Its producers may be unreservedly described as Greeks.'

The statement is a challenge to the less cautious supporters of the continuity of Bronze and Iron Age culture in Greece. But it is concerned only with vases and vase-painting. One is tempted to search farther afield for fuller illumination, particularly in branches of art other than vase-painting. Whatever stage of development a culture may be in, it always requires pottery, however crude and in however small a quantity, since pottery is for use: objects purely ornamental, however, can, under certain circumstances, be dispensed with. In pottery, therefore, a certain minimum of continuity in tradition and inheritance from previous cultures is inevitable; but in the arts of pure adornment this may not be the case. Thus sculpture and bronze work are branches of art which may remain submerged during periods of unrest and upheaval. Peoples on the move will not burden themselves with works of art; conquerors in the flush of victory have not the inclination nor the conquered the courage or incentive to develop the non-utilitarian arts and crafts. Thus the continuity of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Greece may be tested by evidence other than that of pottery; metal-work in particular may afford instructive evidence, especially ornaments in bronze, which, from their nature and material, might contain the germ of revival and continuity.

I propose, then, in the course of this paper, to examine some of the earliest known examples of the bronze-worker's art of post-Mycenaean times, both from the point of view of the technique employed and of the types most favoured. The results may help to throw some light on the relation which the cruder plastic works of Geometric art bear to fully developed Hellenic art.

That the period of unrest and upheaval in history which corresponds to the so-called Geometric period in art produced no sculpture seems certain. On *a priori* grounds it seems almost incredible that sculpture, however crude, can have been achieved at least in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. In fact no examples of it have been found. That the earliest and crudest bronzes of Geometric times are not studied is principally due to the fact that they are

¹ P. 18, Mr. Richards' translation.

almost wholly unattractive, often ludicrous. Yet, standing, as they do, at the threshold of Hellenic art their importance is manifest.²

Technique.—The method of manufacture of the crudest and earliest Geometric bronze figures is not so much the method of bronze-casting as that of bronze-welding. The simplest human figures (see Figs. 4, *b* and 7, *a*, *b*, *c*) in bronze consist of one or more bars of bronze which are hammered out into the four component limbs. The legs, as a rule, remain together and are barely separated, consisting of two parallel bars. The arms consist of smaller bars welded on or bent and beaten into the required attitude. The waist is the central body of the bar, and the shoulders and breast are formed by flattening the upper part of the bar itself. The narrowness of the waist is increased and emphasised by the cutting away of the arms.³ These 'fiddle-shaped' waists are the result of technique and are, I think, in no way derived from Mycenaean or Cycladic 'fiddle-shaped' idols. The head and neck are achieved by the working of the end of the bar. All other bronzes of the crudest Geometric type are similarly formed. Welding, cutting and beating are the three processes principally employed.

It is thus abundantly clear that the earliest bronze figures exhibit none of the characteristics of the fine and elaborate works of art of the Cretan bronze-casters. The Tyliissos bronzes,⁴ the praying figure in the British Museum of the Tyliissos type,⁵ and the magnificent bull and athlete recently acquired by Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill⁶ are the products of an age which had mastered the art of solid bronze-casting. The Tyliissos and similar figures have the appearance of having been cast from clay models; the fine bull and athlete group is, according to Sir Arthur Evans, in all probability cast from a finer model which may have been of wax. In any case welding and beating and such simpler and cruder processes are not part of the stock-in-trade of the Cretan bronze-worker. It is remarkable that we have, as yet, no examples of earlier Cretan bronze craft in which these Geometric processes occur. Throughout the history of Cretan art bronzes were made, as far as we know, by the one process of casting. With the cruder Geometric figures, on the other hand, welding and beating is the earliest stage; there comes next an intermediate stage in which the figure is first cast and then treated with the hammer and chisel. Thus the body of a Zeus from Dodona (Fig. 4, *b*) is composed from the original bar cut and subdivided into limbs. But its hair and features are rendered with the chisel. Two later figures from Arcadia of the same type (Fig. 4, *a*, *c*) are, on the other hand, cast and then finished with the finer

² The examples I have chosen for discussion are nearly all at Athens, where is by far the largest and finest collection of Geometric bronzes in existence. The larger European and American museums have but few bronzes of this period; their style and workmanship is not such as to appeal to collectors by whose agency most of the large museums outside Greece are stocked. The bulk of the Geometric bronzes at Athens are the result of excavations such as those

at Olympia, Argos and the Acropolis.

³ See De Ridder, *Cat. des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acrop.*, Nos. 692-694, 697, etc.

⁴ J. Hazzidakis, *Tyliissos à l'époque minoenne*, 1921, Pl. VI., and F. N. Pryce, *J.H.S.* 41, 1921, p. 86 ff., and Fig. 2.

⁵ Pryce, *op. cit.*

⁶ Sir Arthur Evans, *J.H.S.* 41, 1921, p. 247 ff. A single and not a double mould was probably used for this figure.

tools, the features, in particular, being simply chiselled in. A helmeted warrior of the 'Promachos' type from Dodona (Fig. 7, c) is similarly finished after casting, though it retains, more than most bronzes, the appearance of the older 'bar technique.'

The final stage is not properly reached until the sixth century, when the figure is, as with the Cretan bronzes, cast complete in every detail in one process. Even then finishing touches are often added with the chisel (see Fig. 6, a, b, two fine bronzes from Olympia).

Thus not until the sixth century, strictly speaking, did the art of making small bronze figures attain once more the level reached by the Cretan bronze-workers of Middle Minoan times.



FIG. 1.—BRONZE HORSE
FROM OLYMPIA.



FIG. 2.—BRONZE GROUP OF MAN
AND CENTAUR: NEW YORK.

Development of types.—I have chosen four principal type-groups as being most clearly illustrative of the development of traditional types from the earliest Geometric times to the period of full Hellenic art. None of these types is to be found in pre-Geometric art in a clear and unequivocal way.

The Horse.—The first is the standing or walking horse made to be seen *en profile*. One of the most finely finished examples comes from Olympia (Fig. 1). Similar bronze figures of horses are found on almost all the Geometric sites of the mainland of Greece, from Laconia to the Vardar valley on the east and from Olympia to Leukas on the west.⁷ Horses of the same type, sometimes with minor variations of treatment, are found farther north in Central Europe at Hallstatt and other Iron Age sites,⁸ and the type is found again more to the east in the Iron Age cemeteries of the southern Caucasus.⁹ The extreme popularity of this particular type of ornament in Greece is remark-

⁷ See my paper in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, I. No. 3, p. 199. Examples are there collected from a large number of sites in the mainland.

⁸ See Hoernes, *Urgesch. d. hild. Kunst*,

Pl. XV., and von Sacken, *Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Pl. XV.

⁹ Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase*, II p. 149 (Georgia).

able. Variations of an interesting type are seen at Olympia,¹⁰ and approximately the same type appears in ivory work at Sparta.¹¹ It is finally seen in a fully developed form in the magnificent cavalry frieze of Prinias in Crete,¹² where all the essential characteristics of the bronze Geometric horses are retained—the narrow barrel-shaped body, the long tail reaching almost to the ground, the hogged mane and the large, clearly-marked hooves. The mounted warrior is himself a variant of the 'Promachos' type of spearman of the crude Geometric bronzes dealt with below. The horse is essentially the large, long-legged Northern horse, like the modern Hungarian type, which bears affinities to the type of horse of the Hallstatt culture, which was large-limbed and tall.¹³ The same type of horse is seen in later classical art in the coins of Tarentum¹⁴ and of Alexander I. of Macedon,¹⁵ and is very different from the small horse of Ionic art of the sixth century or of the Parthenon frieze.

These early bronze figures of horses, then, appear to be derived from a Northern source and to belong to a tradition which is essentially that of the Geometric culture of Greece. It survived in classical art most clearly in the sculptures of the temple of Prinias in Crete, where, as in the Dictacan cave many of the elements of Geometric art remained less influenced by the Orient than was usually the case.



FIG. 3 (a, b, c).—BRONZE CENTAURS (a) FROM OLYMPIA, (b) AND (c) FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

The Centaur.—The second type that originates for later plastic art in the bronzes of the Geometric period is the Centaur. I give here four examples¹⁶ (Figs. 2 and 3, a, b, c) that show adequately the development from the crudest Geometric figure of the 'bar technique' through the medium of what might be termed a 'sub-Geometric' type to the fully-developed archaic art of the

¹⁰ *Olympia, Bronzes*, Pl. XIV. Nos. 216-218.

¹¹ *B.S.A.* XIII. p. 78, Fig. 17, a.

¹² *Annuario della Sc. Ital. in Atene*, I. p. 52.

¹³ See Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, 1908, II. Pl. 88, Fig. 1.

¹⁴ *B.M.C. Italy*, p. 184, etc.

¹⁵ *B.M.C. Macedon*, p. 156.

¹⁶ Fig. 2 is of unknown provenance, now in New York. Fig. 3a is from Olympia, and the other two (b and c) from the Acropolis at Athens.

sixth century. In each case the Centaur seems to have carried on a shoulder the Centaur's traditional weapon—the branch of a tree. To the earliest period of crude bronze work belongs the most interesting group in New York of a Centaur wrestling with a man;¹⁷ but it is of fine finish and indicates a considerable originality of composition, which, in the Geometric period is, of course, exceptional. The long tail that joins the base, the large flanks and narrow barrel of the Centaur, the incised pattern on the base and the shape of the base itself show that it belongs to the same period as the horses.

That these four examples of Centaurs represent the types of three distinct periods of growth and not merely three unequal attempts more or less contemporary is susceptible of proof. Thus the horse body and the base of the first two (Figs. 2 and 3, *a*) are identical in style and convention with those of the horses of the earliest period of bronze work described above. The narrow barrel and long legs are those of the usual bronze horses. That such horses belong to the earliest period of bronze work in Geometric times is evident from the stratification at Sparta, which is our only scientifically established criterion. The period when these bronzes were first produced seems to have been when Geometric culture was already firmly established and bronze first began to be used for pure ornament and not simply for objects of use.¹⁸ The crudest Centaur, therefore (Fig. 3, *a*), can be attributed to the earliest period of bronze art on sound stratigraphical evidence.

The third Centaur (Fig. 3, *b*) can, on stylistic grounds, be associated with a large group of bronzes, terra-cottas and sculpture that exhibit the first attempt of Greek art to escape from the purely Geometric conventions. In this figure the Geometric stiffness is overcome to a certain extent and the features are clearly evolved and carefully worked. But there is still a clumsiness of execution and a rigidity of composition; gestures are there without expression, movement without life—but this, at any rate, is an advance upon the almost symbolic schematism of the earlier figure. The same characteristics are seen in the famous archaic sculpture group of Kitylos and Dirmys at Athens. In detail the features of the face and the neatly arranged hair associate this bronze with bronzes such as the beautiful figure from Delphi¹⁹ or the cruder and probably earlier figure from the Acropolis at Athens,²⁰ both of which must belong to the seventh century.

In the fourth example the real living spirit of Greek art has burst its bonds. All the freshness and delicacy of Ionian art of the late sixth century has transformed the dry bones of the old Geometric style into a vital and living conception; but without the old Geometric idea the final achievement would hardly have been possible.

Zeus.—A third and equally instructive example is seen in a type that has persisted through all the phases of plastic Greek art with singularly little variation. It represents Zeus hurling a thunderbolt. A crude example of this type of the Geometric period comes from Dodona²¹ (Fig. 4, *b*). It exempli-

¹⁷ Richter, *Handbook to the Met. Museum*, p. 44, Fig. 23.

¹⁸ See *B.S.A.* XIII. p. 111. They were not found in the lowest strata.

¹⁹ *Bronzes*, Pl. III.

²⁰ De Ridder, *Catalogue*, p. 244, No. 697.

²¹ Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, Pl. XIII. 4.

fies most clearly what I have called the 'bar technique.' The limbs are literally hewn apart from the body and beaten into rounded bars. By the separation of the arms from the sides a pronounced waist is formed, but the whole figure



FIG. 4 (*a, b, c*).—BRONZE FIGURES OF ZEUS; (*a*) AND (*c*) FROM ARCADIA, (*b*) FROM DODONA.

is hardly more than a heavy silhouette. The features, as in all similar Geometric features, are sketchy and vague.

Two later examples from Arcadia (Fig. 4, *a, c*) show a more successful development from the cruder prototype, but cast, and not worked in the 'bar technique.'



FIG. 5.—BRONZE FIGURE OF ZEUS.



FIG. 6 (*a, b*).—BRONZE FIGURES OF ZEUS FROM OLYMPIA.

A fourth example (Fig. 5) seems to belong to a transitional period between 'bar technique' and casting. The figure is cast but the shapes and outline of the 'bar technique' are retained. The features are crude but not so sketchy as in the Dodona example.

Fig. 6, *a, b*, shows the final development of the type in full fifth-century art. Both come from Olympia.²²

²² *Bronzes*, Pl. VII. 43, 45.

Warrior.—In the bronze figures of warriors brandishing spears, which are so common in the Geometric period, the 'bar technique' is seen most clearly. Here, in nearly every case, the sides of the bar are cut away and bent round to form arms, while the lower part of the bar is divided into two parts for legs. This being the simplest form of the technique, it was found that the warrior brandishing a spear lent itself most readily to the method. For this



FIG. 7 (*a, b, c*).—BRONZE FIGURES OF WARRIORS; (*a*) FROM CORINTH, (*b*) FROM DELPHI, (*c*) FROM DODONA.

reason more instances of this type are found than of any other and the type became the more easily perpetuated. Three examples are here given²³ (Fig. 7, *a, b, c*), of which the first two clearly belong to the earliest period of Geometric bronze art, while the third, which is cast, again exhibits the transition from 'bar technique' to casting.

Attic features.—Finally, I propose to examine the continuity of Geometric and classical art from a slightly different point of view that concerns rather



FIG. 8.—HEADS OF BRONZE FIGURES FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

the latest than the earliest phase of Geometric and sub-Geometric bronze work. Here, in my opinion, it is possible to trace, at least in Attic art, the gradual development from the earliest period of plastic art the features characteristic of the Attic face, which reaches its final and developed perfection in the *poros*

²³ From Corinth, Delphi and Dodona respectively. (National Museum, Nos. 7729, 7415, and Carapanos, 33.)

sculptures of the Acropolis. All my examples come from Attica—the majority from the Acropolis itself. I am not concerned in this series with the technique of the body.

It may be more convenient to tabulate the examples with which I shall deal.

1. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6627. De Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes*, No. 697, p. 244, Fig. 214. Head and flattened body to the waist of a bronze human figure (Fig. 8).

2. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6628. De Ridder, No. 50, p. 20, Fig. 1. Bronze figure of a warrior in a helmet (Fig. 8).



FIG. 9.—HEAD OF BRONZE FIGURE FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.



FIG. 10.—HEADS OF BRONZE FIGURES FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

3. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6613. De Ridder, No. 702, p. 248, Fig. 219. Bronze figure of a man wearing a conical cap of an oriental type (Fig. 8).

4. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6494. De Ridder, No. 819, p. 330, Fig. 323. Bronze female head surmounted by a cushion and a concave disc (Fig. 9).

5. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6612. De Ridder, No. 701, p. 247, Fig. 218. Bronze male figure wearing a conical helmet or cap (Fig. 10).

6 (a). Silver tetradrachm of Athens. Formerly in the possession of M. Feuardent, Paris. Weight 17.70 grammes (Fig. 11).

(b) Silver tetradrachm of Athens. From the Philippsen collection. Weight 16.93 grammes (Fig. 11).

7. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6618. De Ridder, No. 699, p. 246, Fig. 216. Bronze male figure (Fig. 10).

8. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6617. De Ridder, No. 698, p. 245, Fig. 215. Bronze figure almost identical with No. 7 above (Fig. 10).

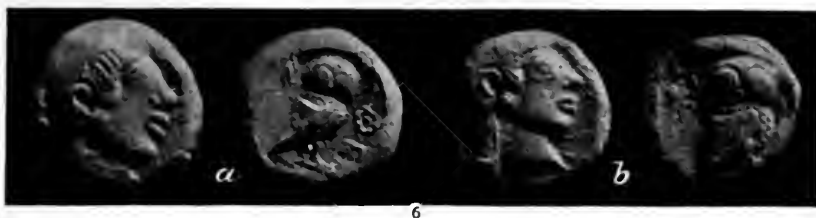


FIG. 11.—SILVER TETRADRACHMS OF ATHENS OF THE EARLIEST TYPE.

9 (a). Silver tetradrachm of Athens. Now in the British Museum (*B.M. C. Attica*, Pl. I. 6) (Fig. 12).

(b). Silver tetradrachm of Athens. Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 12).

10. Painted clay plaque from Olympos in Attica. Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Richter, *Handbook*, p. 56, Fig. 32. The scene represents four mourners at a bier upon which lies a corpse (Fig. 13).



FIG. 12.—SILVER TETRADRACHMS OF ATHENS OF THE EARLIEST TYPE.

11. Fragments of a Proto-Attic vase from the Kynosarges cemetery, Athens. Some of the fragments are now in the National Museum, Athens, and some in the possession of the British School at Athens. See *J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. II.-IV. and p. 29, and *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 383. The decoration shows a bearded man standing in a two-horsed chariot and a charioteer holding the reins. A third figure stands behind the chariot (Fig. 14).

12. Figure in *poros* limestone of a maiden from the so-called "Erechtheion Pediment." Now in the Acropolis Museum. See Dickins, *Acropolis Museum Catalogue*, I. p. 68, and Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, Pl. II. (Fig. 15).

13. Silver tetradrachm of Athens now in the collection of M. Empedocles, Athens (Fig. 16).

All the examples in this series are derived directly from the original fount of Attic art. Whatever alien or external influences may appear in them are incidental and do not hide the essentially Attic characteristics which appear

in each of the series after the first two. Thus, according to De Ridder, No. 4 shows 'Egypto-Phoenician' influence, whatever this term may mean. The hair above the brow in this instance he further compares to that of a well-known Mycenaean ivory head.²⁴ De Ridder further considers the conical caps worn by the figures Nos. 3 and 5 to be of an Assyrian or Cypriote type.

What is important, however, is that the features of the faces and the general type of the figures is neither Assyrian, Mycenaean nor 'Egypto-Phoenician.' That they were all made in Athens seems most probable in view of the fact that in Nos. 7 and 8 we have two figures that differ slightly and are clearly from the same workshop. Nos. 2, 3, and 5 exhibit the same technique and style and it seems unnecessary to assume that such figures are importations.

No. 1, although from Attica, shows not so much an Attic work of art as one which belongs to the end of the full Geometric period. It belongs to a type and a school of art which are found in a known and limited area. The Argolid, Laconia, Arcadia, Attica and Phocis have afforded numerous examples of this very rigid but clearly-cut art. One might say that the eastern half of the Corinthian gulf and the whole of the Saronic formed the centre round which the artists of this school grouped themselves. The rigid style of the hair and the flat, ugly treatment of the face is all that Geometric art could effect in its first essay at features and detail. Hitherto the body alone had been successfully achieved and the features were barely indicated. The same artistic traditions appear in the earliest sculpture of the seventh century of the Argolid,²⁵ Arcadia,²⁶ Laconia²⁷ and Delphi,²⁸ but not in Attica. In Crete, especially at Prinias,²⁹ it survives much later into the sixth century. This widespread style formed the nucleus from which subsequently the more brilliantly developed local schools of Greece broke away upon courses of their own. It forms the firm basis of subsequent Greek art and is evolved in and by the mainland of Greece itself.

No. 2 shows a considerable advance upon this uniform style and has elements of what later develops into the Attic style.

In Nos. 3, 4, and 5 appear the first traces of one of the many oriental elements that, by the offer of new ideas and new types, were to stimulate the uninspired repetition of Geometric art into life and style. Already, with the appearance of these external alien influences the true Attic features are forming. The thick lips, broad, square face, large eyes and prominent nose which persist in Attic art down to the middle of the sixth century are already definite, at least in Nos. 4 and 5, which, nevertheless, retain the strong rigid technique of the last Geometric works.

In Nos. 6 (a) and 6 (b) we see the same features on coins of Attica itself. Precisely the same type of face is seen on the tetradrachms of the Acropolis hoard,³⁰ but these are, for the most part, so damaged by the fire of the

²⁴ Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, VI. p. 811, Fig. 380.

²⁵ The Apollo of Tenea, and cf. *Delphi, Sculpt.* Pl. I.

²⁶ Stais, *Cat. Nat. Mus. Athens*, Nos. 6, 57.

²⁷ Wace and Tod, *Sparta Mus. Cat.* p. 120.

²⁸ *Delphi, Bronzes*, Pl. III.

²⁹ *Annuario*, l.c.

³⁰ *Journ. Internat. Numismat.* I. Pl. I.A.



10

FIG. 13.—TERRA-COTTA RELIEF: FUNERAL SCENE. FROM OLYMPOS IN ATTICA.



11

FIG. 14.—FRAGMENTS OF A PROTO-ATTIC VASE FROM THE KYNOSARGES CEMETERY, NOW AT ATHENS.

Persian destruction that they do not illustrate my point so clearly as better preserved coins of the same type. It has long been held by many numismatists that the coins of this crude type are barbaric imitations of finer types. Professor P. Gardner considers them to be the coins struck for the troops of Xerxes while they were in Greece, and sees confirmation of his view in the discovery of the Acropolis hoard and in the similar hoard found on the Xerxes canal in Chalcidice.³¹ Imhoof-Blumer and J. P. Six similarly held them to be barbaric, but the former attributed them to the time of Cleisthenes and the latter to that of Hippias.³²

But from the stylistic evidence of the series of monuments here given it is clear that the type of head on these so-called 'barbaric' coins falls into its place in the development of the characteristic Attic face; its position, moreover, is by no means late in the series. This seems effectually to dispose of the theory that these coins are barbaric imitations and supports the view of Head,³³ who considered them to be the earliest coins of any land bearing the type of the human head. The features of the head of Athena on the coins Nos. 6 (a) and (b) and 9 (a) and (b) are almost identical with the features of the two bronzes Nos. 7 and 8. The large ears, level eyes, prominent heavy nose and square chin are common to all, and are precisely the features characteristic of faces on proto-Attic pottery, as in the case of the vase No. 11 or the splendid plaque No. 10. But whether, chronologically, the bronzes precede the proto-Attic pottery by any very great length of time it is impossible to say. The coins, in any case, can hardly be as early as the Kynosarges vase, which falls in date between the Aegina vase of Perseus and the Harpies³⁴ and the fine vase in New York³⁵—approximately to a date about 650 B.C.

The final development in early Attic art of this Attic type of face is seen in No. 12, the beautiful maiden of the 'Erechtheion Pediment,' which dates to about 550 B.C. Here the harsher features of the earlier faces are softened. Another Athenian tetradrachm, No. 13, shows this finally perfected face in all its purity before it had become radically changed by the refined and rather over-delicate features of the Ionic art that flooded Attica after 540 B.C.³⁶

From all these examples, then, of the Attic face it is possible to trace a steady development from the harsher and more widespread mainland Geometric and sub-Geometric types to the purest Attic. The general type has become specialised. So, too, in Aegina, in Argos and elsewhere, other local types and styles were differentiated and the local schools of art grew up from the one common stem. Even as far down in the line of development as the Olympos plaque the *composition* is taken ultimately from the funeral scenes depicted on the earliest Geometric vases of the Dipylon.

³¹ *History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 154.

³² Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 153.

³³ *Historia Numorum* 2, p. 369.

³⁴ *A. Z.* 1882, Pls. IX, X.

³⁵ Richter, *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 370.

³⁶ There are, of course, other arguments to support this view, which do not properly belong to the subject of this paper. Thus,

for instance, there is no adequate reason why either the democracy of Cleisthenes, Hippias, or the army of Xerxes should strike such rude coins. The two former had admirable Attic artists available, while Ionians in the Persian army would almost certainly have been employed. After all, the Persians were hardly barbarians in art.

The examples of the Geometric horse, the Centaurs, spearmen and the Zeus figures are important in that they show the preservation of type from the earliest phases of pure Geometric plastic art. From the bronze horses of Olympia to the frieze of Prinias, from the crude bronze Centaurs to the metopes of the Parthenon, from the spearmen to the Athena Promachos, and from the Dodona Zeus to the perfected statuettes of Olympia there is a course of development which makes it possible to reconstruct, however provisionally, the obscurer phases of early Greek art. These strange and unattractive bronze



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FIG. 15.—LIMESTONE HEAD OF MAIDEN FROM AN ARCHAIC PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.



13

FIG. 16.—SILVER TETRADRACHM OF ATHENS OF MORE DEVELOPED TYPE.

toys of the earliest Geometric time, uninspiring though they be, must be considered in the light of the development of Greek art from the Geometric to the Classic. So, too, the crude bronzes of the Acropolis all fall into line in the detailed development of Attic art itself.

The break in tradition of technique that is evident between the Cretan and Geometric bronzes indicates that, in bronze working at least, the new stock of Iron Age Greece had carried on none of the customs of the preceding Bronze Age. The gap between the two cultures remains unbridged, and Cretan bronzes had been long forgotten when the bronze-craftsmen of Geometric times first started to work.

S. CASSON.

TRACES OF THE RHAPSODE

AN ESSAY ON THE USE OF RECURRENT SIMILES IN THE *Iliad*

'I was not about to dispute the point, Tim,' said young Cheeryble, laughing. . . .
'All I was going to say was, that I hold myself under an obligation to the coincidence, that's all.'

'Oh! if you don't dispute it, that's another thing. I'll tell you what, though—I wish you had. I wish you or anybody would. I would so put down that man,' said Tim . . . 'so put down that man by argument——.'—*Nicholas Nickleby*.

I

We know roughly, says Prof. Murray,¹ how a rhapsode set to work. He would be tempted to introduce bright patches. . . . He would abhor the subordination of parts to the whole.

This tendency, he suggests, explains the occurrence both in Θ (555 ff.) and in Π (297 ff.) of the well-known description of a cloudless sky: 'Such lovely lines, once heard, were a temptation to any rhapsode, and likely to recur wherever a good chance offered. The same explanation applies to the multiplied similes of B 455 ff. They are not meant to be taken all together; they are alternatives for the reciter to choose from.'

I quote this pronouncement, not because I want to quarrel with the most generous of scholars, but because it hits on particularly instructive passages. The constellation of similes at B 455 ff. marks, I suggest, a provisional climax in the movement of the poem,² and the images here chosen are poetically relevant, not only to the immediate context but to the whole design. Similarly, the image of Θ 555 ff. is not isolated, but provides a climax and a consummation to the whole series of images which decorates the movement Γ-Θ. The kindred, though more impressive, image of Π 297 ff. marks the beginning of yet another series. Finally, these examples illustrate a principle of Homer's art, which has not, I think, been realised by critics. His similes are rarely isolated and detachable decorations, relevant only to their immediate context. More often they are so related to each other, and so arranged, like the incidents, in formal patterns, that they become an important element in the organic structure of the poem. The cunning repetition, heightening and combination of images within his formal pattern is a device not only characteristic of Homer, but also of supreme importance for the appreciation of his art. It provides us also, I shall submit, with a valid argument for the unity of the *Iliad*.

¹ *History of Greek Literature*, 20-21.

Sing, goddess, the wrath of Achilles, and the evils that it wrought . . . in the accomplishment of the will of Zeus . . . beginning when the son of Atreus quarrelled with the glorious Achilles. The son of Zeus and Leto was angry because of Chryses. . . . Chryses had prayed, but it did not please Agamemnon . . . so Chryses prayed . . . and Apollo, in his anger, came, 'like the night' . . . and shot his arrows, and the pyres of the dead were burning.

Achilles summoned an Assembly. Calchas spoke. Agamemnon's heart grew black with wrath, and his eyes were like a shining fire. He threatened to take away Briseis. Athene intervened to check Achilles. The Assembly continued, Achilles swore that he would leave the fighting, and Nestor tried in vain to restore peace.

Then Agamemnon's second blunder, the taking of Briseis, corresponding in the pattern to the first, the refusal to give up Chryseis.

That is the first group of incidents in the *Iliad*. The second is different, and has its own shape :

Achilles prayed to Thetis. She heard him, as she sat with her old father in the depths of the sea, and she came up from the sea, 'like a mist,' and promised to help her son.

Odysseus and his crew restored Briseis, Chryses prayed, and sacrifice was made to Apollo. The day ended with feast and music and sleep.

Thetis prayed to Zeus in Olympus, and the Thunderer promised his aid. He nodded, and, at the nod of his immortal head, Olympus trembled.

Then the scherzo, the comedy of the Olympian Quarrel, in which Hephaestus was a more successful peacemaker than Nestor. The day ended in feast and song and sleep.

The third group repeats the pattern of the first :

Agamemnon's Dream and the Council; Nestor's Comment.

The Second Assembly, divided, like the first, by an intervention of Athene.

Nestor's advice, Agamemnon's prayer and sacrifice. The army mustered.

The similes are concentrated in this third part. In A we had only the three brief comparisons, 'Apollo came, like the night . . . the pyres were burning'; 'Agamemnon's heart grew black with anger, and his eyes were like shining fire'; and 'Thetis heard, and came, like a mist from the sea.' But the nod of the immortal head of Zeus is also relevant to our inquiry.

In B we have the following similes :

The people, crowding to Assembly, were like bees pouring from a cleft in a rock, clustering on spring flowers. Gossip blazed among them. The earth groaned beneath them.

After Agamemnon's speech, the Assembly was moved like the waves of the Ikarian sea stirred by the east wind or the south; like a cornfield bowing under the west wind.

When Odysseus and Athene drove them back, they returned to the Assembly with the noise of a wave dashing on a great beach.

After Agamemnon's second speech, they shouted for battle with the noise of a wave dashed by the south wind on a jutting headland.

Finally, when the army mustered, Athene, not Gossip, was with them. The flashing of their armour was like a fire in a mountain-forest. Throng after throng they came (imperfect), like flights of birds, geese or swans, over a meadow in Asia, and they came to a stand (aorist) in the flowery meadow of Scamander, as numerous as leaves or flowers: they were as greedy and persistent as flies about pails of milk in spring. Their captains marshalled them as easily as goatherds divide their flocks. Agamemnon himself was like Zeus (as to his eyes and head), like Poseidon, like Ares. As a bull in a herd of cows was Agamemnon made eminent by Zeus that day (aorist).

That is all. I submit that the similes are not thrown in at random. The three wave-images form a group, defining clearly the lines of the assembly episode: each repetition adds to the effect. Nor can we miss the connexion between the bees and spring flowers of the first simile and the leaves and flowers and flies round pails of milk in spring of the last paragraph. If Mr. Murray's reciter keeps the bees, he will have to keep the flies and leaves and flowers; and if so, he will have to keep the birds, or spoil his rhapsody. And if we look at the whole movement, we shall recognise, I think, a fitness in the other images. If Apollo came like night, and shot, and the pyres were burning, the army, when it musters, is like a raging forest-fire. If Agamemnon's eyes in his anger were like shining fire, his eyes and head in this moment of his glory are like the eyes and head of Zeus. The movement, which begins 'Achilles . . . Zeus . . . Achilles,' ends, 'So eminent Zeus made Agamemnon on that day.'

There remain isolated images, I admit; Thetis 'like a mist,' the goatherds with their flocks, the bull in the herd of cows. These will be developed in the sequel.

The Catalogue is an Interlude, but between the Greek list and the Trojan there is an instructive simile:

The army of the Greeks was like a fire raging over the whole land. Earth groaned, as beneath the anger of Zeus the Thunderer, when he lashes the earth because of Typhoeus. . . .

It is a heightening of the fire-image, with a hint of coming trouble for the Achaeans. It links theimagery of B with the Catalogue. Let us see what happens after the Trojan list is ended.

The Trojans advanced with a noise like that of birds, cranes, who have left the storm and rain behind, and wing their way through the sky, bringing death for Pygmies. They make ready their battle in the mists of morning. The Greeks were silent.

The dust of the armies was like a mist on the mountains, not dear to shepherds, but better than night for a thief. You can only see as far as a stone's throw.

The birds, the mist and the herdsmen. If Γ was made by a later hand than A, and if B was made by yet another artist, anyhow it was a cunning craftsman who contrived the joinery.²

II

Herodotus³ quotes Z 289-292 as part of Diomed's *Aristeia*. He and his audience wanted a name for the whole strip of narrative, Γ-H, and they naturally called it after the hero whose exploits form the main part of its story. Diomed's own adventures have a unity and relevance of their own within

² A 47, 104, 359, B 87, 142, 206, 394, 455 ff., 780 ff., Γ 1 ff. I am indebted to H. Fränkel, *Homerische Gleichnisse*, for a few references which I had overlooked. To Professor Bury, who was good enough to read this article in proof and to suggest

an important modification, I am very much indebted.

³ Hdt. I. 116. Drerup's ingenious explanation (*Fünfte Buch* 47, *Homerische Poetik* I. 438) is unnecessary.

this larger group of incidents.⁴ But the larger group has also unity and relevance. The cause of the whole war, as of the present trouble, is a quarrel for a woman. So the poet, sketching in his background, shows us Menelaus, Paris, Helen and Aphrodite, symbol of that source of human sorrow. And he makes Aphrodite Diomed's first Olympian victim. He makes the meeting of Sarpedon and Tlepolemus the central scene of a symmetrical pattern. Then he puts Ares, god of the worse plague, war, to balance Aphrodite. With Hecuba for Priam, Ajax for Menelaus, Hector for Paris and Andromache for Helen, he rounds off his pattern, and prepares us for the sequel.

But he subordinates this pattern also to a larger scheme. Γ is linked with B by the images at the beginning, H with Θ both by the prominence of Diomed, now turned back by the thunderbolt of Zeus, and by the pattern of the images, which cuts across the sharp division of the narrative, and is completed only with the watchfires at the end of Θ . Θ again is linked with I by the balancing of a Greek and a Trojan assembly.⁵ That is as it should be. We are brought back to the tone of A, with its assemblies and supplications, its long speeches, and its lack of similes. The movement which began when Agamemnon spurned the suppliant Chryseis ends with the rejection by the tragic hero of the Achæan prayers.

The contents of Γ - Θ may be tabulated thus :

First Battle.

Paris challenges. Helen and Priam. The Oath-Taking. Paris v. Menelaus.
 Pandarus breaks the truce.
 Agamemnon's review, and the insult to Diomed.
 Death of Pandarus.
 Diomed v. Aphrodite.
 Sarpedon v. Tlepolemus.
 Diomed v. Ares.
 Hector withdraws to Troy.
 Diomed talks with Glaucus, and the two men make friends.
 Hector and Hecuba. The Supplication. Hector and Andromache. Hector v. Ajax
 Night. Assemblies, truce, the wall and burial of the dead.

Second Battle.

Divine Assembly. Hera and Athene in their chariot.
 Greek defeat. Diomed turned back by thunderbolt.
 Hera tries to rouse Poseidon.
 Greek defeat. Teucer's archery.
 Hera and Athene in their chariot, turned back.
 Night. Trojan Assembly. Watchfires. Greek Assembly.

THE EMBASSY TO ACHILLES.

The armies advanced, the Trojans like cranes. The dust was like a mountain mist, not dear to shepherds. The similes link Γ with B, but that, we shall find, does not exhaust their significance.

⁴ I have discussed this matter in *J.H.S.* 1920, 49 ff., and in my book, *The Pattern of the Iliad*, 34 ff.

⁵ Wilamowitz (*Homer und die Ilias*, 35)

condemns the separation of Θ 524 ff. from I 53 ff., but himself puts asunder what the Muse has joined together, by making a sharp division at the end of E (*ib.* 297).

The first episode, the duel of Menelaus and Paris, begins thus :

Paris challenged and Menelaus rejoiced like a lion who has found his prey. Paris recoiled like a man who has met a snake. Hector rebuked him. 'Hector,' he answered, 'you have a heart as hard as a woodcutter's axe, with which he cuts a ship's timber.'

It ends with Menelaus, cheated by Aphrodite, going up and down the field, and looking for his prey like a wild beast.

These are the only images of immediate structural importance. In the oath-taking there are none at all. In the *Teichoscopia* there is a group of three, the old men chirping like cicadas, Odysseus like a ram (Agamemnon in B was a bull), and the words of Odysseus 'like snow.' I shall try to mention all developed similes as they occur. The reader will judge for himself how far I do justice to their relative importance in the poem.⁶

The second incident begins with a divine colloquy and the intervention of Athene, who incites Pandarus to break the truce. She came like a star, hurled by Zeus as a portent to sailors or to a host; it flashes; many sparks fly from it. When Menelaus was wounded, she saved him from serious hurt, brushing away the arrow which had touched him as a mother brushes a fly from her sleeping child. Still, the blood flowed and stained his flesh as a Maeonian or Carian woman stains ivory with crimson. Machaon tended him.

Agamemnon, indignant, mustered his men again for battle. He chid the laggards. 'Why do you stand terrified, like fawns?' He found Idomeneus with his Cretans, bold as a boar. The cloud of footmen with the Ajaxes was like a cloud seen by a goatherd from his look-out on the mountains, as it is driven towards him by the west wind over the sea. He shivers and withdraws his flock into a cave.⁷

That development of the 'mist on the mountains, not dear to shepherds' is the only full simile in the episode of the Review.

Agamemnon passes on. He has his interviews with Nestor and Odysseus. When he reaches Diomed, his patience is exhausted, and he insults him. Diomed answers with the modesty of a good soldier.

The battle is resumed, and once more we have a group of similes :

The Greeks are like a great wave driven by the west wind on a beach; the Trojans like sheep bleating as they are milked, and answering the lambs. Ares and Athene are with them, and Strife, the sister of Ares, is in the midst. Like the wave, she is tiny at first, then rears her head until it touches the sky. Finally the armies meet, and the noise is like the sound of two torrents in a mountain-chasm heard by the shepherd from above.⁸

Structurally, this group resumes the effect of Γ 1 ff. The waves here, like the cranes there, link this movement with B. But the shepherd who at Γ 10 ff. was wrapt in mist, and at Δ 275 ff. descried a cloud approaching and withdrew his flock, now hears the noise of the torrents meeting in the chasm below. For the moment, that is all.

The fight ensued. Echepòlos fell 'like a tower.' The armies fought 'like wolves.' Then Simoeisios fell. This was a young man, cut off in his

⁶ r 2, 10, 23, 30, 60 (151, 196, 222), 449.

For Hector's heart of iron cf. x 357, α 521.

⁷ Δ 75, 130, 141, 243, 253, 275.

⁸ Δ 422, 433, 442, 452.

prime, the son of Anthemion, the 'Flower-Man,' named after the river on whose bank he was born. Homer invented him, I think, in order to remind us, without undue emphasis, of Achilles. Hit in the breast by Ajax, he fell, and lay like a black poplar in a meadow-pasture, a smooth trunk with branches growing at the top. A carpenter has cut it down with the bright iron, to bend it into a felloe for a car, and it lies there drying by the river. Such was Simoeisios Anthemides, when he was killed by Zeus-born Ajax. Immediately afterwards, Antiphos killed Leukos, friend of Odysseus, and Odysseus, very angry, strode through the ranks of the first fighters, aimed his javelin, and hit a son of Priam, in his anger for the friend who had been killed. And Apollo shouted from the citadel, 'Up, Trojans! The son of Thetis is not fighting.'

That is the development of the theme, so simply introduced by Homer, when Paris said to Hector, 'Your heart is like a woodcutter's axe.'⁹ We shall meet the theme again.

We pass to the first exploits of Diomed.

Athene made him glorious. He shone like an autumnal star. He raged in battle like a torrent, swollen by the rains of Zeus, breaking down dykes and fences, ruining the cultivated fields. Wounded by Pandarus, he was like a lion wounded by shepherds but still valiant. He leapt on two sons of Priam, like a lion killing a cow and her calf. He killed Pandarus, but Aeneas defended the body, like a lion. Aphrodite intervened, but Diomed wounded her, and after she had gone he still attacked Aeneas, though Apollo now protected him. Thrice he attacked, and was foiled, but when for the fourth time he rushed on like a daimôn, Apollo shouted, and he yielded in his awe of that great god. Sarpedon upbraided Hector. The Trojans, he said, were shrinking from this Greek as hounds shrink from a lion. Hector rallied them, and the dust on the Achaeans in the fight was like the chaff in a great winnowing. Ares put night on the battle. Ares and Strife together stirred up the fighting. Diomed and the Ajaxes and Odysseus fought stubbornly, like clouds which Zeus has set on the mountains, and which will not leave them, whatever winds may blow. Aeneas still fought well. He killed two victims, who were like lions reared by their mother in the mountain-thickets to prey on farmsteads and at last to be killed by men. They fell and were like tall pinetrees. Finally, Aeneas was put to flight, and Ares came himself against Diomed. The hero yielded to the god. He recoiled, like a man who is daunted when he meets—not a snake, this time—a river in flood.¹⁰

That completes, for the moment, the pattern. The noise of battle was like two torrents meeting; Diomed was like a torrent; Diomed recoils, like a man daunted by a river in flood. We have also reached the central incident of the series, the encounter of Tlepolemus and Sarpedon. They boast of their origin, and fight. The son of Heracles is killed, and the son of Zeus lies wounded under a tree, the fresh wind blowing to revive him.¹¹

The second part of the movement (which, it is important to remember, includes, for our present purpose, Θ), begins quietly. After a little comedy in heaven, Hera and Athene, with the permission of Zeus, drive down between heaven and earth in a marvellous car. The divine steeds carry them at one bound 'as far as a man can see into the misty distance from the watch-point where he sits and looks over the wine-dark sea.' They leave their horses,

⁹ Γ 60, Δ 482.

522, 554, 560, 597.

¹⁰ Ε 5, 87, 136, 161, 305, 436, 476, 499,

¹¹ Ε 627-698.

in much mist, where two rivers meet (geographically odd, we are told; but poetically not without value, in view of the two torrents). And they step out to the field 'like doves.'

At the corresponding moment in the first part, the dust of the moving armies was like a mist so thick that you could only see a stone's throw. The Trojans were like noisy cranes flying to battle. The Trojans like fighting cranes, Athene and Hera like doves. Is it possible that Homer smiled as he devised his pattern? He knew what he was about. Presently Athene and Apollo will perch like vultures on the oak of Zeus to watch the duel between Ajax and the Trojan hero. And, in the sequel, Zeus will send his eagle as a sign that he has not abandoned the unhappy Greeks for ever.¹²

Throughout this second part of the movement, the similes are less frequent, but the effect is heightened. The matter is more impressive. Hector is more to us than Paris, Andromache than Helen. Also the poet has elaborated the divine machinery. When the wounded Ares goes up to heaven, he looks to the watching Diomed like a thundercloud, and it is the thunderbolt of Zeus himself, not a mere shout from Apollo, that turns Diomed back at last.¹³ Thirdly, many images of the first part are echoed in the facts of the sequel. Thus, the crimson of the Maeonian or Carian women, staining the royal ivory, finds its echo not in a simile, but in the rich embroidery of the robe of Hecuba's vain offering, the work of Sidonian women.¹⁴

The lions reappear, but in company always with boars. After the arrival of the dovelike goddesses, Odysseus, Diomed and the Ajaxes fought stubbornly, like lions or boars. Ajax and Hector were like lions or boars in their duel, and Hector, in the rout, advanced victorious, like a hound that worries a lion or a boar.¹⁵

When Pandarus shot his arrow, Athene brushed it from Menelaus, as a mother brushes a stinging fly from her sleeping child. Now, when Teucer, a more honest archer, shoots, he takes refuge with Ajax like a child running to its mother.¹⁶ Athene came like a star, and Diomed was like an autumnal star. Now Athene and Hera drive down in their glorious chariot, and Diomed, in a chariot too, is turned back by the thunderbolt of Zeus. But the stars contrive to shine in less conspicuous place, with greater lustre, as decoration for the robe of Hecuba's offering, and for the exquisite child of Hector and Andromache.¹⁷ The tree-simile finds for the moment its consummation in the famous speech of Glaucus, relating the *Diomedea* to the spirit of the whole epic, 'We mortals, for all our pride, are like the leaves that come and go in their generations in the forest,' and its quality is recalled with a hint of new, more tender developments, when Gorgythion bows his head beneath his helmet as a poppy, heavy with fruit and with the rains of spring.¹⁸

Finally, our shepherd, once wrapped in mist on the mountain, once shivering as he watched the cloud approaching—the cloud which would not leave the

¹² E 768 ff. (cf. Γ 1 ff.), 778, H 59, O 247.

¹³ E 864, O 169.

¹⁴ Δ 141, Z 289.

¹⁵ E 782, Z 256, O 357.

¹⁶ Δ 130, O 271.

¹⁷ Z 295, 401.

¹⁸ Z 146 ff., O 306.

mountains when it reached them—once listening to the roar of the two torrents meeting in the chasm below, looks out again and rejoices, when the watchfires of the Trojans are as numerous as the stars about the bright moon in a windless sky, when all the stars are seen, and all the peaks and glens and promontories; and above the sky the infinite heaven breaks open.

So much for the first occurrence of this famous simile. Here, at any rate, it completes a pattern, which a 'rhapsode' might have spoilt, but only a constructive poet can have made.¹⁹

III

The first movement of the *Iliad* begins with the rejection of Chryses and ends with the rejection of the Achaean embassy. Within this movement, after the introductory group of episodes, the Catalogue is an interlude. The second movement begins at Λ (after the Doloneia),²⁰ with the arming of Agamemnon and the shout of Strife at the ships. It develops, first slowly, then with increasing rapidity, through the second battle-series, the firing of the ships, the exploits of Patroclus and the struggle over his body, to a provisional conclusion with the rousing of Achilles and his shout from the trench. The *Shield* is, again, an interlude. But it is linked with the main movement by its position between two balancing Assemblies, the meeting in which Hector finally rejects the counsel of Polydamas, and the meeting in which Agamemnon and Achilles are reconciled. With the arming of Achilles, we begin the third and final movement. Thus the first movement begins with the rejection of the suppliant Chryses by Agamemnon, and ends with the rejection by Achilles of the suppliant Achaeans. The second movement brings tragedy for Achilles, and ends with the rejection of good advice by Hector. The third begins with the reconciliation of Achilles and Agamemnon, and ends with the acceptance of the suppliant Priam.

We shall be concerned here with the second movement, from Λ to the rousing of Achilles. This stretch of narrative contains the most disputed passages in Homer, and I do not deny that parts of it are inferior to the work of Homer at his best. Even so, much criticism has been based on ignorance of the main lines of composition. We must learn the technique before we judge the artist.

We shall begin by analysing the narrative from Λ 1 to O 219. Attempts to cut this stretch of poetry into rhapsodies of equal length obscure the structure. Nor will the scheme which fitted Γ-H prove useful. The poet here employs a new device, simple and easy to remember, once you see it, but often missed by critics—I confess I have been of the number—because they are looking for something else, or not looking for anything worth while at all. This is the

¹⁹ Γ 10, Δ 274, 452, Ε 522, Θ 555. The only similes in I are the two at the beginning (4, 14) and the comparison of Achilles to a bird foraging for its young (323 ff.).

²⁰ K is an Interlude, linked by its similes with the main structure (5, 154, 183, 297, 360, 485, 547).

plan. The narrative is composed of alternating scenes of battle and of talk. The wounding of the Greeks is followed by the Exhortations of Nestor to Patroclus, and these in turn by the Trojan successes at the wall. But the alternating scenes are so arranged, in triads, that the pattern has the massive form aba bab (not ababab), bab. In the second triad, Poseidon exhorts the Greeks; then come the exploits of Idomeneus; then, as the third panel, the return and mutual exhortations of the wounded Greeks. This pattern is repeated in the next triad, where two scenes of divine comedy and persuasion frame the Greek victory. After that, we shall have two Trojan successes, framing the paragraph about the rousing of Patroclus. But, for the present, we shall consider only the three sections, A-M, N-Ξ 152, Ξ 153-O 219.

The second movement of the *Iliad* begins, as I have said, with A.²¹ Its Introduction nobly recalls the opening paragraphs of the poem. For the form, Achilles, Zeus, Achilles: Apollo, Agamemnon, Apollo, we now have the form, Zeus, Agamemnon, Zeus, Hector and Zeus.

Zeus sent Strife to the ships, to shout, with the portent of battle. Agamemnon armed. On his breastplate were snakes, like rainbows, on his shield a Gorgon, on his belt a snake. Athens and Hera thundered in his honour, but Zeus rained blood, because he meant to hurl to Hades many strong heads. Hector, marshalling his men, was like a baneful star, now brilliant, now obscured by clouds. He gleamed in armour like the lightning of Zeus.

The battle opens with two pictures:

The armies met like lines of reapers facing one another as they cut a swathe of barley or of wheat in the field of a rich man. The sheaves fall thick on the ground. So the Greeks and Trojans leapt on one another, and kept cutting. . . .

While it was morning and the strong day was growing, they hurled their weapons and the people were falling; but at the time when a woodcutter prepares his dinner in the mountain-glade, because his arms are tired of felling the tall trees: he has had enough, and longing takes him for sweet food: at that hour the Danaans broke the enemy. . . .²²

These reapers are working in the field of death, and the felled trees, as the first part of the *Iliad* has taught us, are an image of the bodies of dead men. Images from the life of field and forest are to play a greater part in the second movement than in the first. And the boars and lions, the fire and wave and torrent, we shall find, are worked into a new pattern.

Agamemnon raged like a lion, like a fire in which a forest collapses. Hector withdrew. Agamemnon still fought like a lion, but was wounded and retired. His pain was like that of a woman in travail.

Hector, attacking Diomed and Odysseus, was like a hunter setting dogs at a boar. He was like a wind falling on the waves. The two Greeks were like boars falling on the dogs. But Paris wounded Diomed, who cried, 'Your arrows only scratch; my spear makes widows of men's wives and orphans of their children.'

Odysseus, alone, was like a boar at bay against dogs and hunters. He was wounded, but rescued by the Ajaxes. Ajax was like a lion scattering jackals who are worrying a

²¹ 12 ff. Here I disagree with Prof. Bury in agreement.
(*J.H.S.* 1922, p. 1), but with his general
view and his criticism of Mr. Drerup, I am

²² A 67 ff., 84 ff.

wounded stag. He was like a river in high flood, a torrent full of the rains of Zeus, sweeping with it many dry oaks, many pines, much rubble, to the sea.

Elsewhere Paris wounded Machaon. Hector came against Ajax, in whom Zeus put terror. He stood helpless, then retired, unwillingly, like a lion slowly driven from a farm, like an ass driven from a field by boys, but not until he has eaten his fill. Then Paris wounded Eurypylos.²³

That completes this group of incidents. It began with the picture of the reapers, and ends with the ass in the field. It began with the woodcutter and ends with the torrent sweeping the dry oaks and pines to the sea. These trees were left to dry by a woodcutter in the summer by a peaceful river. With the autumn rains the river has become a torrent, which carries them away. Thus the second movement gives new value to the images of the first, when Hector's heart was like an axe, and Simoeisios lay like a poplar left to dry, and Diomed was like a torrent.

After the peaceful interview of Nestor and Patroclus, in which there are no similes, the battle-story is resumed in M. We ended with Ajax, like a lion scattering jackals, like a torrent carrying dry trees and rubble to the sea, like a lion driven slowly from a farm, and like an ass driven out of a field.

We begin again with the description of a flood in which the gods shall some day sweep away to sea the wall, with the logs and stones on which the Achaeans spent their labour. For the present the fire of battle is round it. Hector, raging like a whirlwind, is eager to attack, but the Trojan horses shy at the trench. He is like a boar or lion, attacking dogs and huntsmen who are massed against him like a tower.²⁴

Polydamas advised him, and he prudently agreed, that the chariots should be left behind. It is the first hint of the coming tragedy, when Hector shall fatally refuse to follow this man's advice. The Trojans now prepare to attack on foot in five divisions. The list is important, and is easy to remember because the names of the chief leaders are arranged in one of the author's favourite patterns. Hector is at one end, and Sarpedon at the other; in the middle is Asios, the fool; in the second and the fourth divisions, respectively, we find Paris, favourite of Aphrodite, and Aeneas, her son.

Asios, a foil and warning for Hector, disregarded Polydamas, and drove in his horses, which were magnificent, through a gate held open for Greek fugitives. Two champions awaited him :

Polypoites and Leonteus stood as firm as oaks, high-foliaged, deep-rooted, withstanding wind and rain on the mountains. They were like boars who wait on the mountain for the men and dogs, then suddenly break on them sideways, crashing through the bushes. The defenders above hurled their weapons, in a storm like snow, shaken from the clouds by wind. The fool protested to Zeus, 'These Greeks are like wasps or bees: they protect their hive.'

Then Zeus sent a portent, a snake, biting an eagle which has seized it. We remember Agamemnon's blazon. This is no good sign for Hector. Polydamas warns him, but Hector, as a tragic hero must, goes on.

²³ A 113, 129, 155, 172, 239, 269; 292, ²⁴ M 18 ff., 35, 40; 132, 146, 156, 168; 297, 305, 324, 383, 391; 414, 474, 492; 547, 278 ff.; 293, 299, 375, 385; 421, 435.

558.

Zeus sent a wind and a cloud of dust which covered the Achaeans. The Trojans were encouraged. But the defenders poured down their missiles like the sheets of snow that fall on a day when Zeus shows forth his marvels. He stops the wind, and the fields and promontories and shore are covered: even the wave of the sea, as it washes to the land, is checked.

That brings us to the famous conversation of Sarpedon and his friend, the introduction to Sarpedon's exploit. Sarpedon, roused by Zeus, was like a lion attacking cattle, or a lion, very hungry, who will have a sheep from the farm, though he die for it. He talked with Glaucus, and the Lycians attacked like a black whirlwind. Glaucus was wounded, and fell back, like a tumbler. But Sarpedon tore away part of the battlements.

The fight became equal again. It was like two men, with measures in their hands, disputing about boundaries in a field. It was as nicely poised as the scales of a widow weighing her wool.

I suggest that the flood, the pattern of boars and lions, the trees in the Asios incident, the men in the field, the widow-woman at the end, help to make this episode the structural complement of Λ 1-595. And that is what the content of the story also makes it.

Finally, Hector was given even greater glory than Sarpedon. He seized a mighty boulder, carried it in his arms, as a shepherd carries a lamb, broke down a gate, and rushed in, like the night. His eyes were blazing with fire.

The second triad ($N-\Xi$ 152, exhortations of Poseidon, exploits of Idomeneus, return of the Greek leaders) contains the most disputed episodes of the *Iliad*. Its structural value has not, I think, been understood.

Poseidon came, in a marvellous sea-journey.

He exhorted the Ajaxes, and went off 'like a hawk.'²⁵

He exhorted the younger men, Meriones, Teucer, etc.

Two phalanxes were formed about the Ajaxes.

The Trojans came on. Hector was like a boulder smashed from a mountain by a torrent. It leaps through the wood, but is stopped when it reaches the plain. So Hector was stopped. Meriones broke his spear, leaving the head of it in the shield of Deiphobus, one of the three chief leaders of the third Asios division. Teucer killed Imbrios, who fell like an ash, cut down by the bronze on a mountain-top. In the fight for the spoils and body, Hector killed Amphimachus, a grandson of Poseidon. But the Ajaxes snatched the body away, like two lions snatching a goat from the hounds, and the head was hurled at Hector's feet.²⁶

Poseidon exhorted Idomeneus.

Idomeneus talked with Meriones.

The battle raged like a whirlwind on a very dusty day. So Zeus and Poseidon pulled both ways.²⁷

Then the central scene:

Idomeneus killed three victims, Othryoneus, who had been promised Cassandra in marriage, Asios, who fell like an oak or a white poplar or a pine, etc., and Alkathoos, son-

²⁵ N 62 (cf. 829). At 39 the Trojans fight like a flame or wind (cf. 53, 334, 795, Ξ 16). The simile of 102 ff. is isolated and unimportant.

²⁶ N 136-205.

²⁷ N 334. Between 205 and this climax, I notice only (242) Idomeneus 'like lightning,' Meriones (296 ff.) like Ares, going out with his son Phobos to war.

in-law of Anchises. Alkathoos was spell-bound, and stood 'like a pillar of stone or a tree.' Idomeneus declared himself a son of Zeus.

Deiphobus called on Aeneas for help (3rd and 4th divisions combined), and two phalanxes formed about Idomeneus and Aeneas. Idomeneus was like a boar awaiting the huntsmen, and the Trojans followed Aeneas, as sheep follow the ram when they are going to drink: the shepherd rejoices.

In the fight over the body of Alkathoos, Idomeneus killed Oenomaus and Askalaphos a son of Ares. In the fight for the spoils, Meriones wounded Deiphobus.

Aeneas killed Aphareus, Antilochus killed Thoon, and Meriones (who was like a vulture) stuck his spear so firmly into the body of Adamas that the man was dragged after it panting, as an ox dragged unwillingly by the ropes of herdsmen on the mountains.

Helenus, the third leader of the Asios division, shot an arrow at Menelaus, but it glanced off from his breastplate as beans jump from a winnowing-fan. Menelaus wounded Helenus, and killed Peisander. He was attacked by a third Trojan, who was killed by Meriones, and lay on the ground like a worm. Finally Paris killed the rich and good Euchenor with an arrow.²⁸

Paris was leader of the 2nd division. The mention of his exploit is important. Three divisions of the Trojans are concentrated against Idomeneus and Meriones, whose work is thus accomplished. We return to the Ajaxes and Hector, who are struggling elsewhere, Hector like a flame, the two Ajaxes like two oxen ploughing together, sweating at the work.

The last part of the triad reverses the pattern of the first:

Hector talked with Polydamas, whose advice he took, and with Paris. The fresh Trojan concentration made the battle like a tempest of winds loosed by Zeus over land and sea. Hector, like Ares, led them. Ajax cried, 'It is the lash of Zeus. But Hector shall soon pray for his horses to be swifter than hawks.' Zeus sent the sign of an eagle, but Hector pressed on.

Nestor heard the shouting. He went out, his mind troubled as a sea before the wind is certain. Nestor, Odysseus, Diomed, exhorted Agamemnon, and Poseidon joined them. Poseidon shouted louder than nine thousand or ten thousand men in battle.²⁹

It is surely very ingenious. In the first triad we had the form: Strife shouted. Agamemnon, Odysseus, Diomed were wounded. Nestor. In the second we have: Nestor, Odysseus, Diomed, encouraged Agamemnon. Poseidon shouted. In the first, we had the interview of Glaucus and Sarpedon, followed by the exploits of Sarpedon; in the second, we have the interview of Idomeneus and Meriones, followed by the exploits. In the first, we had Hector accepting the advice of Polydamas, but rejecting his warning, when he bade him yield to an omen; in the second, he accepts this man's advice, then ignores an omen.

Yet the material is so disposed that the main scheme has the form: Trojan success; Oratory of Nestor; Trojan success. Oratory of Poseidon; exploits of Idomeneus; Oratory of the Greek chieftains.

As for the similes, I need say no more at present.

There are no similes in the delightful tale of Hera's trickery. To what indeed should one compare the son of Cronos, with his consort, asleep in a golden cloud on the mountain-top among the lush grass and the dewy lotus and the soft thick hyacinth?

²⁸ N 389, 437, 471, 493, 531, 571, 588
(cf. the puffing away of Pandarus' arrow).

²⁹ N 703, 795, 819, 16. Poseidon shouts
at 148.

But in the central panel of this triad, the Victory of the Greeks, the incidents and similes combine to make so fine a climax that one fears to spoil it by analysis.

Odysseus, Diomed, and Agamemnon, with Poseidon, re-armed the Greeks. The sword of Poseidon was like lightning. The sea washed up to the ships and huts of the Argives, and the armies met again with a great shout. The noise of a wave upon the land, when it is raised and gathered by the cruel blast of Boreas; the roar of a flaming fire in the mountain glades, when it arises to consume the forest; the voice of the wind upon high oaks, when it roars loudest and most angrily, is not so great as was the noise of the Achaeans and the Trojans, shouting terribly, when they leapt on one another.

Hector aimed at Ajax, but missed him. Ajax seized a mighty boulder—one of many used for propping the ships—lifted it, and spun it, like a top, and sent it hurtling against Hector. And the Trojan champion fell, as an oak falls headlong, smitten by the stroke of Zeus. The sulphurous smell of it makes men afraid. There is none that is bold when he sees it near at hand. The Thunderbolt of great Zeus is terrible.³⁰

And, after that, no more similes, unless indeed we count the passing reference to a man's head held up like a poppy.

Consider how the whole series of battle-scenes has been developed. There have been decorative images of lions and boars in all, arranged in a formal pattern. From this climax all these have been cut away; but see what images the lions and boars have framed :

In Δ, Agamemnon armed, and Hector's armour shone like lightning. Agamemnon was like a lion, *like a forest fire*, like a lion. Diomed and Odysseus were like a boar or lion, *like a wind, upon the sea, or scattering the clouds*, like boars and lions. Ajax was like a boar at bay, like a lion, *like a torrent carrying dried trees and rubble from the mountains to the sea*.

In Μ, Hector was like a wind, a boar, a lion; Polypoites and Leonteus were like *oaks withstanding wind and rain*, like wild-boars in the mountain-thicket. At the end of the episode, Hector seized a mighty boulder, carried it as a shepherd carries a lamb, and burst through the gate.

In Ν, Hector was *like a boulder* smashed from a cliff and leaping down the wooded mountain to the plain. He was stopped by the Achaean phalanx, and Imbrios fell *like an ash cut down by the bronze*. Finally, Asios, cut down by Idomeneus, crashed to the ground *like an oak or a white poplar or a pine*, Alkathoos stood helpless, *like a stone or a tree*, and Idomeneus proclaimed himself a son of Zeus.

I have not cheated, but have reported all these things in the order in which Homer has recorded them. If the combination here in Ξ, of the arming and the lightning, the fire, the wind, the oaks withstanding wind, the boulder, and the fallen tree, now blasted by lightning, be fortuitous—well, with young Cheeryble, I hold myself under an obligation to the coincidence, that's all.

IV

³¹ When Zeus wakes, and sends his consort on an errand, she darts as swiftly as the mind of a much-travelled man, who says, 'I was there and I was there.' Homer, as it seems to me, having completed this massive scheme of triads, does not mean to let his story languish. So he changes suddenly his

³⁰ Ξ 386, 394, 413, 499.

³¹ O 80, 170 are the only similes in the Olympian scene. At O 237 Apollo sent by Zeus to Hector, darts like a hawk.

pattern, but leaves no pause between the old pattern and the new. The transition is effected thus :

Hera prevails on Aphrodite, Sleep and Zeus.
 Greek Victory.
 Zeus wakes. Hera coaxes Ares. Iris makes Poseidon withdraw.
 Apollo with Hector. Overthrow of the Wall.
 Patroclus roused.
 Hector at the ships.
 Patroclus with Achilles.
 Fire at the ships.
 Patroclus arms. . . .

The exploits of Patroclus follow, with a pattern of their own. My point is, that after the massive triads *aba bab bab*, the pace is quickened by the arrangement of the alternate scenes of battle and persuasion in the form *ababab*. There is no great pause after the waking of Zeus until Achilles prays, and the Myrmidons take the field. Homer is like a musician, and musicians will understand what he does here, just as musicians have understood, and scholars ignored, Walter Headlam's teaching about metrical overlapping in Greek lyric. The pace quickens; the pattern changes; and, with the change of pattern, the decorative scheme takes on new colours. Not that the old are forgotten. The lions and the boars reappear, but, with the rousing of the Myrmidons, ravening wolves are added. The fight is still like fire and tempest. But the waves have a ship at their mercy, and the fire roars over a burning city. It is the development of a symphony, which begins quietly, and grows more and more exciting as the simple themes are repeated, developed and combined.³²

Hector, revived by Apollo, led the attack. Paris was never more gay and beautiful and reckless, Ajax never more bold and terrifying. That is the prose translation of the two comparisons here transferred from Ajax and from Paris to Hector.³³ The Greeks, before Hector and Apollo, were like cattle in a farm at night, terrified by two beasts, when their shepherd is away. They resisted, but Apollo had his aegis, and a great stretch of the wall collapsed, like a child's castle on the sands. Nestor cried to Zeus, who thundered his answer, but the Trojans leapt on the Greeks even more violently, like a wave that leaps over a ship's wall.³⁴

Patroclus heard the noise, and left Eurypylos. The Greeks reformed their lines, and the fight became equal again. It was as even as the line in the hand of a clever carpenter, making straight a timber for a ship.³⁵

Ajax and Teucer were now fighting actually for the first ship. 'Get your bow and arrows, Apollo's own gift,' cried Ajax. Teucer obeyed, and shot one hero, but when he aimed at Hector, Zeus broke his bowstring. 'Get a good spear,' said Ajax.

Antilochus leapt on Melanippus as a hound leaps on a wounded lion. But Hector came, and Antilochus went back, like a wild beast that has done wrong. The Trojans

³² π 156, ο 381, 623, ρ 737.

³³ ο 263 ff. (cf. ζ 506, λ 48 ff.).

³⁴ ο 323, 362, 381.

³⁵ ο 410.

now were like lions. Hector raged like Ares; like a fire on the mountains. But the Greeks stood, like a rock resisting wind and wave. Hector, aglow with fire, leapt on them as a wave leaps on a ship; the wind roars in the sails; the sailors are terrified. Hector was like a lion coming with evil purpose on a herd of cows grazing innumerable in a meadow-pasture. He is able to seize one of them, because the herdsman is unskilful. Ajax was like a trick-rider on four horses. Hector leapt on him like an eagle swooping on a flight of birds, geese, cranes, or long-necked swans that are feeding by a river. Men fought with axes, staves, swords, spears; many black-bound swords fell from their hands or from their shoulders as they struggled; the black earth ran with blood. Hector cried, 'Bring fire!' and Ajax shouted. But he had to give way, still fighting, still wounding his men. . . . Twelve he wounded. . . .

And Patroclus stood by Achilles, weeping, like a fountain of black water. 'Why do you weep?' asked Achilles, 'like a little girl running behind her mother, plucking at her skirts, and looking up at her in tears, until she stops and picks her up.'

There are no more similes in the talk between Achilles and Patroclus, and there are no similes when the spear of Ajax breaks, and the ships are fired. The fire at the ships is itself the consummation of many similes. Notice, if you have patience, how the geese and cranes and swans of our first pattern have returned.³⁶ We shall have other instances of such revival, but we shall not stop to mention them. The arming of Patroclus is a sequel to the arming of Agamemnon: the Myrmidons in their five divisions recall the five divisions of the Trojans. The Myrmidons are like ravening wolves, gorged, but thirsty. That is new. Achilles prays to Zeus, and the Myrmidons go out to battle, like wasps that have been irritated by mischievous boys and have become a danger even to the harmless passer-by.³⁷

Then, with the beginning of the exploits of Patroclus, we begin a magnificent series of comparisons. This is the first:

Patroclus killed Pyraechmes, and the Achaeans were relieved. It was as when the clouds are driven from a mountain by the lightning-flash of Zeus. The high peaks and the promontories and the glens are seen, and the infinite heaven above breaks open.³⁸

It is our questionable repetition, the unscrupulous rhapsode's work. At the end of the first movement, the rejoicing of the shepherd when he saw the clouds rolled from the mountain and the innumerable stars revealed in the windless sky, was a climax and a consummation. The mountain had once been wrapped in mist, so thick that you could only see a stone's throw. He had watched the clouds approaching over the sea, and shivered. He had heard the noise of torrents in the valley. The clouds had clung to the mountain, in spite of winds. And at last the air was clear again, the stars shone, and the valleys were revealed, and the shepherd rejoiced. To the effect of the first movement, anyhow, this simile was indispensable. Here, at the beginning of the last fight of Patroclus, the same simile is used again. And here it is not the end, but the beginning, of a more magnificent development:

Patroclus and the Greeks did great deeds, fighting like wolves. The Trojans at length were routed, and a shout went up as suddenly as a cloud that sweeps into the sky out of a clear heaven when Zeus intends to make a storm. There was confusion at the

³⁶ O 690 ff. (cf. B 459).

³⁷ Π 259 ff. (cf. M 167).

³⁸ Π 296 ff., cf. 364, 386.

trench. Patroclus himself passed over. The fight was like a great day of storm, when Zeus destroys the works of men, wreaking vengeance on men whose deeds are evil.

We have had many storm-similes before, but never one like this, in which the men who suffer find their place as victims of the anger of the gods. It is like the addition of the ship and sailors to the wave-simile a little while ago. Patroclus killed many victims, and at last he met Sarpedon. They were like vultures.

Zeus talked with Hera, and resigned his son to death. Even the son of Zeus must die. Only, in death he shall be honoured. His brothers in Lycia shall make a funeral mound for him, and raise a pillar of stone: that is the prize of honour of the dead.

They fought, and Sarpedon fell.³⁹ He lay, like an oak or a white poplar or high pine, felled by the carpenters in the mountain, to be a ship's timber. As a great-hearted brown bull is picked out from a herd of cows and killed by a lion, and bellows angrily as he dies, so Sarpedon was angry, and called to Glaucus to avenge him. Glaucus was wounded, but he prayed to Apollo, who healed him. He appealed to Hector, and Patroclus called to the Ajaxes, and Zeus put darkness on the field.

Patroclus, angry for a fallen friend, darted on the Trojans, like a hawk pursuing smaller birds. They gave ground, as far as a man can throw a javelin. Aeneas taunted Meriones, 'My spear would have finished you, had I hit—though you are a dancer.' Meriones replied, 'Even you are a mortal,' but Patroclus called for deeds, not words. The noise of battle was like the noise of woodcutters in the forest. They fought about the body of Sarpedon, like flies round milk in spring.⁴⁰

Zeus sent Apollo to snatch the shining body from among their weapons, and to wash it in river-water and anoint it with ambrosia and clothe it in immortal raiment; then to give it to the brothers, Sleep and Death, for safe carriage to Sarpedon's home in Lycia.

Patroclus fell into great folly. He forgot the word of Achilles, and attacked the wall of Troy. Thrice he attacked, and three times Apollo foiled him. And when, for the fourth time, he leapt on, like a daimon, Apollo shouted and he gave way.

Apollo roused Hector. Patroclus killed Kebriones, and taunted him, 'Oyster-diver, Tumbler!' Patroclus was like a lion; Hector and Patroclus were like two lions fighting for a body. They were like two winds fighting in the forest: there is a noise of the breaking of branches. But Kebriones lay still. He had forgotten his feats of horsemanship.

So long as the sun was in the midst of the heaven, they fought. But when the sun turned to the hour of the loosing of oxen, Patroclus had to die. Thrice he leapt on the enemy, like Ares. And when, for the fourth time, he leapt on, like a daimon, Apollo met him in the battle, and he did not know the god. Apollo stunned him, Euphorbus wounded him, and Hector killed him. He was like a boar killed by a lion on the mountain in a fight for a small spring of water.

³⁹ π 482 ff.

⁴⁰ π 633 ff.

Menelaus fought for the body, like a cow defending her first calf. He killed Euphorbus, in his beauty, as the wind uproots a cherished olive-plant once nurtured by the breezes. He was like a lion killing a cow, while dogs and huntsmen dare not approach him. But Hector came, like Ares, like a flame, and Menelaus had to yield. He left the body unwillingly, turning back like a noble lion driven from a farm. Ajax came to the rescue, and defended the body as a lion defends his young.⁴¹

We are back again to the imagery of the first panel of the whole movement, when Agamemnon and then Ajax fought so well. But this time the development will be different.

First, an interlude, in which Hector puts on the armour of Achilles, without similes. Then this, for the resumption of the pattern.⁴²

The meeting of the armies was like the meeting of a torrent with the sea. There was darkness on the helmets of the fighters. Ajax was like a wild-boar scattering the dogs and the young men on the mountain. They fought like fire, but you would have said the sun and moon had been put out, so dark it was about the body. Elsewhere on the field the sun shone, and there was no cloud on plain or mountain. And Antilochus did not know. They fought, and dragged the body, as men stretch an oxhide, sweating at their work. And Achilles did not know. They encouraged one another.

Then a second, more elaborate interlude, the fight for the horses of Achilles.

The horses stood, like a pillar of stone on a tomb, and Zeus pitied them, and pitied men. He gave them spirit, and they flew, and Automedon, driving, was like a hawk pursuing geese. But he could not fight, for he was alone. Alkimedon relieved him: Aeneas and Aretos made a bid for this great booty. Aretos, felled like an ox by a young man's axe, was left dead, and Automedon took his armour, and drove off with bloody arms and legs, like a lion that has eaten a bull.⁴³

Then the body again.

Athene came, like a rainbow, a sign of war or tempest, stopping the work of the field and frightening the cattle; and she gave Menelaus the persistence of a fly that still comes back to bite, though it is driven off: so dainty is the blood of a man.⁴⁴ Zeus, with his aegis, watched, and still gave victory to the Trojans, until Ajax prayed: 'If thou wilt destroy us, destroy us in the light!' ⁴⁵ And Zeus sent light, and Menelaus went to find Antilochus. He went unwillingly, like a lion kept away from a farm throughout a hungry night. He glared like an eagle, and he found Antilochus, and sent him to Achilles.

This darkness, and its dispersal is, if I mistake not, the sequel to the moment when Achilles prayed to Zeus, and the Myrmidons went out, and the Achaeans were relieved, as when the clouds are driven from the mountain by the lightning-flash of Zeus.

Menelaus went back to the body. Meriones and Menelaus lifted it, while the two Ajaxes fought on. The Trojans attached the bearers, as dogs attack a wounded boar, but fell back, when the Ajaxes turned on them. The fight behind them blazed like a fire that suddenly attacks a city: the houses collapse in the glare; the wind roars over it. Like mules, which put out their strength, and drag a log or a ship's timber down the mountain-side along a craggy path: their spirit is afflicted by the labour and the sweat; so were they zealous,

⁴¹ P 4, 53, 61, 109, 133.

⁴² P 281, 366, 389.

⁴³ P 436, 480, 520, 542.

⁴⁴ P 570 (cf. B 469, Γ 189, Π 641).

⁴⁵ P 647.

carrying the body. And behind them the two Ajaxes held back the Trojans, as a wooded headland, running sharp into the plain, stops the strong mountain-torrents, and turns their waters back.⁴⁶

So, at last, Antilochus told Achilles. Thetis heard the cry, and the Nereids lamented, and Thetis came to her son. But still they struggled. As a shepherd cannot drive a lion from a body, so Ajax could not drive Hector off. But Iris came to Achilles, and bade him shout at the trench. Athene put her aegis about him, and set a golden cloud and a flame about his head. The sight of him was like the flame of beacons from a beleaguered city. The sound of his voice was like a trumpet-call from a city besieged.⁴⁷ Thrice he shouted. Thrice the Trojans fell back. And the body was brought home.

The *Iliad* is not a string of little poems. Its materials are grouped in cycles, not straight lines. Many of the incidents are arranged like Chinese boxes. Such a method has advantages for a story-teller like Demodocus, or Homer. It makes the poems easy to remember. Also, this disposition of his matter gives the poet a repertoire of stories, long or short, for use as occasion demands. All of them, as by a miracle of inspiration, will possess artistic form. But on great days, when your audience is yours, not for an hour, but for a long-drawn festival, you can recite your *Achilleis*—no, your *Iliad*—and still, if you are Homer, it will be one poem, with one splendid pattern. Because, thirdly, the recurrent themes and images have cumulative value. They affect the audience like repeated themes of music.

It is in this honourable sense, I think, that the *Iliad* is made up of many 'rhapsodies,' and that Homer can be fitly called a 'stitcher' of poetry. Lyric is woven. There are no clear seams between the parts of the design. Epic is like a series of tapestries, not woven in one piece, but made of strips placed side by side, stitched, as it were, not woven, into their places.⁴⁸ The prelude to the *Theogony*, the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, and many other poems, are constructed on this principle, and, of course, the fact that the *Iliad* is so constructed proves nothing, by itself, about the unity of authorship. But when, across the divisions of the formal pattern, we observe the strands of another pattern, subtly interwoven, our theory of the authorship must be affected. The recurrent images of Homer—who, in this matter, as in many, was a forerunner of Aeschylus—do, I submit, afford an argument for the existence of one great constructive poet. For the tests by which stitched epic must be judged are these: the splendour of the main design, the texture of the component strips or panels, their imaginative value, their relation to each other, and their relevance—imaginative, not merely logical—to the main theme.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

⁴⁶ P 725, 737, 742 ff.

⁴⁷ Σ 207 ff.

⁴⁸ I have discussed this point in a paper

read to the Cambridge Philological Society, and summarised in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, May 23, 1922.

NOTES ON THE SCULPTURES OF THE PALAZZO DEI
CONSERVATORI.

[PLATES VIII-X.]

THE following notes, made during my work for the British School at Rome on the sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, are here published by permission of Prof. H. Stuart Jones, General Editor of the forthcoming

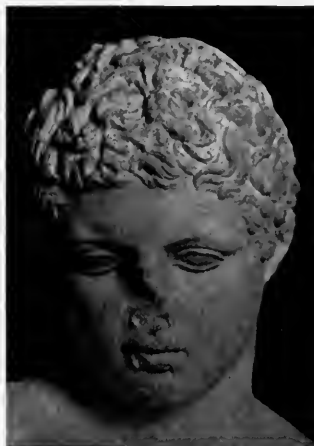


FIG. 1.—STANDING DISCOBOLUS, ANTIQUARIUM, ROME. (From a cast.)

catalogue, and at the suggestion of Mrs. Arthur Strong, for whose constant help and criticism I wish to take this opportunity of recording my thanks. The summary descriptions are not intended in any sense to supplant, but rather to supplement the catalogue; and their appearance here is due to the



FIG. 2.—CONSERVATORI ATHLETE.

ANTIQUARIUM DISCOBOLUS.
(From a cast.)



FIG. 3.—CONSERVATORI ATHLETE.

ANTIQUARIUM DISCOBOLUS.
(From a cast.)

belief that new theories are best published separately before being embodied, if only because the conclusions reached can in this way be substantiated by arguments, especially in the form of photographs, which would there be out of place. The note which had its beginnings in the Esquiline *stele* has grown to the dimensions of a separate article, and in view of its possible interest has been so printed.

1. *Athlete*. (*Catalogue, Galleria*, No. 49.) (Plate VIII.)

Restored (in plaster): 1. ankle, foot and support beneath it: most of plinth. Head broken off and rightly re-set.

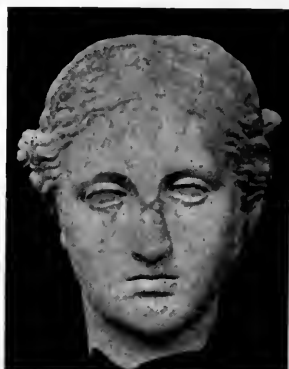
We have here to deal with a dull copy, interesting only because the original can be ascribed almost with certainty to a known master. Its resemblance



FIG. 4.—EIRENE, MUNICH.
(From a cast.)



FRAGMENT, CONSERVATORI.



SAUROKTONOS, DRESDEN.

to the statue of the standing Discobolus, now in the Antiquarium ¹ (Fig. 1), the discovery of which solved the stylistic problem connected with that type, is sufficiently close to justify an attribution of the originals to the same hand (Fig. 2). That the sculptor was Naucydes of Argos is a conclusion which does not conflict either with literary evidence or with the evidence of the style, which shows a logical development of Polycleitan tendencies, with a suggestion of movement in the hair foreign to the style of Polycleitus himself. The lack of fullness in the cheeks and body of our statue compared with the plumpness of the Antiquarium Discobolus ² is paralleled by the dryness and flatness of relief in the hair of the one, and its fullness and softness in the other (Figs. 2 and 3). The difference is, in short, partly due to the copyist, partly perhaps to an attempt at differentiation of athletic types by the original sculptor. The expanded chest and narrow waist of the Conservatori athlete

¹ *Helbig*³ 1030.

² This feature is common to all the known copies, even to those in which one

might well have been excused for not recognising the head as a replica.



FIG. 5.—FRAGMENT OF FEMALE FIGURE, PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.



FIG. 6.—HERM IN THE PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.

seem to indicate a runner, while the build of the Discobolus, like that of the modern weight-putter, would naturally incline to heaviness.

2. *Upper part of draped female figure.* (*Catalogue, Orti Lamiani, No. 17.*)
(Plate IX.)

Restored (in plaster): tip of nose; small patches on eyelids, lower lip and chin; large patch behind crown of head on r. Head broken from body at base of neck and split diagonally on a line from r. of forehead to below l. ear and through knot of hair at back; l. side of body broken away close to neck: the irregular joins in all cases made up with plaster.

Finer by far than the replica of the head in Venice,³ this fragment falls at once into a position in the artistic history of the fourth century. The Praxitelean original, nearly contemporary with the Apollo Sauroktonos, belonged to that period of the sculptor's activity which may be said to begin at about the date of the Eirene of Cephisodotus⁴ (Fig. 4). With our copies of that statue the present work has many points in common, and the drapery shows but a slight advance. Connexion with the Sauroktonos is emphasised by a similar variation (only reproduced in better copies of the Apollo) in the shape of the loose lock on each cheek (Fig. 5).

3. *Herm of the so-called Scopaic Heracles.* (*Catalogue, Galleria, No. 28.*) (Fig. 6.)

Restored (in plaster): tip of nose, small patch on each lip.

The head is unbroken from its terminal bust, and though much weathered is of excellent workmanship. It may be accepted, so far as a single copy can ever be accepted on internal evidence, as a faithful replica of a work of the fourth century B.C. Illustrated by Gräf in a widely-cited article⁵ as one of the finest examples of the class, it corresponds neither in measurements nor style with the numerous others which formed his group and were supposed to derive from an Heracles by Scopas. Several of these, including the full-length Lansdowne Heracles, are certainly derived from a common original, with the attribution of which we are not here concerned. But a detailed comparison of the Conservatori head with the Hermes of Praxiteles on the one hand (Fig. 7), and the Tegean heads on the other, shows that its closest relationship is with the Attic work. Compare the head-shape, structure of face, modelling of forehead and cheeks: treatment of the hair: position,

³ Pellegrini, *Guida*, No. 177.

⁴ Prof. Arndt has kindly shown me notes made by him some years ago, in which the same conclusion is reached: it is, I think, in any case hardly to be disputed. But the statue is so little known and of such importance that the present publication, with photographs, may not be out of place.

The Sauroktonos head illustrated (by kind permission of Prof. Herrmann) is the somewhat inferior Dresden replica, which has at least the merit of being, unlike the better known Vatican copy, only slightly restored. *Verzeichnis*, No. 110. Restored: nose.

⁵ *Röm. Mitt.* iv. 1889, p. 189 sqq.



FIG. 7.—THE CONSERVATORI HERM (*a, d, g*), THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES (*b, c, f*), AND THE PETWORTH APHRODITE (*e, h*) COMPARED.

shape and horizontal axis of the eyes⁶: the mouth, ear, and dimpled chin. Differences are to be noted in the bridge of the nose, the outer corners of the eyebrows, which are brought down lower over the lids than in the Hermes (though less low than in the Tegean heads), and in the jaw, which, though more fleshy than in the Hermes, finds an analogy in the Petworth Aphrodite. That Praxiteles, not necessarily under the influence of Scopas, but with the licence of a fourth-century sculptor, varied considerably the shadowing of the eye and the curves of the mouth in differentiating his subjects, is shown by a comparison in respect of these details between the Hermes, the Aberdeen head, and the Petworth Aphrodite, all almost certainly originals by him (Figs. 7 and 8). It is indeed to the Petworth Aphrodite that the character of the present head most nearly approaches (Fig. 9), and Dionysos, not Heracles, is the deity to whom the parted, drooping lips and air of sensuous melancholy would alone be suitable. The wreath, too, is of vine, and we must think of a grape-cluster as filling the space chamfered away from the back of the shoulder. If this is not the copy of a work by Praxiteles it is at least the copy of a work of his school, showing the closest dependence on Praxitelean tradition, and we can dismiss it entirely from any discussion of the Scopaeic Heracles. There are extant many torsoes, though I know of no heads, which may well have belonged to other copies of the same original.

4. *Sleeping Eros*. (*Catalogue, Sala degli Arazzi, No. 2.*) Unrestored.
(Plate X.)

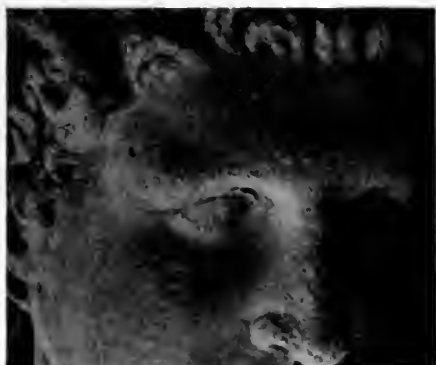
One of the finest replicas of a common type. The easy pose of the flexible body is adapted to an unusually skilful composition which lends itself to several points of view. Knowledge of anatomy and flesh treatment are alike admirable. The subject reminds us of the sleeping Hermaphrodite, the best copy of which is in the Terme Museum.⁷ But there is a still closer relationship between the two. Apart from the parallel effects attempted in the rendering of flesh and drapery, the head-shape, though not identical, is closely allied, while the attenuation of the hair roots, the feeling for the texture of the hair, the position and shape of the curls before and behind the ear, the arrangement of the hair above them, the impressionism of the curl on the cheek, with which we may contrast the faint relief used by earlier sculptors (cf. No. 2); further, the heavy lower jaw and sharply dimpled chin, the receding lower, and sharp projecting upper lip, to mention some only of the similarities in style, demonstrate with an approach to certainty that the originals were the work of the same hand⁸ (Fig. 10).

In an artist of this period we must look, not for identity of every detail, but for a careful study of the peculiarities of the model, and that is, as a fact, what we do find. The difficulty with regard to the original material need not

⁶ Sloping down towards the inner corner in the Tegean heads, up in the Hermes and in the head under discussion.

⁷ *Helbig*³ 1362. Head unrestored, ear broken.

⁸ In Fig. 10 the photograph of the Hermaphrodite is not an exact profile: this should be remembered when comparing the two heads.



CONSERVATORI HERM.



ABERDEEN HEAD. (From a cast.)



ABERDEEN HEAD. (From a cast.)



HERMES OF PRAXITELES. (From a cast.)



CONSERVATORI HERM.

FIG. 8.—DETAIL OF EYES AND BROWS COMPARED.



FIG. 9.—CONSERVATORI
HERM.

PETWORTH APHRODITE.
(From a cast.)



FIG. 10.—SLEEPING EROS,
CONSERVATORI.

SLEEPING HERMAPHRODITE,
MUSEO DELLE TERME.

be exaggerated.⁹ The marble of the Terme copy of the Hermaphrodite is well suited to the technique; but only in the body; and we have to face the question whether an ancient sculptor working in bronze would have attained the present effect by any different treatment of the modelling, or indeed whether that particular effect is so attainable. A bronzed cast proves that the figure loses no more than it gains in the translation from one material to the other. It exchanges approximately realistic for conventional colouring, but the technique of both hair and drapery is displayed to greater advantage, and we can see that the sharp lines of the nose and brows had some purpose. Similarly, the original of the Eros may have been either of marble or bronze: there is indeed a bronze copy, reversed and otherwise modified, at New York.¹⁰

BERNARD ASHMOLE.

⁹ Dickins, *Hellen. Sculpt.* p. 57.

¹⁰ Richter, *Greek Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, No. 132, p. 90.

LOCRI EPIZEPHYRII AND THE LUDOVISI THRONE

[PLATE XI.]

THE starting-point for the following discussion is the *stele* from the Esquiline¹ (Plate XI.). We remark first its stylistic relationship with a series of terracottas from Locri Epizephyrii, many of which have been published by Quagliati in *Ausonia*, iii. 1908, p. 136 sqq. and by Orsi in *Bollettino d'Arte*, iii. 1909, p. 406 sqq. and p. 463 sqq., while there are other examples in various museums. For style, we may compare particularly *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 9, 33, 44; *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 16, and Fig. 1 (=B.M. *Terracottas*, B488, Pl. XXI.): for subject *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 1. If this connexion can be established, the consequences are of importance, for the *stele* from the Esquiline has often been compared in style with the Ludovisi Throne, and the Ludovisi Throne involves the Boston reliefs. Before examining this comparison we must mention yet another work which has been brought into relation with these monuments, the so-called Ino-Leucothea relief of the Villa Albani.² Its connexion with the Esquiline *stele* and with some of the terra-cottas is, in fact, equally striking. With the *stele* it has in common, in the seated figure the emphatically linear treatment of the *himation*, that is to say, a tendency to draw rather than to model; and the identical device for rendering the softer material in the standing figure (a device also used in the terra-cottas,³ while the line of the front of the thigh is indicated through the drapery in the same way. In short, it is fair to say that if a reduced copy of the Albani relief had been unearthed among such terra-cottas as *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 4, 15, 44, 45, 46, 58, and *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 43, to mention only a few examples, we should not notice any incongruity of style, and the subject in some cases is curiously similar.⁴

Turning now to the Ludovisi Throne, we find that it appears to be later than most, if not all, of the terra-cottas, and probably later than the *stele* and the Albani relief; but there is no serious divergence of style, the head-shape is notably the same,⁵ and in all, to note a single important resemblance,

¹ *Conservatori Catalogue, Monumenti Arcaici*, No. 5. Greyish island marble. Restored (in plaster): patches on edge of moulding, and a thin horizontal strip under right arm of figure where relief has been broken in two.

² *Helbig*³ 1863.

³ *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 83. Here possibly imitated from metal technique like the granulated treatment in certain other of the terra-cottas (*Aus.* l.c. Fig. 74, etc.).

Compare the silver rhyton from Tarentum at Trieste (*Jahresh.* v. 1902, p. 112). That Locri abounded in metal treasures we know both from the terra-cottas and from literary evidence.

⁴ The resemblance between the Ludovisi Throne and the terra-cottas has been noted both by Amelung (*Helbig*³ 1286) and by Ducati (*L'Arte Classica*, p. 293).

⁵ *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 44, 54, 55.

the female chest is unusually firm and prominent. Further, one of the few pieces of sculpture found at Locri itself, the west pedimental group or acroteria,⁶ shows in the drapery of the Tritons a flattening of the surfaces and a rounding of the edges of the folds which comes close to the drapery treatment of the attendants in the main scene of the Ludovisi Throne; while the male form is not distant from that of the Boston reliefs. On stylistic grounds, then, we might suppose some connexion between all these monuments and Locri. Nor is it irrelevant, when we remember that the one influence admittedly apparent in them is the Ionic, that the temple at Locri, alone among those in South Italy, was of the Ionic order; and that the material employed is island marble, though not in all cases of identical grain and quality.⁷

But in subject the Ludovisi Throne furnishes us with a still more important point of contact. The main front scene has for one of its leading motives a sacred cloth or garment. In the Locrian terracottas, at least four sets show scenes of ritual concerned also with some kind of sacred garment. In the first it is being carried unfolded by four maidens accompanied by an older woman⁸; and we may notice the fact, perhaps not unconnected with the toilet scene, and with the dedication of mirrors in some sanctuary,⁹ that in one example these maidens, preceded by the woman, wear their hair loose, in another, where they are followed by her, it is confined,¹⁰ and, more important still, in *Boll.* l.c. Figs. 25 and 26, there is between the two pairs of maidens a difference of drapery corresponding to (though not identical with) that in the attendants of the rising goddess on the Ludovisi Throne. In the second set the



FIG. 1.—TERRA-COTTA RELIEF FROM LOCRI.
(British Museum).

⁶ *Ant. Denkm.* v. 1890, Pl. LI. and LII. *Röm. Mitt.* v. 1890, pp. 161–227, Pl. IX. These articles deal also with other remains at Locri. Now at Naples (*Guida*, No. 125, p. 39).

⁷ I am aware that, speaking broadly, all these monuments can be classed simply as Ionian. But that classification does not seem to account for all their peculiarities,

though the style of the Albani relief is, I feel, not quite so characteristically South Italian as that of the Esquiline *stèle* and the two thrones.

⁸ *Boll.* l.c. Figs. 25, 26; *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 50.

⁹ *E.g.* *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 57; *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 16.

¹⁰ See in this connexion *Revue Hist. Relig.* 80, (1919), xiv. p. 30.

folded garment is seen carried by a maiden with or without an older woman.¹¹ In the third, again folded, it lies on a table in front of some goddess.¹² In yet another it is being placed in a chest;¹³ while finally it is seen held in front of what appears to be an already draped girl.¹⁴ Naturally one thinks at once of the Arrephoric maidens of the Parthenos, of the Despoina at Lykosura, and, amongst many others, of the Hera of Tiryns in the terra-cottas at Nauplia.¹⁵ The robing scenes in other examples must also be connected with this aspect of the ritual.¹⁶

As for the connexion of subject with the Boston reliefs, the most obvious link is that provided by the appearance of the pomegranate, which to us, as to both Greeks and Romans, is almost invariably the symbol of the underworld; so that, whether we connect the Boston relief with Locri or not, we must connect it with some under-world cult. At Locri itself, on the entablature of a shrine at some distance from that mentioned below, single pomegranates are carved in the round midway between the groups of *guttae*.

As far as the fishes are concerned, they appear frequently on the coins of South Italy and of Sicily, seldom on those of Greece proper. The whole scene of the Boston Throne I would bring into relation with the somewhat baroque west pediment or acroteria from Locri. The present symmetrical restoration is conjectural, but in any case the largest fragment represents a youth (usually believed to be one of the Dioscuri) leaping from a horse borne by a Triton. When we remember that the Dioscuri were, according to some legends, translated to heaven as morning and evening star, it surely follows that this part of the scene directly corresponds to the scenes of simple astronomical symbolism in the Parthenon pediment, on the basis of the Parthenos, and elsewhere, and shows one of the Dioscuri, who, at the hour of his setting, leaves the horse on which he has ridden the sky to plunge into the sea.¹⁷ Similarly the boys in the scales of the Boston relief, recalling in form the young stars of the Blacas vase, may be morning and evening star, or some stars whose respective appearance and disappearance, like the evening rising of Arcturus, was the sign for the beginning of certain agricultural operations and of the corresponding religious rites.¹⁸ There could be no simpler or more satisfying way of indicating the interdependent movement of the two stars than the exact, inevitable movement of a balance. One star rises from behind the land-horizon (the under-world, indicated by the

¹¹ *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 17; *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 53.

¹² *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 6; *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 47, 48.

¹³ *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 63.

¹⁴ *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 60, 61 and 62. Her companion on the plaque has the left breast bare. That is to say we are looking at a religious ceremony of robing and disrobing, analogous to, if not identical with that suggested by the three subjects of the Ludovisi Throne.

¹⁵ Casson's theory (*J.H.S.* xl. 1920, p. 137), plausible enough in itself, lacks what the present argument would if the question of style were entirely omitted. Mystic

bath and raiment formed part of the ritual of many, perhaps originally of most goddesses.

¹⁶ *E.g.* *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 62; *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 45.

¹⁷ The metaphor is common (see Hesiod, *Op.* i. 620). Compare the Orion legend, Pseudo-Eratosthenes, *Catast.* fr. xxxii. It is hardly necessary to remark the analogy of the general conception with such myths as those of the Theseus cycle. In the Naples group the other horseman was possibly mounting.

¹⁸ Hesiod, *Op.* i. 565; 598, 610, etc.

pomegranate) and looks back to Persephone whom he leaves mourning or sleeping; while his brother sinks into the ocean (suggested by its denizen the fish) to the joyful or awakening Aphrodite. According to some traditions one of the Dioscuri was young and immortal, while the other was subject to the power of age and death, and each was allowed to spend one day on earth and one day in the under-world,

‘*Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
Itaque reditque viam totiens.* . . .’¹⁹

That form of the legend would possibly prove suitable to this interpretation of the monuments, but at present the application of these details can only be tentative, as must also be any attempt to interpret the scenes as illustrating the doctrines of Pythagoras with regard to the movement and harmony of the spheres, though these are known to have spread to Locri from Croton.²⁰ Mr. E. S. G. Robinson has shown me a Locrian bronze coin of the third century on which Persephone is seated, with a star on either side of her head; others on which the Dioscuri appear in their star-crested hats.²¹ On the terra-cottas from Tarentum the Dioscuri seldom appear unaccompanied by their starry *paterae*: the care with which these are introduced, even when not in use, makes one suspect, even if one cannot prove, some ulterior significance: I suggest an astronomical one.²² These *paterae*, embossed, as often there, with a single star, occur also on the Locrian terra-cottas.

The connexion between Locri and the Ludovisi and Boston reliefs extends even to resemblances in the detail of ritual, which may be fortuitous but have a certain cumulative value. We have a boy playing the lyre, and a girl playing the double flute.²³ Of frequent occurrence is a candelabrum or standing censer, which in some cases at least, with its conical lid, comes near to that on the Ludovisi Throne; but it is so common an instrument of ritual elsewhere that no emphasis can be laid upon it.²⁴ Neither is there any lack of youthful winged figures such as have caused the parallel between the Boston reliefs and Attic vases to be remarked.²⁵ It seems strange that archaeologists, in looking for the place where these two sets of reliefs were originally set up, should have passed over the claims of Locri and given preference to such places as Eryx (Lanciani and Petersen), Cyprus (Studniczka), and Kanathos (Casson), on the ground of certain religious analogies, but with little or no stylistic

¹⁹ Vergil, *Aen.* vi. l. 121-2. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 30. 5; Pind. *Nem.* x. fin.; *Pyth.* xi. 60 sqq. De Quincey's reference (*Opium Eater*, p. 78, ed. Macmillan) to the Dioscuri, as morning and evening star, going up and down like alternate buckets (possibly an imaginative re-creation of the passage of Vergil cited above) is an interesting modern parallel to the simile employed by the sculptor of the Boston relief.

²⁰ Porphyr. *Vit. Pyth.* 56.

²¹ *B.M.C. Italy*, p. 368, Nos. 35, 36; id. p. 369, No. 40.

²² *Röm. Mitt.* xv. 1900, p. 3 sqq. Again there is the relief in the Louvre where the Dioscuri descend to the Theoxenia as the sun with his chariot rises above them. Reinach, *Reliefs*, ii. p. 256, No. 4. We can hardly suppose that in all these cases the Dioscuri exercise the same functions, or that they are always identified with the same stars.

²³ *Aus. l.c.* Fig. 82; cf. *Boll. l.c.* Fig. 13.

²⁴ *Boll. l.c.* Figs. 8, 12, 16, 17; *Aus. l.c.* Figs. 15, 52.

²⁵ *Boll. l.c.* Figs. 12, 38; *Aus. l.c.* Figs. 41, 42.

support. Locri supplies both. Our information from various sources on its history and religion shows that it was celebrated for its works of art, and that it possessed a famous shrine of Persephone, whose cult, much favoured in Magna Graecia, had another important centre at Syracuse. The Locrian sanctuary was first desecrated by Pyrrhus, when, if we may believe the legend, most of the treasure was brought back to the shrine.²⁶ But in 205 B.C. Scipio's *legatus*, Q. Pleminius, thoroughly plundered it.²⁷ On the evidence of the terra-cottas the cult of Persephone, combined with that of other under-world deities, and possibly with that of Aphrodite,²⁸ was celebrated with magical rites.

The hypothesis, which cannot be pressed on points of detail without further research, may be stated as follows: the Ludovisi Throne and its Boston counterpart, together with the *stele* from the Esquiline and possibly also the Albani relief, were all set up, though perhaps not made, at Locri. The *stele* from the Esquiline represents a votary of Persephone with the dove sacred to her.



FIG. 2.—SACRED PIT AT LOCRI.

The Albani relief shows Persephone or Demeter enthroned (with attendant worshippers on a smaller scale), holding a child, the identity of whom may be settled by further discoveries at Locri or by further study of the present material.²⁹ Finally, the Ludovisi Throne and the Boston reliefs are the product (for which Orsi was looking) of that period of Locrian or late Ionic art analogous to the early period of Pheidias at Athens, and they represent scenes of ritual connected with an under-world god-

dess, probably Persephone, whose ceremonial robing was one of the principal rites.³⁰ That the Ludovisi and Boston reliefs were carried off in Roman times is clear already from their having been found near each other in Rome itself, and history gives us the names of Roman connoisseurs whose enthusiasm may well have been responsible for their removal³¹; while if we are seeking for the actual spot where one or both were originally set up, there

²⁶ Appian *Samn.* iii. 12; Livy xxix. 18, etc.

²⁷ Livy xxix. 8, 16-22; Diodorus xxvii. 4, etc.

²⁸ *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 41.

²⁹ It seems doubtful whether we are right in assuming, as Studniczka inclines to do, that the small figure who appears in the basket is Adonis, since in most cases it has long hair, and in one (*Boll.* l.c.

Fig. 41), like the child on the Albani relief, is certainly female.

³⁰ Doubtless the rites must have had a special application to the fate of the individual soul: compare *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, l. 480 sqq.

³¹ By certain of her officers Rome must have been filled with works of Greek art from Sicily and South Italy, few of which have been identified in modern museums.

are few places more likely than the pit described on page 412 and illustrated on page 411 of *Bollettino d'Arte* l.c. (our Fig. 2), which, like the structure shown on one of the terra-cottas,³² appears to have been the centre of an important shrine. This last question complete excavation of the site alone can settle, for although the Ludovisi Throne in its internal measurements is only .035 m. too small, and the Boston throne .02 m. too large, for the two opposite sides of this pit (a discrepancy which seems less serious when we remember, not only the differing measurements of the Ludovisi and Boston thrones, but the individual irregularities of each), there are difficulties connected with the recessed frame which surrounds the pit, and with the different slope of the panels which would be adjacent to each other if both monuments were set up round it. The theory can be tested in no better way than in the light of all available evidence, notably that collected in the articles which summarise the results of excavation at Locri. Prof. Orsi's complete publication is unfortunately not to be expected for some time. To his great kindness I am indebted for permission to work on unpublished material, to visit his unfinished excavations, and to study his valuable notes.

BERNARD ASHMOLE.

³² *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 16.

THE EAST EUROPEAN RELATIONS OF THE DIMINI CULTURE

[PLATE XII.]

THE second neolithic period in Eastern Thessaly is sharply severed from the first by the intrusion of a new culture which appears as something foreign and alien on the shores of the Pagasean Gulf.¹ The pottery, for example, seems utterly different from that of the first period. The forms belong to a distinct series and are typologically older. The absence of feet and strap handles, so well developed in the *A* wares, precludes us from deriving Dimini ware from any of the latter.² The characteristic designs, too, based on the spiral and the meander, are entirely foreign to the earlier series. Moreover, the use of fortifications beginning with this pottery (the traces of an earlier wall at Sesklo are exceedingly problematical³), and restricted to its area, heightens this impression of foreignness. So too do the 'megaron' houses of Dimini and Sesklo, which do not seem to find their explanation in the curvilinear or square huts of the first period.⁴

As to the provenance of this culture, the recent declaration of Sir Arthur Evans, that the origin of the spiral motive in Minoan ceramics is not to be sought in Crete itself,⁵ should dispose of the only reason for deriving it from the south; for there seems no ground for supposing that the Cycladic spirals antedate those of Dimini. Indeed I have argued in a previous paper,⁶ and my conclusion has been supported by more recent investigations,⁷ that Thessaly II. must be dated well back in the Early Cycladic Period. On the other hand, the theory of a northern origin has been strengthened by the discovery of Dimini ware in the Strymon valley.⁸ Indeed the general analogies between Dimini ware and the widespread group of painted and incised spiral-meander pottery north of the Balkans have been long recognised, and elaborate theories of an invasion, not only of Thessaly, but even of Crete itself, have been built up thereon.⁹

¹ Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 243.

² A progressive degeneration of ceramic technique not associated with any breach in the tradition is, of course, a common phenomenon. But this is to be distinguished from a reversion to a more primitive type.

³ Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 64.

⁴ Oval near Sesklo, *ibid.* p. 74; square at Tsangli, *ibid.* p. 115.

⁵ *Palace of Minos*, p. 114.

⁶ *J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 201.

⁷ *B.S.A.* xxii. p. 187. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 123, reports the occurrence of wares of Thessaly II. below as well as in company with the oldest Early Helladic sherds at Gonia.

⁸ *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 45.

⁹ Wilke, *Spiral-Mäander Keramik und Gefäss-Malerei Hellenen und Thraker*; Haddaczek, *La Colonie Industrielle de Koszylowce*; and to some extent Schmidt, *Zeitschr. für Ethnologie*, xliii. p. 601.

But general analogies between remotely separated ceramic groups as a basis for invasion hypotheses have become rather discredited of late. How many pretty theories would fall to the ground, for instance, if we agreed that the well-known high-footed bowl (*Pilzegefäss*) might well have developed separately from the fusion of the primitive baseless spheroid bowl with the originally independent ring support in the widely separated localities where it is met.¹⁰ Indeed by discounting the possibilities of such parallel development and taking a few liberties with chronology, it would be possible to derive almost any ceramic group from any other; for, in being shaped to meet common human needs, clay must often take on similar forms. But if we are to establish a generic relationship between disconnected groups, we must not rely on casual and isolated resemblances—a foot here and a lug-handle there—and mere coincidences in ornamental designs. Such a procedure would resemble that of the pre-scientific philologists who collated individual words instead of their root forms. Secure inferences to an invasion or cultural movement can only be based upon a close similarity in technique, parallels between root forms and correspondence in the ideals and aims of the potters and painters.

On the other hand, Wace and Thompson¹¹ seem inclined to minimise unduly the coincidences between Dimini and what I may call the East European painted group. What is really surprising is not the differences but the resemblances between sherds from Dimini and places so remote as Szípenitz in Bukowina, Kostowce near Lemberg (Lwow) and Priesterhügel on the Alt. No doubt sherds from these respective sites are easily distinguishable—so for that matter are sherds of red on white ware (A 3 β) from Chaeronea and Tsangli, for example. But it is not and cannot be here a question of one ware manufactured at one of the numerous centres of this neolithic culture and exported to all the rest. Nevertheless, even applying the rigid principles laid down above, I hope to be able to show that we are justified in speaking of one ware—or group of wares—as being common to Thessaly and the East European stations in the same sense as A 3 β is common to Thessaly and Phocis, or ‘primitive glaze-ware’ to the Aegean islands, Tiryns and Orchomenos, despite local differences.

Let us take the typical Dimini wares and compare them from the point of view of technique, form, and ornament with those from the East European group. For convenience I will group the typical East Thessalian pottery (B 3 α and B 3 β) in four categories and trace the affinities of each north of the Balkans.

(1) *Black on red Ware* (B 3 α, Style 2).—‘The paint varies from chocolate to black, and the colour of the polished biscuit to which it is directly applied from red to yellow-buff.’¹² The same ware is found in the Strymon valley in Macedonia. This technique certainly recurs in South Russia. Von Stern, describing the first style of painted ware from Petreny in Bessarabia, says that ‘the surface is carefully polished and designs in one colour—black, or violet

¹⁰ Cf. Hoernes, *Die Formentwicklung der präh. Tongefässe*, *Jahrb. f. Altertumskunde*, 1911, pp. 2 ff. *Urgeschichte der bildenden*

Kunst (2nd ed.), pp. 262 f.

¹¹ *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 257–8.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 16.

brown—applied directly to the surface.¹³ The latter is generally represented as orange red in the excellent plates which accompany his report.

Chwoiko does not state whether the vases he discovered in stations of the Kiev Government are slipped or not. But I have seen unslipped orange-red ware with designs in black paint from stations of his Culture *B*.¹⁴

At Szipenitz in Bukowina about half the painted sherds are unslipped. The clay is generally reddish and the surface which is normally highly polished, varies in colour from deep red to light buff just like Dimini ware. The designs are in black—generally a warm tone—but are sometimes enhanced by very thin red lines.

The same technique is met in Transylvania. From Erösd we have a sherd ornamented with black meanders on a polished red ground.¹⁵ But more usually the interspaces are painted in matt white.

It is not always easy to distinguish this technique from the next category.

(2) *Slipped Ware*.—‘The white ground is formed by a slip of varying thickness. The black paint sometimes inclines to a brownish shade. This category is not always polished.’¹⁶ Actually the surface is rarely dead white. Usually it is a pale yellow, sometimes greenish and sometimes brownish.

The typical pottery of Petreny exhibits the same technique, which von Stern thus describes: ‘The clay, hard-burnt and varying from red to yellow, is covered with a slip white, yellow, brown, or reddish. The darker slips are generally polished, the lighter ones are matt.’¹⁷ The black or violet-brown paint is in this supplemented, though only rarely, with a few stripes of thin red.

Again in Chwoiko’s Culture *B* some of the sherds are slipped. In the examples that I have seen, the slip is buff. The paint is warm black and the whole is polished.

The pottery from Cucuteni *B* corresponds remarkably well to the above quoted description of Dimini ware. The biscuit is pink, but is covered with a good creamy white slip on which the designs are executed in warm black, occasionally with auxiliary lines in thin red. The surface is usually polished.

A common ware from Szipenitz on the Pruth also falls within this category. The biscuit is light red to orange-buff and is covered with a pale slip. On this surface, which has generally a darkish yellow, almost buff tint, the designs are painted in black to which a few stripes of thin brownish-red are occasionally added, and the whole is highly polished. Though the tint of this pottery is rather darker than the average Dimini sherds and its polish somewhat higher, the resemblances in texture and technique are surprising.

From Galicia too some examples from the Bernstein collection in the Ashmolean Museum exhibit a similar technique, but burnish is less common. As red paint is generally used in addition to black, this material properly

¹³ *Die prämykenische Kultur in Südrussland*, p. 58.

¹⁴ *Trudy, XI. archeol. S'ezda*, p. 769; *Izvestia. Imp. Archeol. Kommissia*, xii. 1904, p. 99.

¹⁵ *Mitt. präh. Comm. Wien*, l.c. p. 390, fig. 134.

¹⁶ Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ *L.c.*

belongs to our fourth category. It will be noted that the samples of these wares from Bessarabia, Bukowina, and Galicia on which red is used as an auxiliary colour present an almost complete analogy to the Thessalian B 3 γ, which, judging by the shape of the jug figured by Tsountas (Plate XI.), belongs to the eastern group.¹⁸

The Thessalian polychrome ware (B 3 β) also falls into two classes (corresponding to the two classes of monochrome ware) according as the colours are applied direct to the biscuit or over a light slip.

(3) *Two-colour Ware*.—The designs are in black and white on a polished red ground. The black is used mainly to outline the white.

The typical Transylvanian wares are decorated on this principle. On some sherds from Erösd the design is in white on a red ground and is outlined in black.¹⁹ At Priesterhügel the designs are in black, the interspaces being filled up with white so as to give the effect of designs in red outlined with black on a white ground. Here the red ground and the black shine with polish, but the white remains matt and dusty in appearance. Teutsch says that the white is also polished on the sherds from Erösd, but that the black remains dull. (Fig. 1.)

The same technique is found in Galicia, where the white is applied sometimes in bands outlined in black and even used as the ground for further designs in red or black, or more rarely it covers the greater part of the surfaces, red bands outlined in black being left reserved. The red surfaces always show a good burnish and their rich colour may be due to a red slip or wash.²⁰ The white is sometimes dull. In these wares the black is not absolutely restricted to mere outlining, but acquires a certain independence. At the same time the white is sometimes applied without an outline of black, as in the rude white spirals on a jar in the Ashmolean. Nevertheless, when looked at side by side, sherds of this ware are seen to bear an extraordinary likeness to sherds of B 3 β.

At Szípenitz a somewhat similar use of polychromy was also found with spirals in black bordered with white.²¹

Such polychromy is not found at Petreny.

(4) *Three-colour Ware*.—The designs are painted in red and outlined with black on a whitish slip.

This applies also to the polychrome ware described by Chwoiko as coming from Tripolje and other stations of his 'Culture A' in the Kiev Government



FIG. 1.—POLYCHROME URN FROM TRANSYLVANIA, WITH DESIGN REMINISCENT OF MAEANDER.

¹⁸ Cf. Tsountas, *D. and S.*, Pl. LXXVII., with W. and T., Pl. I.

¹⁹ *Mitt. der prähist. Comm. d. k. Akad. Wien*, 1903, p. 390, Fig. 135 and text.

²⁰ Cf. Hadaczek, *op. cit.*, Figs. 59, 74, and 128, and description.

²¹ *Jahrb. d. k. k. Zentral-Kommission zur Erhaltung usw.*, 1904, p. 22.

and to the oldest pottery of Cucuteni. The designs are in reddish-brown on a light ground and their contours are outlined in black.²²

In Galicia too we have examples in which the whole vase-surface is painted with a heavy white or cream slip on which are drawn bands of red and black. Though the black is commonly used to outline the red surfaces, this practice is by no means invariable. In the large vase of Plate XII.b there is no outlining, and the black spirals are applied independently over the red. In another case (Plate XII.c) we have an unaccompanied white spiral on the red painted surface. The general effect of this ware is extraordinarily similar to that of the previous category, and it is only by the closest scrutiny possible to distinguish whether the characteristic red bands are painted on a light slip or merely reserved. And both styles may occur on the same vase (Plate XII.a).

In Thessaly the designs, consisting of spirals, meanders, chequers, and other combinations of rectilinear and curvilinear figures, cover the whole surface of the vase thickly. Blocks of painting are preferred to simple lines. In the East European group the motives are less closely packed, and in the monochrome wares simple black lines are the rule. In the wares of Culture *B* on the Dniepre, of Petreny, Cucuteni II., Szípenitz, and several Galician sites the ornament is restricted to the upper half of the big vases and the exposed side of the dishes. Moreover, the motives are rather different from the Thessalian. Concentric circles, tangential circles, stars, arcs, branching lines and simple bands are predominant (Figs. 2 and 7). In fact the true spiral is rare, and it is only possible to cite a very few good examples among all the sherds known to me from these numerous sites.²³ On the other hand, apart from the purely linear designs, chiefly on the small cups, the typical motives are reminiscent of the spiral and presuppose it as their basic principle. In fact they often give the impression of being the work of artists who are acquainted with that pattern and are trying to reproduce it, or who have the tradition of the design but are losing the skill to execute it. The ground principle of all this decoration is therefore the same as that of Dimini ware—the use of geometrical designs based on the spiral, and in Transylvania on the meander.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note the recurrence of naturalistic motives—human and animal figures—at Petreny,²⁴ Rzhishchev near Kiev (Culture *B*),²⁵ and Koszyłowce in Galicia.²⁶ And at Petreny, just as in the pottery of Susa,²⁷ we can trace in some cases quite clearly the transformation of such naturalistic motives into geometrical figures—the jumping dog, for

²² *Trudy*, XI. arch. S'ezda, p. 805, esp. par. (4) and Tabl. XXVIII. 1, 2, and 11 in colours; cf. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 139 and Fig. 30.

²³ Cf., e. g., for Petreny von Stern, *op. cit.*, Pl. X. 2; Kiev area, *Trudy*, Pl. XXIII. 7; for Galicia, Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Fig. 255, and Hadaczek, No. 115; for Bukowina, *Jahrb. l.c.*, Figs. 7 and 10; for Erösd, *Mitt. l.c.*, Fig. 135, etc.

²⁴ Von Stern, *op. cit.*, Pl. II. 3, IX. 4 and 6 (men), IX. 1, 2, 7, 8 and 9 (animals).

²⁵ *Zapiski Imp. Arch. Obshchestva Russ.-Slav. Otdel.*, 1904, Tabl. III. 2 and 5.

²⁶ Koszyłowce, Hadaczek, *op. cit.* Pl. XVIII. 154, XIX. 162, XXI. 188 ff.

²⁷ For a convenient study of analogous transformations in the pottery of Susa, cf. Spearing, *The Childhood of Art*, pp. 258 f.



FIG. 2.—ORNAMENTED DISHES FROM PETRENY. (Scale *a*, 2 : 3; *b*, 1 : 5.)

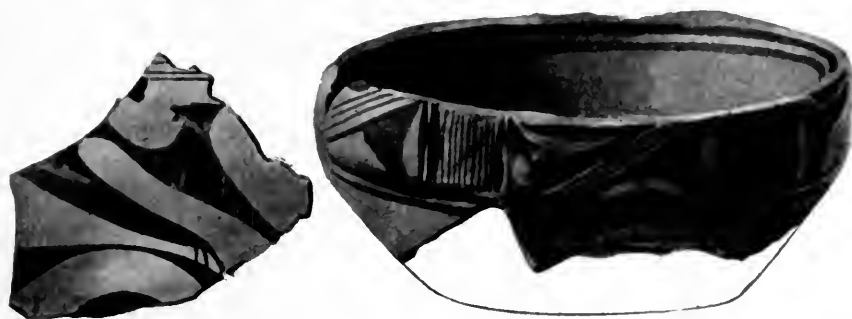


FIG. 3.—STYLISATION OF ANIMAL MOTIVES AT PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 3.)



FIG. 4.—TYPICAL DIMINI BOWL, AFTER TSOUNTAS.

instance, into an irregular triangle²⁸ (Fig. 3). So the 'signs' occupying vacant fields on the black painted vases of Culture B which Chwoiko took for hieroglyphics are almost certainly remnants of such animal designs.²⁹

From Thessaly we know unfortunately only three or four certain shapes in Dimini ware—the deep bowl (Fig. 4), a jug with a conical neck,³⁰ the fruit-stand,³¹ and a small cup.³² On the other hand, the East European wares, while presenting a remarkable wealth of shapes, are closely bound together by the recurrence at every site of certain highly characteristic types. These are the 'binocular vase' or stand,³³ bulging jars with angular profiles and small bases,³⁴ saucers or bowls with small bases,³⁵ and small cups narrowing to a conical base³⁶ (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8). It is important to note that at Koszylowce in Galicia these last develop genuine handles and assume a shape showing close analogies with the 'Nordic' ceramic of Bohemia. In one case we even find the *ansa lunata* characteristic of the latter group.³⁷ Except for the dishes none of these forms can be directly paralleled in Dimini ware, and even these exhibit considerable divergences. At Petreny, for instance, they are normally only ornamented on the inside. Here we find, however, another hemispherical type provided with pierced knobs on the outer surface, and hence evidently intended for suspension, on which the decoration is applied to the outer surface.³⁸ In Galicia both sides are painted.

Now, without ignoring the differences, it is essential to realise that the architectonic type of this whole series of dishes—the inverted cone—is the same as that of the Dimini bowl. It is not, therefore, surprising that in individual cases their form almost coincides with that of the latter—*e.g.* in the example from Cucuteni, the last quoted form from Szipenitz, etc. (Fig. 9). Moreover, the big bulging vases which are so characteristic for the East European group, have, in common with the dishes and bowls, the inverted cone as their structural principle. Cut them off at the shoulder and you have the cone-shaped dish left as the base. An examination of some of the intermediate types from Bessarabia or Galicia³⁹ will show how very close this relation is (Fig. 10). Hence we are justified in saying that the typical forms in Dimini ware and in the East European painted wares go back to the same ground type.

²⁸ *E.g.* von Stern, *op. cit.* Plate XII. 4 and 5.

²⁹ *Zapiski Imp. Odessk. Obshchestva Istor. i Drevnos.* xxiii. p. 199. The second sign in the middle row on the plate there is plainly the same as some of von Stern's animals.

³⁰ W. and T., Pl. I.

³¹ Tsountas, *D. and S.*, Pl. X.

³² *Ibid.* Pl. XXI. No. 3.

³³ *Trudy*, l.c. Tabl. XXVIII. 9 and 11, XXVI. 21, *Jahrb. k. k. Zentral-Komm.*, 1903, Figs. 106 ff., 1904, p. 26, Fig. 22 (Szipenitz); Hadaczek, l.c. xix. 168.

³⁴ *Trudy*, l.c. Tabl. XXVIII (Kiev A); von Stern, *op. cit.*, Pls. X. 8, XII. 3, etc. (Petreny), *Jahrb.* 1904, p. 43, Fig. 45

(Szipenitz), *ibid.* 1905, p. 114, Figs. 253 and 254 (Bilcze Zlota); Hadaczek, xv. 123, 124, and 128 (Kosz.), *Zeitschr. f. Eth.* xliii. Fig. 3, No. 2 (Cucuteni).

³⁵ Von Stern, Pl. VI. 10, 11, etc., *Jahrb.* 1903, p. 103, Figs. 101 and 103; Hadaczek, viii. 51, ix. 59, etc., *Zeitschr. l.c.* Fig. 3, No. 2, etc.

³⁶ Von Stern, Pl. IV. 8, etc., *Jahrb.* 1904, l.c. Figs. 46 and 47; Hadaczek, xiii. 105, etc.

³⁷ Hadaczek, xiii. 116 and 119. The 'Nordic' ware is in the National Museum at Prague.

³⁸ Von Stern, Pl. VI. 9.

³⁹ *E.g.* Hadaczek, x. 74; Von Stern, *ibid.*; cf. his remarks on p. 68.



FIG. 5.—CUPS WITH CONICAL BASES FROM PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 2.)



FIG. 6.—CUP WITH CONICAL BASE FROM KOSTOWCE.
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM. (Scale 3 : 10.)



FIG. 7.—LARGE URN WITH CONICAL BASE FROM PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 8.)
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Wace and Thompson have already pointed out the similarity between the 'fruit-stands' of Cucuteni and those of Thessaly,⁴⁰ and the so-called 'Binocular vases' have long been regarded as a peculiar development of the same series.⁴¹

In the light of such fundamental analogies, a comparison between the small shoulder-handles occasionally met in Dimini ware and similar handles from Petreny, Koszylowce, etc. (Fig. 11),⁴² and between the modelled human and animal heads on the rims of bowls from Dimini and Sesklo and similar modelling on vessels from the Kiev Government becomes significant.⁴³

The foregoing comparison of Dimini ware and the East European painted pottery has revealed that the same technique is common to both groups, that their characteristic ornaments go back to a common range of stylistic motives, and that the typical shapes in each are based upon a common ground type. When we proceed to compare other aspects of the cultures associated with this pottery, we discover a still further range of correspondences. But before developing this point, attention must be drawn to a very serious difficulty that confronts the student of the East European culture.

All the evidence indicates that it had a very long duration, and accordingly the variations which it presents may be due not only to local causes, but also to temporal differences. Yet we have so far in the whole range of this culture only one stratigraphical record—that of Cucuteni—to guide us. Szípenitz seems to have been a deep deposit, but the stratification is not recorded. At Koszylowce, Hadaczek expressly states⁴⁴ that the material was 'monoform' throughout. On the Dniepr, however, Chwoiko has divided his sites into two groups which he calls Cultures *A* and *B*. From the former come the polychrome vases, the jars with incised spirals and the binocular stands. In this group the ornament generally is applied to the whole surface of the vase, but in Culture *B* it is confined to the upper part. Moreover, in the latter only black is used, the designs are linear instead of block, and the patterns on incised ware are much poorer. On the other hand, the best figurines, the painted men and animals, and the vases with modelled heads belong to Culture *B*. Now no objects of metal and no bored celts have been found in association with Culture *B*, while sites of Culture *A* have yielded celts and axes of pure copper and bored celts. Chwoiko accordingly considers that Culture *A* comes later in time than Culture *B*, the area of the two being almost identical.⁴⁵ And it is just here that the crux of the problem comes. At Cucuteni the polychrome vases which we should naturally correlate with those of Chwoiko's Culture *A*, come from the lower, purely neolithic stratum. Objects of copper occur only in the upper levels associated with monochrome pottery in which the linear designs in black are restricted to the upper parts of the vessel.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 257.

⁴¹ Hoernes, *N.K.O.* p. 120. A comparison between Chwoiko's double and single stands, *Trudy*, Tabl. XXVI. 20 and 21, will illustrate this point.

⁴² *Cf.* W. and T., Pl. I., with von Stern, ii. 1. xii. 11, etc.; and Hadaczek, xvii. 147, etc.

⁴³ *Cf.* esp. Tsountas, Pl. XXIII. 3, and *Trudy*, Tabl. XXIV. 10.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 4.

⁴⁵ Chwoiko in *Trudy*, l.c. pp. 805 ff.; *cf.* Minns, *op. cit.* pp. 139 ff.

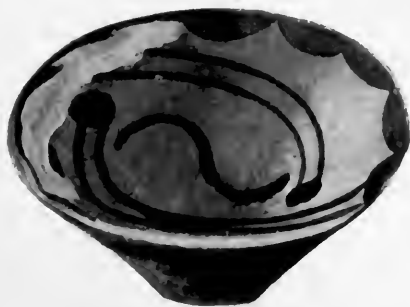
⁴⁶ Schmidt, *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, xliii. pp. 594 f.



FIG. 8.—LARGE URN WITH CONICAL BASE : CULTURE A ON THE DNIÉPR.



FIG. 9.—DIAGRAMS SHOWING DEVELOPMENT OF CONICAL BOWLS FROM SZIPENITZ.



(a)



(b)

FIG. 10.—CONICAL BOWL AND INTERMEDIATE FORM FROM PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 2.)



FIG. 11.—HANDLE-BUILDING ON AN URN FROM PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 3.)

And it is this later ware which Wace and Thompson assert ⁴⁷ shows the closest resemblances to the ceramic of Petreny. The latter in its turn obviously connects on with Chwoiko's Culture *B* both in pottery and in being purely Stone Age. So the attempt to find a chronological arrangement for the East European culture lands us at once in a contradiction.

But with the reservation that the Eastern European culture must not be regarded as a point in time, that culture presents a tolerably homogeneous aspect which agrees in essential points with that of Eastern Thessaly in the Second Period.

In all the East European stations, as at Dimini and Sesklo, nude female figurines occur. This is a phenomenon that they share with the wider area of the so-called *Bandkeramik* ⁴⁸ pottery further west, and with the earlier epoch in Thessaly, not to mention any further distribution of such objects. But in contrast to the figurines of Butmir, ⁴⁹ Jablonitza, ⁵⁰ Znaïm (Znojmo), ⁵¹ etc., and Thessaly I., ⁵² those we are now considering are relatively flat. In particular the careful modelling of the head distinctive of the Servian, Bosnian, and Moravian idols as of the earlier class in Thessaly is never found. On the other hand, steatopygy is generally indicated though not very pronounced. ⁵³ In East Europe the arms are either folded on the breast or represented as extended by rude stumps which, in extreme cases, give rise to a shapeless cruciform object. The East European figures are generally pierced with string-holes for suspension, a practice which is paralleled in Thessaly. ⁵⁴ In some cases the body is covered with incised ⁵⁵ or painted patterns. In decoration, some of the painted figurines from Rzhishchev near Kiev (Culture *B*) (Fig. 12, *a*, *b*) present a surprising likeness to the seated idol from Sesklo ⁵⁶—note especially the spiroïdal pattern over the genitals—while two sitting women with arms folded on the breasts from the same culture recall the Sesklo form ⁵⁷ (Fig. 13).

In addition to the human figurines, we possess a remarkable series of

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 257.

⁴⁸ The original contrast between ornamentation with solid running designs or ribbons and simple single lines such as the impress of a string which formed the original basis of the division into *Bandkeramik*, *Schnurkeramik*, etc., is regarded by Hoernes, whom I am in general following, as less significant than that between designs which run continuously round the vase surface—constituting a sort of band—and those which divide up the surface as it were into metopes. Actually the two classifications largely coincide, but there is naturally a tendency to modify the meaning of *Band* under the influence of the newer division. In his latest work Hoernes therefore occasionally uses the word quite in the sense of the English 'band.' With this proviso I feel justified in retaining *Bandkeramik*—a term

which is convenient and familiar and which has at least a precise denotation.

⁴⁹ *Die neolith. Station von Butmir*, Pl. II.

⁵⁰ Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Fig. 83.

⁵¹ Palliardi in *Mitt. d. präh. Comm. Wien*, 1897, Pl. IV.

⁵² Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXII. 1.

⁵³ *E. g.* Hoernes, *Les premières Céramiques en Europe central*, Figs. 18 f.

⁵⁴ With Tsountas, Pl. XXXV. 2, cf. von Stern, Pl. VI. 16, *Jahrb. der k. k. Z. Kom.* 1904, p. 23, *ibid.* 1905; Hoernes, Fig. 269, *Trudy*, Tabl. XXII. 1, etc.

⁵⁵ Hoernes, *P.C.* 1c.

⁵⁶ *Zapiski Imp. Russ. Arch. Obshchestva*, 1904, Tabl. I. 3 and 5; cf. Tsountas, Pl. XXXI. 2.

⁵⁷ *Trudy*, Tabl. XXII. 3 and 7; cf. Minns, Fig. 33.

models of domestic animals—principally cattle—from Petreny,⁵⁸ Szípenitz, Koszyłowce,⁵⁹ Priesterhügel⁶⁰ and other stations which we may compare with the animal figures from Dimini and Sesklo.⁶¹



FIG. 12.—EAST EUROPEAN FIGURINES :
a, b, d FROM RZHISHCHEV, c FROM PETRENY.



FIG. 13.—SEATED *KOUROTROPHOS* MODEL FROM SESKLO.

Stone implements are very rare in the East European group and generally very roughly fashioned. This circumstance is to be explained, as far as South

⁵⁸ Von Stern, Pl. VI. 13, 14, 18.

p. 370.

⁵⁹ Hadaczek, Pls. XXXI and XXXII.

⁶¹ Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pls. XXXIV. Nos.

⁶⁰ *Mit. der präh. Comm.* 1903 Fig. 16, 10 and 11, XXXVI. No. 8.

Russia is concerned at any rate, by the lack of suitable materials in the alluvial area. As far as can be judged, a flat celt resembling Tsountas' type *B* was the rule. The occurrence of obsidian at Petreny and Priesterhügel is noteworthy. This was probably derived from the Tokay region in Hungary, and the extension of the culture across the Carpathians along the valley of the Alt is probably to be explained by the obsidian traffic. The general paucity in stone implements is counterbalanced by the exceptional superabundance of artifacts—needles, borers, fish-hooks, hammers, axes, etc.—in horn and bone which astonishes us in all the sites of the East European culture. The same peculiarity is noticeable at Dimini and Sesklo. Finally, as has been remarked, axes and celts of copper have been found in stations of Culture *A* along the Dniepre and in the upper stratum at Cucuteni, while a borer and ring of the same material was found by a hearth at Priesterhügel,⁶² and metal objects also occur in Galicia.⁶³ This indicates that the East European painted pottery lasts on into the transitional period. The presence of moulds in the stations of the Kiev Government proves that metal working was practised locally there. The similarity between the very curious copper axes from Tripolje and some in stone from Hissarlik⁶⁴ suggests that the knowledge of metallurgy came from Troy. But the copper celts are mostly of a quite early form, following closely stone prototypes.⁶⁵ Thus they recall the two copper celts found by Tsountas⁶⁶ at Sesklo by the walls of a neolithic house, and make us wonder whether the latter do not, in fact, belong to the context in which they were actually found. In that case they would constitute a further and strong link in the chain that unites the latter culture with that of East Europe.

The importance of the fortifications of Dimini in distinguishing the characteristic culture of that site from the earlier civilisation of North Greece has already been remarked. Hence it is all the more significant that Cucuteni was also defended by a wall even in the first period. Traces of a wall have also been observed at Erösd.⁶⁷ The other sites of this culture too are generally on hills, though walls have not been distinguished.

Turning to architecture, we have evidence in some cases at least of rectangular oblong huts 'roofed with wattle-and-daub. The so-called 'areas'—*ploshchadki*—of von Stern and Chwoiko were built on this plan. But both these investigators assert⁶⁸ that these constructions were not designed as habitations for the living but as repositories for the ashes of the dead. They seem to base their contention chiefly on the following points: the absence of kitchen refuse and hearths, the occurrence of what Chwoiko calls pyramids of stone and pedestals of clay, often painted, the arrangement of the areas in rough circles with larger areas at their centres, the polishing and painting with

⁶² *Mitt. der präh. Comm.* 1903, p. 366.

⁶³ Hadaczek, p. 4.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Trudy*, l.c. Pl. XXI. 11 and *Schliemann's Sammlung*, No. 7196.

⁶⁵ *Trudy*, Tabl. XXI. 5 and 10, and Schmidt, l.c. Fig. 14.

⁶⁶ Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 352 and Figs. 292 and 293.

⁶⁷ *Mitt. präh. Comm.* 1903, p. 387.

⁶⁸ Chwoiko, *Trudy*, pp. 808 f., *Zap. Imp. Russ. Arch. Obshchestva*, 1904, p. 1 ff.; von Stern, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 54 f. and 71 ff.

ochre of the hut walls, and the careful arrangement of the vases within the structures.

No human bone remains were found at Petreny, but Chwoiko records the discovery at Veremje, Tripolje, and Shcherbanevka of bits of human bones. Twice these remains are stated to have been in vases,⁶⁹ but in other cases they lay outside the areas. The complete skeletons, buried in the contracted position, found near Veremje and Chalepje, like those discovered later near Kanontsa over hut dwellings,⁷⁰ are definitely said to be due to later interments which had disturbed the original culture stratum. These burials belong to the series of 'coloured skeletons' which are met with from the Caucasus to the Dniepr,⁷¹ and which are accordingly dated to a period subsequent to that of the painted pottery.⁷² It is impossible within the limits of this article to review this whole question. Minns accepts the theory of von Stern and Chwoiko as to the cremation burials in the areas, but a careful study of the evidence adduced by these authors in the *Trudy* has not convinced me of the existence of the unparalleled practice of depositing cinerary urns in such elaborate houses.⁷³ Hadaczek, too, absolutely rejects the cremation hypothesis.⁷⁴ On that point I recommend a suspension of judgment. But whether the areas were actually designed as habitations of the dead or of the living, all analogies would justify the assumption that they preserved in their rectangular form the house-type of the living.

This inference of a rectangular house-type is confirmed by the huts of admitted settlements at Rzhishchev and elsewhere. These habitations were also oblong rectangles scooped out of the ground to a depth of, on an average, less than half a metre, and roofed over with a structure of wattle and daub. Within the rectangle and sometimes extending outside it was a deeper excavation or *bothros*—often 1·50 m. deep. The latter, which were rectangular or oval in outline, invariably contained an 'oven' or a 'hearth,' sometimes two, and were filled with a deep layer of shells, fish and animal bones, and other kitchen refuse mixed up with the debris of the roof, showing traces of the original supporting poles in the burnt mud-plaster. The area of the hut proper varied from 3·20 m. by 2·70 m. to 6·30 m. by 3·40 m., and of the *bothros* from 1·90 m. by 1·30 m. in the first case to 2·70 m. by 2·20 m. in the larger, in which the greater part of the *bothros* projected at right angles to the long side of the hut. 'The first and much higher part' of these structures, writes

⁶⁹ *Trudy*, pp. 779 and 794.

⁷⁰ *Zap. I. R. A. Obshch. i.c.*, pp. 20-3.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, *Trudy*, 776 and 786.

⁷² Minns, *op. cit.* p. 142.

⁷³ One of the so-called pyramids may be seen in Minns, Fig. 28, top row, and a pedestal in Fig. 31, top. Plenty of bones of horses and other animals were, in fact, found in the areas (*Trudy*, pp. 754-6, 780-4, 794 f., etc., von Stern, p. 52) sometimes partially burnt—von Stern explains them as burnt-offerings to the ghost—as

well as remains of various grains. On the other hand, the areas do seem in some cases too large for ordinary houses, varying in size from 5½ m. by 4 m. (Tripolje) to 18 m. by 12 m. (Zhukovtsy, area 2). Minns, however, mentions later and more conclusive evidence not yet published. Still Ailio's recently published criticism should finally dispose of the cremation theory (*Fragen der russ. Steinzeit*, pp. 91 f.).

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 7.

Chwoiko,⁷⁵ 'served as the living-room; the lower part was destined for the preparation of food.' Szombathy clearly detected the rectangular plan of similar wattle-and-daub huts, sometimes also provided with *bothroi*, at Szipenitz,⁷⁶ and a similar type may be inferred for Erösd.⁷⁷ Hence, without prejudice to the cremation question, we may say that an oblong house somewhat elaborately built of wattle-and-daub, was the prevailing type in the East European area, and compare it to the oblong rectangular 'megara' of Dimini and Sesklo.

Finally, the neolithic inhabitants of Eastern Europe were not only agriculturists but also cultivated the domestic animals. The importance of cattle is indicated by the figurines already mentioned. The bones from Petreny and a complete skull from Szipenitz point to the *bos primigenius*.⁷⁸ Other bones include the sheep, probably the moufflon,⁷⁹ the goat, the pig (*sus scrofa*)⁸⁰ and the dog. At all sites in the Kiev Government horse bones were very common, and Hadaczek recognises the same animal among the figurines from Koszyłowce.⁸¹

On the whole, then, the general level of material culture revealed by the excavations in East Europe agrees with the pottery evidence, and coincides remarkably with that brought to light in Eastern Thessaly.

Now with the painted wares at Dimini, Sesklo, Rakhmani, and perhaps Phthiotic Thebes, goes a certain amount of incised ware decorated with the same designs of spirals and meanders. This material shows considerable resemblance to the wide group of the incised spiral-meander pottery found in Servia, Bosnia, Italy and elsewhere. Hence the question of the origin of Dimini ware is complicated by the intrusion of a rival to the East European group in the claim to its parentage. This at once opens the whole question of the relation of the Thessalian wares on the one hand, and the East European pottery on the other, to the widespread series of the *Bandkeramik* of which Butmir is generally regarded as typical.

And we must at once admit that in design the wares from Butmir show the most striking analogies to the characteristic Dimini patterns. In fact it is there rather than in any station with painted pottery that the most exact parallels to those designs occur. It is here, for example, that we meet just those solid spirals and meanders, those chess-board patterns, and that alternation of geometrical designs,⁸² that are most distinctive of Dimini ware. It is, moreover, also possible to parallel the Dimini forms with individual instances at Butmir,⁸³ and the poor statuettes from Thessaly are comparable to isolated examples from the Bosnian site.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ *Zapiski*, l.c. p. 24. In construction the neolithic huts of Grossgartach provided a close parallel. Cf. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, Vol. I. p. 360.

⁷⁶ *Jahrb. der. k. k. Z. Komm.* 1903, p. 102.

⁷⁷ *Mitt. präh. Comm. Wien*, 1903, p. 387.

⁷⁸ Von Stern, *op. cit.* p. 78.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 77, *Mitt.*, l.c., etc.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Hadaczek, p. 7.

⁸² E. g., *Die neol. Station von Butmir*, Pl. VIII. 12 and 15 (solid designs), XII. 15 (chequers), XII. 15 and 16, and Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Figs. 11 and 13 (alternation of designs).

⁸³ *Butmir*, Pl. VII. 9 (dish).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* Pl. III. 8, 1, and 13.

But these parallels are not based on root-forms and do violence to the stratigraphical sequence of the Butmir material. The basic shape for the *Bandkeramik* at Butmir and elsewhere is the spheroid bowl (*Bombentopf*).⁸⁵ This sometimes developed a foot⁸⁶ or even feet,⁸⁷ but it did not flatten its base and take on the angular conical outline which is fundamental in the Dimini bowl, save in isolated and probably late—because unornamented—instances.⁸⁸ Similarly, as noted above, the typical figurines from Servia⁸⁹ and Butmir⁹⁰ are marked by very excellent modelling, and it is these which come from the lower strata where the ornamented pottery is found. The figurines of Thessaly II. are crudely executed, and the isolated parallels from Butmir presumably come from a horizon later than that of the good wares that are comparable with Dimini.⁹¹ Furthermore, though red sherds do occur, the Butmir and allied wares seem to aim at what Myres calls a black-faced technique,⁹² those of Thessaly as well as the whole East European series at a red. Again, the careful study by Wace and Thompson of the stratification at Rakhmani reveals that the incised ware begins after and not before the painted ware.⁹³ That would suggest that the incised patterns of B 2 imitate the designs of B 3 α, not vice versa. The designs do, in fact, create rather this impression, and some of the forms seem typologically later than those of the painted variety.⁹⁴

Finally, tracing Dimini ware northward, it is in the east of Macedonia, not on the route to Serbia, that it recurs.⁹⁵ And further north and east we meet connexions in the chalcolithic stations of Eastern Bulgaria whose characteristic pottery shows affinities rather with Dimini on the one hand and South Russia on the other than with more western sites such as Vinča or Butmir. Certainly the early culture of Eastern Bulgaria is highly specialised, so that an adequate discussion of it would be out of place here. I may, however, mention that, among the sherds from the excavations of MM. Seure and Degrand⁹⁶ at Tell Ratcheff on the Toundja and Tell Metchkur on the Maritza near Philippopolis, which I have been enabled to examine by the courtesy of the conservators of the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye, is a considerable quantity of red ware, derived apparently from the lower strata, ornamented with curvilinear motives, spirals,⁹⁷ and rudimentary meanders⁹⁸ in dull white paint, closely resembling in technique as in design the first category of Dimini ware. Moreover, a close examination of the sherds seems to prove that, according to the firing, this

⁸⁵ Hoernes, *N.K.O.* pp. 9 f. Cf. Butmir, Pl. II. 21, etc.

⁸⁶ E. g., Butmir, VI. 3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* VII. 7.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* VII. 9.

⁸⁹ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 3 and Fig. 3.

⁹⁰ Butmir, I. 1, 3 and 5, II. 1 and 2.

⁹¹ Hoernes, *N.K.O.*, calls attention to the progressive degeneration of the ceramics of Butmir, p. 12. The analogies quoted by Tsountas, *op. cit.* pp. 371 ff., are between his third period and the rougher Butmir wares.

⁹² *J.A.I.* xxxiii. pp. 367 f.

⁹³ *Op. cit.* p. 37.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Fig. 9, p. 30.

⁹⁵ *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 45. I can find no evidence for the statement there made that similar wares were found further west. The sherds from the Vardar all seem utterly different from the black-on-red Dimini ware from Bereketli now in the Ashmolean.

⁹⁶ *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 365 ff., and *Revue Archéologique*, 1901, pp. 328 ff.

⁹⁷ *B.C.H.* l.c. Fig. 36.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Fig. 64, wrongly described as grey.

style passes over into a black-on-brown style which in turn may give place to a silver-grey-on-black like the second style distinguished by Welch and Blegen from East Macedonia⁹⁹; for on one badly burnt fragment all three styles occur together, and the appearance of two on the same sherd is common.

A glance at the most frequently recurring Bulgarian forms¹⁰⁰ will suffice to show their derivation from the inverted cone type characteristic of the East European series, while typological affinities with more specialised shapes both in Eastern Thessaly and South Russia are not lacking.¹⁰¹ Equally striking is the complete absence of the distinguishing marks of the Butmir series. Thus there are no sherds with *pointillé* ribbon spirals or pedestalled cups such as characterise the *bothros* stratum of Vinča,¹⁰² and figurines with well-modelled heads are likewise missing.

So, without here going deeper into the details of the East Bulgarian documents, or in any way minimising their marked peculiarities—peculiarities which betoken an individual and probably later local development of civilisation in this area—the above summary will, I hope, justify the assertion that the link between the Pagasean Gulf and the interior of our continent lies to the east of the Balkans and quite outside the province of the Butmir series. That is, Eastern Thessaly belongs to a cultural province which lies definitely east of the Balkans as of the Carpathians.

But that does not absolve us from a consideration of the relations between the painted pottery group as a whole—and including Eastern Thessaly—with the wider group of the *Bandkeramik*; for it is customary to treat the painted wares as a mere subdivision of the latter. Now a series of wares with incised bands of spirals and allied motives is found over a wide area of Central Europe with a somewhat indefinite extension westward and northward. For example, apparently typical sherds are shown from a Bronze Age context in the Vibrata Valley of Italy.¹⁰³ The characteristic spheroid bowls with incised spiral motives occur in the lowest strata in Moravia,¹⁰⁴ Bohemia,¹⁰⁵ and West Germany.¹⁰⁶ Similar designs constantly recur in Hungary, and the neolithic wares of Lengyel are generally assigned to this group.¹⁰⁷

Now at several sites within the ambit of these wares, painted pottery sometimes with spirals does occur—*i. e.* at Tordos, Lengyel, Zsaim (Znojmo) and several other points in Moravia and Lower Austria.¹⁰⁸ At the first-named site we do meet a ware, polished and, sometimes at least, slipped, painted with spirals and other designs in a dull black or red which, judging from Schmidt's description,¹⁰⁹ must belong to our East European group. But the quantity

⁹⁹ B.S.A. xxiii. p. 44.

¹⁰⁰ *Rev. Arch.* l.c. Figs. 3, 4, 5, and 7.

¹⁰¹ Cf., e.g., *Rev. Arch.* Fig. 18 with Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. XXX. and *ibid.* Fig. 4 with *Trudy*, l.c. Pl. XXVIII. 77.

¹⁰² B.S.A. xiv. pp. 319 ff. and Fig. 8.

¹⁰³ Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, p. 401, and Fig. 209. Cf. also Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 399.

¹⁰⁴ Palliardi, *Die rel. Chronologie der jüng.*

Steinzeit in Mähren, Wiener prähist. Zeitschrift, 1914, p. 10, Figs. 8 and 9.

¹⁰⁵ Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Figs. 189–91.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* Fig. 216.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ It is convenient to use the words in the sense which they had prior to 1919.

¹⁰⁹ *Zeitsch. für Ethnol.* 1903, p. 448, and Figs. 26–30. (There is one sherd in the Ashmolean Museum.)

picked up was small, only the profiles are recognisable, and the position of the sherds in a deeply stratified site is not recorded. Hence while we may be sure of some sort of extension of the East European culture as far as the valley of the Maros,¹¹⁰ it throws no light on the relation of that culture to that of the more western area.

At Lengyel, again, the painted sherds are in a minority, and their technique—red or brown on red and red, yellow, or grey on black¹¹¹—is very far removed from the standard among the East European wares. However, the form of the fruit-stand and its spiral ornamentation are reminiscent of that group.¹¹² Moreover, the position of Lengyel within the *Bandkeramik* is somewhat dubious. Incised bands are entirely absent, but several of the vase forms connect on with Butmir on the one hand¹¹³ and Znaim on the other.¹¹⁴ Since pearls of copper were found in one grave, this station would seem to belong to a relatively late stage in this series. Moreover, the fortifications, presenting interesting analogies to Erösd, Cucuteni, and Dimini, would point to the late neolithic epoch.¹¹⁵

Fortunately we are better informed about the painted pottery of Moravia and Lower Austria. Palliardi¹¹⁶ has grouped this material into three chronologically consecutive classes. The oldest group, which occurs in connexion with the later style of the incised *Bandkeramik* called *Stichbandkeramik*, is characterised by designs in red or red and yellow on a black, grey, or dark brown ground, generally polished. The colours are easily washed off and the yellow in shade and texture resembles a slip. Spirals and meanders occur among the patterns.¹¹⁷ This was the characteristic ware of the settlement at Znaim Neustift, and the sherds were in the private collection of the discoverer; their fate since his lamented death is dubious. But from the full account of the material given by the excavator it seems clear that here we have to do with a technique fundamentally different from that prevailing in Eastern Europe.

In the second class we meet a white-on-red style, and also red paint on a light ground. The designs in the former are mainly simple lines, always, however, strongly reminiscent of wicker-work. The sherds from Raigern in the Natural History Museum at Vienna exhibit designs in red made by covering the original red surface with a dusty white paint and then scratching a linear pattern thereon so that the red ground shows through.¹¹⁸ In the alternative category we sometimes meet patterns reminiscent of the meander, as on some fragments from Gross Weikersdorf,¹¹⁹ but the red is very dull and matt and

¹¹⁰ Geographically the passage from the valley of the Alt to that of the Maros would offer no obstacles, and the traffic in Hungarian obsidian may have followed this route like the railways from Buda-Pest to Kronstadt (Brasso).

¹¹¹ Wosinski, *Die prähistorische Schanzwerk von Lengyel*, Vol. III. and von Stern, *op. cit.* p. 75.

¹¹² The most accessible illustration is in Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Fig. 18, but Wosinsky gives two colour plates in *Tolnavármegye Története*, I. p. 134, Pls. XXXIV. and XXXV.

¹¹³ Hoernes, *l.c.* p. 14.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 81; the comparison between the ladles pierced horizontally, Fig. 208, and the square vases with four holes, Figs. 22 and 212, are striking.

¹¹⁵ Vide Hoernes, *l.c.* p. 33.

¹¹⁶ *Relative Chronologie*, pp. 9 f.

¹¹⁷ *Mitt. präh. Comm. Wien*, 1897, 243, and Pl. IV., esp. No. 11.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 248 and Pl. V. 7.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* Pl. V. 6. The sherds are at Vienna.

the ware is unslipped. Neither of these techniques belong to East Europe, though they show analogies with Lengyel.

In the latest class of painted fabrics we find only bands, arcs, and meanders in thin white on a dark clay ground sometimes polished with graphite. The discovery of a copper ring in association with this pottery at Strélice II.¹²⁰ links it on to the borders of the 'late neolithic' or chalcolithic epoch, in which pottery resembling the lake-dwelling types, Hoernes' 'tectonic style,' comes in. Possibly the Bohemian painted pottery belongs here. There are found vessels with incised designs of spirals and ribbons of points (*Stichbande*) which have been subsequently adorned with painted spirals, apparently in grey and black. The biscuit is a dark ash colour. The usual form is the spheroidal bowl belonging to the earlier phases of the peripherally ornamented pottery,¹²¹ and would indicate an early date.



FIG. 14.—INCISED POTTERY FROM THE DNEPR REGION: a, CULTURE B; b, CULTURE A.

Now it is clear that none of these wares belong to the East European series; but we have not dealt with them at such length simply to reject them; for there are, in fact, many points of resemblance between the Moravian finds in particular and those of Priesterhügel. There, for instance, beside the typical polychrome ware, we find sherds with designs in black and yellowish-white on a grey clay, and more simple white lines on a polished black or grey surface.¹²² Again, both at Znaim and Priesterhügel, we find peculiar steatopygeous figurines, modelled separately in two longitudinal sections which are subsequently put together.¹²³ All this points unmistakably to some sort of contact between Transylvania and Moravia. But Priesterhügel was a deeply

¹²⁰ Palliardi, *Rel. Chronologie*, p. 11.

¹²¹ Cf. Jira, *Mannus*, iii. pp. 238 ff. and plates. This excavator mentions the presence of a red colour on the sherds, but other Czech archaeologists deny this, and I certainly could detect no trace of it on

the examples in the National Museum at Prague.

¹²² *Mitt. Anthrop. Gesell. Wien*, xxx Pl. VI. 13, and *Mitt. präh. Comm. Wien*, 1903, Figs. 80-4.

¹²³ Hoernes, *N.K.O.* p. 81.

stratified site, and the only indication of sequence is the statement of Teutch, that the painted wares and the best figurines came from the lower layers, the pottery subsequently showing a progressive degeneration as at Butmir.¹²⁴ Such a site, therefore, does not provide reliable data for fixing the relations between the eastern and western painted groups. Though it occupies in more senses than one an eccentric position in the East European group, the inspiration of its red pottery seems so strongly to derive from the latter that it is hardly likely that we shall find here or in this district a centre where that pottery was differentiated from the western and from which the new style radiated. On the other hand, the quite primitive context of the Moravian and Bohemian painted fabrics make the converse yet more improbable.

Turning now to the East European culture, it is equally difficult there to find any fixed and secure points of contact with the west. A good deal of incised pottery more or less reminiscent of the Butmir material, but without the typical *pointillé* ribbons, has been found with the painted wares. In the Kiev Government this was actually in the majority. Some of the big bowls



FIG. 15.—SINGLE AND DOUBLE STANDS FROM CULTURE A ON THE DNEPR.

from Chwoiko's Culture A do resemble rather closely similar pear-shaped jars from Butmir.¹²⁵ But Culture A is to be regarded as a later development of Culture B, and in the latter the resemblances are much fainter (Fig. 14). The incised decoration shows no relation to that of Butmir,¹²⁶ but its simple patterns preserve reminiscences of naturalism. On the contrary, as Hoernes has himself forecasted,¹²⁷ the East European pottery as a whole shows closer affinities with his tectonic style (*Rahmenstil*), which in Central Europe succeeds the peripheral style of Butmir, Bohemia, and Germany, and is associated with the cultural modifications accompanying the beginning of the chalcolithic stage. Thus in the wares of Petreny and Priesterhügel, we have, as already remarked, traces of that dissolution of the spiral into concentric circles, circles united by tangential bands, those stars, crosses in circles, and toothed lines which this eminent authority has described as distinctive of the tectonic style.¹²⁸ The progress in handle-building, especially in the extreme case cited from Galicia, points in the same direction.¹²⁹ So, too, do the pastoral habits of the East Europeans and their preference for hill sites sometimes walled; for the users

¹²⁴ *Mit.* 1.c.

¹²⁵ Cf. *Trudy*, 1.c. Tabl. XXVI. 31, with Hoernes, *Prim. Ceram.* Fig. 4.

¹²⁶ *Supra*, p. 269, and note 92.

¹²⁷ *Urgeschichte*, p. 306.

¹²⁸ *N.K.O.* pp. 25 and 32.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, *Vide supra*, p. 260.

of *Bandkeramik* and other peripheral styles were merely hunters and agriculturists, and generally occupied caves or unprotected settlements in the plains.¹³⁰ To this extent the East European culture looks late in comparison with that of the Central European *Bandkeramik*, but does not mean much more than saying that of two points in two distinct but parallel series, one is later than the other.

If then we must account for the analogies between the East European pottery and that of the Butmir series, I would suggest a common origin, possibly in a pre-ceramic stage of culture.¹³¹ The typical forms of each series may be referred to a single ground type—a spheroid or hemispherical bowl—made or certainly deriving from the gourd¹³² or plaited fabric.¹³³ This evolved differently in each area. In the east it acquired a base by flattening and took on a conical form, to which I have attached the manifold shapes of this ceramic group. In the west the main line of development was due to the ring support, originally distinct. The latter, fusing into the original spheroid bowl, becomes a foot, giving us the vases of Butmir, Plate VI., and ultimately the famous pedestalled cups of Butmir, Lengyel, Znaim, Troppau, etc.¹³⁴ In the east the ring support developed independently, growing into the fruit-stand and the binocular vase,¹³⁵ and only occasionally coalescing with the vessel it was designed to support¹³⁶ (Fig. 15). But the separation must have been early, and the divergent character of the subsequent progress is marked by the contrast between the black-faced technique of Central Europe and the red-faced pottery of the east. The latter, on the principles laid down by Myres, requires the sort of dry climate only to be found east of the Carpathians.¹³⁷ And it was here, too, doubtless that the adoption of a partially pastoral *régime* to supplement the simple economy of hunting, fishing, and agriculture, that was exclusively practised in Central Europe till the last sub-neolithic phase of the Stone Age, took place.

We have, then, established the independence of the East European neolithic culture and its painted pottery from that of Central Europe. So, having eliminated possible rivals, we may confidently assert, on the strength of the chain of evidence adduced above, that the intrusive culture of Dimini

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, cf. also *Prim. Céram.*, pp. 23–5. The further consequences to be arrived at from a development of this dissociation of the whole painted series from the realm of the peripheral style would lead to most interesting ethnological results.

¹³¹ *I. e.* venturing on ethnological terms that both were branches of the Mediterranean race. That would retain the connection with the still more widely distributed range of female figurines.

¹³² Schuchhardt, *Die technischen Elemente in dem Anfang der Kunst, Prähist. Zeitschr.* I.

¹³³ Wilke, *op. cit.*, makes out a strong case for this alternative.

¹³⁴ Hoernes, *Die Formentwicklung der prähistor. Tongefässe, Jahrbuch für Alter-*

tumskunde, 1911, pp. 2 ff., gives many examples.

¹³⁵ In South Russia these vessels are open at each end. The examples in *Trudy*, Pl. XXVI. Nos. 20 and 21, show the relation of the double stand to the simple form.

¹³⁶ This occurs with the binocular vases at Szepenitz and with the already specialised bowl at Dimini and Sesklo.

¹³⁷ *J.A.I.* xxxiii. Note especially the map on p. 370; but our red-faced wares occur still in an area of fairly heavy rainfall, and, as von Stern points out, the South Russian plains must have been more heavily wooded in neolithic times than to-day.

and Sesklo is derived from the former area. In fact it marks an invasion by the peoples of that region. But unfortunately we cannot trace the invaders to any particular point within that area, nor can we equate the date of the movement with any fixed point in the evolution of the East European culture.

Certainly we have as yet no data for assigning to the invaders ethnological or linguistic appellations, but otherwise we must accept Schmidt's invasion theory as far as Thessaly is concerned.¹³⁸ But when he seeks to bring his invaders to Crete we must halt. Far from constituting a 'bridge between Crete and the Danube-Balkan region,'¹³⁹ Eastern Thessaly seems to be a *cul-de-sac* where the southward movement terminated abruptly, surrounded with quite alien cultures which it never, on the pottery evidence, broke through or overcame.¹⁴⁰

V. GORDON CHILDE.

ADDENDUM

Since the above was sent to the press, I have had the opportunity of examining personally the Moravian material in the Palliardi Collection at Mährisch Budwitz (Moravské Budějovice) and the pottery from Lengyel at Szekszard. I can now state definitely that the technique of painting in both these groups is entirely different from that which ruled in Eastern Europe. In Moravia the paint appears as a thick matt crust and was probably applied after the burning and polishing of the vase. Though the paint is not so thick at Lengyel and, on one or two sherds, shows traces of polishing, it is likely that the same process was adopted there. In the oldest painted ware of Moravia and in the majority of the Lengyel material, the biscuit is grey-black with a polished black surface to which the colour was applied. Some of the older Moravian red painted pottery is scarcely distinguishable from sherds of the "matt painted" ware from the middle strata at Vinča in Serbia (*B.S.A.*, xiv. pp. 319 ff.) which in turn is identified with the "crusted ware" of Thessaly III. (*Präh. Zeitschr.*, iii. p. 127). Moreover, both in Moravia and Lengyel, we meet large open bowls recalling, both in shape and decoration, the *Py* vases from Rakhmani III. (Wace and Thompson, *Pls.* IV. 4 and VI.). Further, in Moravia and Hungary as in Serbia obsidian appears for the first time in association with this crusted ware. All this suggests that the Znaim-Lengyel group connects through Serbia with Thessaly III. and is therefore to be assigned to a later context than Dimini ware. Similarly the stratification at Vinča would make it later than the *floruit* of Butmir and more or less contemporary with the Bulgarian finds of Seure and Degrand and Popov. The latter themselves cannot well be older than the latest phases of the East European painted pottery. Hence the independence of the latter would be confirmed by chronological considerations. V. G. C.

¹³⁸ The material from East Bulgaria must be ascribed to a section of the invaders left behind in this movement, and would for the most part represent a later stage in their development than Thessaly II.

¹³⁹ *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* l.c. p. 601.

¹⁴⁰ But if it is really East Thessalian polychrome ware (B 3 β) that has been found below the lowest Early Helladic sherds at Gonia, as Blegen states (*Korakou*, p. 123), it will be necessary entirely to revise our views on this question.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Sardis. Vol. I.—The Excavations. Part 1, 1910–1914. By HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER.
Pp. 213, 5 plates, 3 maps. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1922.

A handsome and finely illustrated large quarto is this volume, in which the process of uncovering the great Sardian Artemision is narrated season by season from 1910 to 1914. It is prefaced by a sketch of the history of Sardes (in which a Hattic occupation of the site is, perhaps, taken too much for granted); an excursus on the actual topography; an account of previous explorations, which contains interesting information about the "raids" made in the 'eighties by Dennis and Spiegelthal on both the Artemision and the Bin Tepé necropolis; a catalogue of the few objects known or supposed to be Lydian before the American search; and a general description of Sardis and its neighbourhood. Incidentally we are told that, in the course of occasional delving in the Pactolus bed, the Americans found alluvial gold to the amount of about an ounce.

Apart from its introductory matter, Professor Butler's volume is, in the main, a reissue of his preliminary reports, which appeared regularly after the close of each successive season in the *American Journal of Archaeology*; but they have been revised in the light of one another, and the knowledge of 1914 now supplements the account of the tentative efforts made in 1910. Such a narrative of progressive revelation is, of course, of most interest to the excavators themselves and to their patrons, but it will be found not uninstrusive by all excavators. The work was evidently done with the maximum of method and with the utmost patience and care; and fortunately both funds and time were adequate to the application and maintenance of thoroughly scientific methods upon a site of great depth and difficulty. The volume ends with short chapters about the great sarcophagus of 'Sidamara' type found out in the northern plain, about a late painted tomb chamber in the same region, about an attempt made to explore further the Bin Tepé necropolis (valuable, as illustrating and confirming the reports of Dennis and Spiegelthal), and about the geology of the Sardis district. It does not modify the scheme for publication in a series of specialist volumes, which has long been advertised and indeed already has appeared in part: in fact, this volume is just an introduction to that series. It gives us, in each category of discoveries, a forecast of the final publication, and we must still wait for the succeeding volumes in order to learn the full data and the definite conclusions drawn from these by the excavating staff and their specialist referees. Unfortunately, we are warned that the War and certain untoward events since have led to the disappearance of some of the material available in 1914, and consequently, that two at least of the promised specialist parts will not be able to be issued until further excavation has been made and fresh evidence collected. The chief losses have been in ceramics—losses much to be regretted; for the revelation of Lydian pot-fabrics, made by the American exploration of the Sardian cemeteries of the eighth to the fourth centuries, was as important as any that resulted from this very fruitful exploration. Such losses, however, can readily be replaced in another season or so. Not so one loss which Professor Butler has to record, that of the splendid horse's head found in the last hours of the season of 1914, and since stolen from the Expedition House. Even this may turn up in some collection on one side of the Atlantic or the other. In any case, losses will not be all loss, if the desire to repair them adds cogency to Professor Butler's insistence upon the necessity of resuming work at Sardis at the first possible moment; for not only has he to find that shrine of Zeus, which appears to have stood in the same Precinct as the Artemision (since perhaps it was buried the earlier and the more completely, it may contain less disturbed strata), but also somehow somewhere the antecedents of the eighth-century

Lydian culture have to be investigated. The rich furniture of the earliest Lydian tombs, opened by the Americans—furniture which fully justifies the Greek idea of Sardis as the home of opulence and luxury—implies a pedigree of culture going back a long way to its source in barbarism.

Since there has been a long interruption of the American excavations, and their resumption is still in doubt, a summary catalogue of their chief results may not be out of place at the present moment. (1) They have recovered all that survived in the ground of the best preserved of the greater pre-Hellenistic Ionic temples; from the architectural remains can be deduced the constructional history of the building, and from the epigraphic remains a fair idea of its cult practice, especially in the Roman age. (2) They have established that in the near neighbourhood of this temple of the Mother Goddess, called by the Lydians Artemis, there is to be found a temple of the Father, the Zeus of Greeks, and probably the Tausas Hudans of a local Lydian inscription. (3) From tombs and remains of houses with painted balustrades, as well as from specimens of Lydian epigraphy, they show us for the first time what Lydian culture of the Mermaid and the Persian periods amounted to, and they open new fields of inquiry into its relation to the Ionian and the Etruscan cultures on the one hand, and to the inland Asiatic on the other. (4) They have put at the disposal of linguists a corpus of complete and legible texts in the Lydian language, two of these being bilingual, and thus have brought that language at last out of the neglect and obscurity in which it has lain since Hellenistic times. (5) They have exposed one of the longest and most important epigraphic documents of Hellenistic commercial law which has come down to us, and a number of notable inscriptions of the Imperial age. (6) They have supplied evidence of a Lydian style in sculpture, and added to our plastic treasures some fine Greek work, and, among many notable Graeco-Roman things, one piece of singular importance, the great 'Sidamara' sarcophagus already mentioned (it has been seriously damaged since discovery). (7) A very early church in good preservation and a painted tomb of much the same age has to be reckoned to their credit. Other gains to knowledge in the fields of numismatics, of glyptics, of metallurgies might be added; but the catalogue is already long enough to show that Professor Butler has reaped already a harvest of the first quality, and that the sooner he and his helpers can put their sickles into that cornfield again, the better for science.

* * * * *

Since the above notice was written, the untimely death of Professor Butler on his way home from a visit to Sardis, has thrown upon others the completion of his great enterprise. May they follow his example in applying that method and care which made his success! They can raise no better monument to his memory.

D. G. H.

The Greek Theater of the Fifth Century before Christ. By JAMES TURNER ALLEN. Pp. vi + 119. University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. VII. Berkeley: University of California, 1919.

This book falls into eight chapters. The introductory chapter explains the scheme of the book, which is to begin with a brief account of the fourth-century theatre; then to turn back to the fifth-century theatre and to show that the remains of the fourth-century theatre afford a key for the reconstruction of certain features of the earlier; next to examine the literary evidence and to criticise various theories which have been proposed; lastly, to discuss the origin of the *proskenenion*—which the author considers 'a problem of basic importance' (p. 107)—and to 'propose as a reasonable hypothesis that the *proskenenion* was in point of origin the *skene* itself of the Aeschylean theater' (p. 7).

With regard to the account of the fourth-century theatre which occupies chapter ii, we need only note that the author will have nothing to do with a stage. 'The assumption of a stage in the fourth century, as also in the fifth, is supported only by a series of unconvincing hypotheses, and will not, I believe, be able much longer to weather the storm of criticism which it has provoked' (p. 13). His own view of the *proskenenion* is

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that 'it was a simple colonnade with a flat, or nearly flat, roof, and the spaces between its columns would be closed by means of wooden panels (πίνακες) or left open in accordance with the varying scenic requirements. But the material of the entire structure was wood' (p. 15).

Chapter iii, on 'The Theater of the Fifth Century,' introduces what is the central theory of the book. Dörpfeld in the winter of 1885-86 discovered beneath the inner end of the eastern parodos of the fourth-century, or Lyeurgian theatre, a curvilinear cutting in the bedrock, and underneath the ruins of the scene-building two portions of an ancient retaining wall. From the larger of these portions, which forms a circular arc, Dörpfeld calculated that it belonged to a circle of about 78 feet 9 inches diameter. When the circle thus indicated was described, it was found not only to include the second piece of wall, but also to pass over the cutting in the rock. Hence Dörpfeld inferred that there had anciently existed here a wall enclosing a circular space, in which he proposed to recognise the orchestra of the early fifth-century theatre. Now the orchestra of the Lyeurgian theatre had a diameter of only 64 feet 4 inches. Mr. Allen proposes to account for this decrease in size by supposing that the Aeschylean scene-building (as required, e. g. by the Orestean trilogy of 458 B.C.) was erected not immediately *behind* the orchestra, as Dörpfeld supposed, but *on* it, and that the reduced measurement thus caused was copied in the Lyeurgian theatre. As Mr. Allen puts it, 'if the front portion of the Lyeurgian scene-building together with the orchestra-circle, the diameter of which is determined by the inner boundary of the gutter, be superimposed upon a circle of the exact size of the orchestra-terrace in such a manner that the corners of the *paraskenia* nearest the orchestra coincide exactly with the inner edge of the retaining wall, then the wall at the rear of the *paraskenia* and connecting them rests upon the retaining wall of the terrace at its southernmost point; and furthermore, the circle of the fourth-century orchestra falls just within the inner periphery of the larger circle at its northernmost point. Again, if a line be drawn between the *paraskenia* and at the same distance back from their front line as the Hellenistic *proskenion* stood back of the Hellenistic *paraskenia*, . . . this line is an exact chord of the outermost circle of the old terrace-wall' (p. 31).

The remaining chapters of the book develop the author's views on the nature of the scene-building which thus occupied part of the orchestra-terrace in the fifth century. Chapter iv is a judicious discussion of the evidence afforded by the extant dramas. Chapter v discusses 'Changes of Setting,' and chapter vi various theories as to how those changes were effected. Chapter vii considers and rejects the arguments in favour of the hypothesis that a projecting *prothyron* or columned porch sometimes formed a feature of the scene-building. Finally, in chapter viii the author presents his own theory of the origin of the *proskenion*. As we have seen, the author does not believe in any sort of stage, high or low, for the fifth-century theatre. And considerations of space among other things make him reject the theory that the *proskenion* was a decorative screen placed in front of the *skene*. He concludes, then, that the *proskenion* was, in fact, in origin the scene-building itself. And it was called *proskenion*, he believes, not because it was placed 'before the *skene*,' but because it constituted the front portion, when the scene-building had become an imposing edifice, the rearward portion being two-storied and the roof of the original *skene* being used as a platform.

It is impossible in our space either to do justice to Mr. Allen's arguments or to discuss them in any detail. Criticisms, of course, occur to one. Thus we are not at all convinced that the anti-stage party have successfully demolished the arguments in favour of a stage drawn from the use of ἀναβαίνω, καταβαίνω, ἐπαναβαίνω in Aristophanes, still less that they have accounted for what must have been an extraordinary perversity of conservatism on the part of the Athenians if they did not at quite an early date avail themselves of the obvious advantages of a stage. But the book constitutes an acute and vigorous piece of argument, and can be heartily commended to the notice of all who are interested in the Greek theatre. An admirable feature of the work is the series of brief bibliographies prefixed to individual chapters.

A. W. M.

Das Christentum im Kampf und Ausgleich mit der griechisch-römischen Welt. Studien und Charakteristiken aus seiner Werdezeit. By JOHANNES GEFFCKEN. Dritte völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. (= *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, 54 Bändchen.) Pp. 130. Leipzig: Teubner, 1920.

In Germany of recent years there has been produced a number of excellent little books on early Christianity and the culture of the Greco-Roman world during the first centuries of our era. We need in English such books as A. Bauer's *Vom Griechentum zum Christentum* (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1910), and *Vom Judentum zum Christentum* (ibid. 1917), or von Soden's *Die Entstehung der christlichen Kirche*, and *Vom Urchristentum zum Katholizismus* (Teubner, 1919).¹ Recently Johannes Geffcken by the side of his admirable work *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (= *Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streilberg*: Bd. VI. Heidelberg: Winter, 1920) has published a third edition of his *Aus der Werdezeit des Christentums* (2nd ed., 1909) under the title quoted above. The little book has been recast and largely rewritten. Some idea of its scope may perhaps best be given by transcribing the headings of its four main sections: I. *Die religiös-philosophische Kultur der griechisch-römischen Welt beim Eintritt des Christentums*.² II. *Die Stellung des alten Christentums zu den anderen Religionen*. III. *Die literarischen Kämpfe mit den Griechen und Römern*. IV. *Die äusseren Verfolgungen*. Those who are familiar with Geffcken's many studies on early Christian literature and the criticisms of those studies by such scholars as Harnack and Delehaye³ will realise that the book is not without its controversial side, but it is written in no polemical spirit, and Geffcken, as he himself says, has sought to avoid anything which might injure the feelings of members of other branches of the Church. This is not the place for any detailed review of Geffcken's conclusions, but it is of importance to accentuate the significance of books like this, written for the general public, but based upon a first-hand acquaintance with the literature not only of early Christianity, but also of contemporary pagan philosophy. The S.P.C.K. is doing admirable service by its series of translations of Christian classics, but these translations must be supplemented by studies of the thought-world of the early Church, and these must be written by our best scholars: only the best scholarship is good enough for this work of popularisation. Who will give us the text-book on Origen that we need,⁴ or a study of the influence of pagan cult upon Christian worship?⁵

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

Bibliotheca philologica classica. Beilage zum Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Bd. XLV. 1918. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von FRANZ ZIMMERMANN. Pp. 208 + Inhaltsverzeichnis. Leipzig: Reisland, 1921. 10s.

It is a matter for sincere congratulation that publication of this Bibliography has been resumed; to it all classical scholars naturally resort. The present volume includes the whole of the year 1918. The parts issued during the war, in which the art of bibliography sank to its lowest level, can now be buried in oblivion. Herr Zimmermann has once more restored the standard for which we look in the Bursian bibliographies. I have worked carefully through the whole of this volume, and its accuracy of citation is exemplary; faults are extremely few: thus Pickard on p. 17 should be Pickard-Cambridge, on pp. 35

¹ Cf. also Ernst Lohmeyer: *Christuskult und Kaiserkult* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1919); and J. Geffcken: *Der Ausgang der Antike* (Berlin: Mittler, 1921); in France, Charles Guignebert: *Le Christianisme antique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1921).

² This section carries on the development sketched in J. Geffcken: *Griechische Menschen* (Quelle and Meyer, 1919).

³ Cf. e. g. H. Delehaye: *Les Passions des Martyrs* (Bruxelles, 1921), pp. 156 sqq.

⁴ Cf. Guido de Ruggiero: *Storia della Filosofia*; *Parte Seconda. La Filosofia del Cristianesimo* (Bari: Laterza e Figli, 1920, 3 vols.).

⁵ For the kind of work of which I am thinking cf. Shirley Jackson Case: *The Evolution of Early Christianity; a Genetic Study of First-Century Christianity in relation to its Religious Environment* (University of Chicago Press, 1917).

and 93 there is a confusion between Procopius of Caesarea and Procopius of Gaza. It can only be hoped that the bibliography of the intervening years 1919-1921 will appear shortly. We owe a very real debt of gratitude to Herr Zimmermann.

N. H. B.

Ancient Greece. A study by STANLEY CASSON. Pp. 96, 12 illustrations. Oxford: The University Press, 1922. 2s. 6d.

Mr. Casson's little book is an "*œuvre de vulgarisation*," a sketch of the salient points of Greek culture that will be interesting and useful to older schoolboys and to undergraduates as well as to those of riper years who are more or less uninstructed in classical lore and desire to know more of the ancient civilization that is held up to them as still worthy of study and imitation even by the self-sufficient and self-satisfied modern world. Such readers will not be too critical, and will not demand from Mr. Casson too many reasons for the faith that is in him. We hasten to add that we are at one with Mr. Casson in his aim, which is a highly laudable one; we sympathise wholly with him in his desire to break a lance for the cause of Greek studies. But we feel that he makes out too favourable a case for Greece except at the end of his book, when he discusses the reasons for the lamentable collapse and failure of the fourth century. He stresses the good side and slurs over the bad. His Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries are too much like those Greeks of the Commencement orator, who 'lived beautifully in the proud consciousness of existing in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.' They are too much the conventional Greeks of the schoolmaster and the sculptor. We get no hint of the real Mediterranean character of the race. Mr. Casson's hero is Achilles rather than Odysseus. To me Odysseus is the real Greek: Achilles might be a Goth.

The preference for the Nordic rather than the Mediterranean characteristics of the race which Mr. Casson's book shows is reactionary in that it marks a return to the older view of the Greeks as the only really civilized people of their time, in a world of foolish Scyths and gibbering black men. It is true that we can understand them, because we are bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, because, in spite of Semitic religion, we are their heirs, our civilization is Greek in spite of ourselves. Egypt and Chaldaea are alien to us, Greece is not. Perhaps this is all that Mr. Casson desires to emphasize, but it makes him unjust to what he calls the 'static' civilizations, and also to the culture-ancestors of the Greeks and ourselves, the 'Mediterranean' Aegeans and Minoans. To relegate Minoan art and culture to the same category as that of Egypt or of Babylonia, as Mr. Casson does, seems to me an error. We know nothing of the prehistoric polity of Greece beyond the intimations of Greek tradition, and in them we see nothing un-Greek. The heroic king was Greek enough. And if Mr. Casson can see nothing Greek in Minoan art he has not eyes to see. Probably it needs some familiarity with Egyptian or other ancient oriental art to perceive the Greek element in Minoan art, to see the subtle difference between it and the arts of the 'static' cultures, to discern in it the first stirrings of Greek truth and freedom. I do not believe in the over-emphasis of the 'Dark Age' between the culture of the Bronze Age and that of the Iron Age in Greece, any more than I believe in the over-emphasis of the Dark Age between Roman civilization and our own. In both cases continuity existed; in the case of Greece probably in Ionia. To say, as Mr. Casson does, that Minoan civilization 'had nothing in common with that of the Greece of the thousand years after 1000 B.C.,' or that in it we do not find fully developed art in the sense of '*free art*,' is not true. 'Highly developed craftsmanship,' he says, 'is there, and a capacity for design and form, but artistic creations untrammelled by convention, such as were conceived by Classical Greece within a century of the commencement of artistic production, we do not find.' We join issue: what a difference there is to be seen between the really highly developed craftsmanship of the Egyptian and the free artistic creations, untrammelled by convention (though often marred by crudity of technique and execution, at any rate in the case of the wall-paintings), of the Minoan! Can Mr. Casson look at the ivory leaper of Knossos or the tramping peasants of the Harvester-Vase and hold to his contention? And in his next paragraph he confesses that Minoan art 'laid the foundations of an artistic tradition which the invasions and disturbances of subsequent times could not eradicate.' He allows that 'the new art of

Classical Greece found itself active in a region where the elements of art were not unknown,' but then adds, 'though we are hardly entitled to infer from this a continuity of artistic tradition.' Are we not? Is not the technique and art of the Greek vase-painters the same as that of the Mycenaean? And what can be more Greek in feeling than the figures of the king and the warrior on the 'Chieftain Vase?'

Whether we forgive him for his injustice to the Minoans or not, we must, we suppose, find excuses for his injustices to the *βάρβαροι*. The Greek scholar usually either has not the time or will not take the trouble to try and understand them. But the well-worn depreciatory references to the 'static' civilizations merely beg the question. It is true that mentally the Greek of the fifth century was enormously superior to the Egyptian or Asiatic: as superior as we are to them now. But they had and have their virtues, and it is not necessary to butcher them anew to make a Philhellenic holiday. Still, Mr. Casson has his thesis, which is to exalt the Greek, and we who love the ancient Greek as much as he does, and believe that everything should be done by all to prevent the danger of the knowledge and appreciation of Greek culture dying down in the world, must allow him to have his fling at the barbarians.

Perhaps Mr. Casson is happier in dealing with history and politics than with Minoan archaeology and art or with Greek ethics. Of the latter he gives us a conventional white-washing view. On political matters, however, he is interesting, and, we think, will interest his audience. The possible reasons for the collapse of Greek civilization in the fourth and later centuries B.C. are set forth with effect. Malaria hardly seems possible till Roman days. The desiccation theory seems to attract Mr. Casson; but we do not think that Prof. Ellsworth Huntington's interesting theory commands universal adherence among oriental students, and it should not be taken as proved. The stupidity of the Greeks in killing off all their best stock in their petty inter-tribal wars, and the resulting admixture with foreigners, seems, as Mr. Casson perhaps thinks, to be the most satisfactory explanation.

We must be permitted a word of objection to the chart at the end of the book representing 'Cultural Areas of the Greek World and its Neighbours.' To what precise moment of time is this chart supposed to refer? The line bounding the Egyptian sphere of influence is extended towards Crete, but not towards Cyprus, which in Minoan days was closely connected with Egypt, as we know from the discoveries at Enkomi, and at the Herodotean 'moment of time' was directly subject to Egyptian political as well as artistic domination. Nor does it include Phoenicia, which we know was from early days almost an outlying province of Egypt: the subjection of Phoenicia and the Shephelah to the Thothmosids has been a commonplace of ancient history for decades, quite apart from the recent discoveries of M. Montet at Byblos, which have shown us that that city was practically an Egyptian colony even in the time of the Old Kingdom. Then the Hellenic line of demarcation does not include the oversea colonies except in Italy and Sicily, and does not extend far enough north in Italy so as to overlap the Etruscan line, which it should do: Etruscan art was merely a copy of Greek. And in Asia Minor we have the following list of names, "Lydia, Hittite Empire, Persia, Assyria," in this order, which is certainly not the historical order. To include Assyria at all is doubtful procedure, since it is very uncertain, in spite of some recent theories, if the Assyrians ever got further west than Cilicia, and there only for a moment. If Mr. Casson is referring to cultural influence only, he should surely speak of Babylonia, not Assyria, and Persian influence in Asia Minor was purely political and had no effect on culture. It is to be hoped that this chart, which is very misleading, will be revised, and dates inserted, in a second edition.

H. H.

Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai. By GERHART RODENWALDT. Pp. 72, 30 illustrations in text, 5 plates. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1922.

Round the walls of the Megaron at Mycenae, probably covering a length of forty-six metres, ran a frieze of painted plaster, the remains of which are the most notable outside Crete. A considerable number of pieces, representing a fight and preparations for a fight, were discovered by Tsoundas in 1886, later discussed by Rodenwaldt and others. But fragments

such as these, often burnt out of recognition, have a habit of eluding the archaeologist, for besides those which came to light during the German investigations in 1914, others were discovered during the excavations of the British School in 1921 (*Times Lit. Sup.*, Oct. 1921). The fragments found in 1914 introduced an entirely new element, a complicated piece of architecture with ladies at the windows, and, above, part of the fight. It is their publication which occasions this book.

Combining, as far as is possible, the old pieces with the new, and taking into account the relation in which they were found, Dr. Rodenwaldt is able to trace the frieze round the west and north walls: the camp, the fight, and the besieged castle. This part of the work is admirable.

The old pieces, some of which appeared in the 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, others in the *Athenische Mitteilungen*, are here for the first time collected and published together, but only with a view to their reconstruction. We have still to refer back to these two papers for adequate description and illustration, and this when the title of the book leads us to expect what we so greatly need, a complete publication of the frieze. It would have been a comparatively easy matter to provide serviceable illustrations, since these are already in existence, and briefly to give the necessary particulars concerning each fragment. Not only was the opportunity, but also the space at hand, for the chapter dealing with the actual frieze takes only one-third of the book, about twenty-five pages.

Of the remaining two-thirds, twenty pages are occupied with an essay on Cretan civilisation and fresco painting. We have long wished to hear Dr. Rodenwaldt's ideas on Cretan fresco, but this is hardly the place. Another fifteen deal with the mainland culture in relation to our frieze, but more with the former than with the latter; for besides the date and style of the fresco, they touch on questions of race and religion, architecture, the Homeric poems, and certain aspects of Egyptian art. To quote one example of the tendency to digression: on the strength of a resemblance between the Abu Simbel relief of the Battle at Kadesh and the Mycenae fragments, three pages are devoted to discussing whether this form of Egyptian art was influenced by Crete: in the end, the author is inclined to think it was not.

So much for the general form and contents of the book. With regard to particular points:

The controversial question is the date of the Mycenae frescoes. Dr. Rodenwaldt, on grounds of style, assigns them to L.M. I., whereas the excavations of the British School have practically proved that the Megaron was not yet built in that period. Can stylistic evidence be considered conclusive? The elements Dr. Rodenwaldt considers early are:

(i) Fineness of technique. How fine, the burnt condition of the pieces prevents us judging; the only certain inference is that they are distinctly earlier than the second period at Tiryns (later half of L.M. III.).

(ii) Composition, *i. e.*, the free and pictorial arrangement of figures similar to that of the Cretan frescoes of L.M. I. Here, however, we are faced with the difficulty that we do not know how long this manner lasted. It may well have been still in use at the beginning of L.M. III., though we know it had ceased to be by the time of the second period at Tiryns. The resemblance of the Megaron fragments to Cretan art of the L.M. I. period is certainly overrated.

On p. 69, among the notes, will be found a list of all the more important bits of fresco found at Mycenae before 1920. This is invaluable, both as a record and as a foundation for future work: we would gladly see it expanded at the expense of some of the other notes. For purposes of identification, it would have been a help if the author had stated which fragments came from Tsoundas' excavations and which from Schliemann's.

We note that, on p. 9, the 'Saffron Gatherer' fresco is attributed, owing to the style of its details, to the same period as the Knossos Miniature fresco and the 'Cat and Bird' from Hagia Triada. No attempt is, however, made to dispose of the more serious arguments for assigning it to M.M. II., or at latest to M.M. III. Is not this but another proof of the arbitrary nature of stylistic evidence?

Of the illustrations, those in the text include two reproductions of the new fragments, one, part of a chariot and horses, the other, a falling warrior. At the end of the book is an excellent coloured facsimile of the new architectural fragments by Gilliéron (scale

not given); there are also line-drawings giving the reconstruction of both the old and the new fragments. These are the most unsatisfactory part of the book, not in conception, for they are often both suggestive and convincing, but in execution. Their effect is so un-Mycenaean as, in some cases, to recall the decadent type of black-figure vase-painting.

The book will, perhaps, have a wider appeal with its varied contents than if it had kept to its stated subject. Those specially interested in prehistoric painting may be over-critical because disappointed in the hope of a complete publication by the greatest authority on mainland fresco; for the valuable work done, most of all for the discovery and publication of the new fragments, they are much indebted.

W. L.

Platon : Oeuvres Complètes. Tome I : Introduction—Hippias Mineur—Alcibiade—Apologie de Socrate—Euthyphron—Criton. Texte établi par MAURICE CROISSET. Pp. 233. Paris : 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1920. Fr. 12.

The series in which this volume appears is entitled 'Collection des Universités de France,' with the additional note that it is published under the patronage of the Association Guillaume, Budé. We are further informed that, in conformity with the statutes of this Association, the volume before us was submitted to a technical committee, two members of which (MM. Louis Bodin and Paul Mazon) exercised editorial supervision over its production. We mention these facts in order to indicate the scale of the enterprise which this volume inaugurates and the care with which it is being conducted.

The volume itself is of a type not familiar in this country. There is first a short general introduction, giving the main facts as to Plato's life and writings and the state of the text. Then follow the dialogues, each with an introduction of its own, the plain Greek text without translation, and with a select critical apparatus recording only the more important variations. In the introductions the main points arising in connexion with the dialogues are treated fairly fully but without undue technicality. This plan suggests an aim similar to that of the Loeb Library. The books, we conjecture, are mainly intended for what it is now fashionable to call the adult student, rather than for the specialist; but the Frenchman, it seems, unlike his English and American analogue, can do without a crib.

We do not gather that M. Croiset had any ambitious designs on the text. He has been content in the main to rely on Prof. Burnet's work and to agree with his decisions in disputed passages. He has, probably wisely, departed from the traditional groupings of the dialogues and rearranged them in what he takes to be their chronological order.

We wish the Collection Budé every success, and welcome warmly (though regrettably late) its first volume.

J. L. S.

The Religion of Plato. By PAUL ELMER MORE. Pp. xii + 352. Princetown University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, 1921. 10s. 6d. net.

Dr. More's account of Plato's religious beliefs is the first volume of four which have for their joint object the presentation of the Greek tradition as it impinged upon and largely conquered early Christian thought. To the whole series he gives as general title 'The Greek Tradition from the Death of Socrates to the Council of Chalcedon (399 B.C. to A.D. 451),' and he asks us to take his *Platonism* as a general introduction to this comprehensive work. From this it will be seen that the present volume is intended as a contribution to what we ordinarily call theology, and in particular to the understanding of the Greek Fathers and of the doctrines of the early Church; and it can be guessed that a final estimate of the value and importance of the present volume ought to be deferred until such time as its sequel is available.

Religious thought to Dr. More is a compound of three ingredients—philosophy, theology, and mythology. Philosophy is distinguished from metaphysics (which is, it

seems, pseudo-philosophy), and is predominantly ethical—the Greek ‘way of life.’ The subjects of study in this *Trivium* might perhaps be set out as—the life of man, the nature of God, the dealings of God with man. Dr. More takes each in turn, and prefaces to his treatment of each the translation of a cardinal passage from Plato’s works. For ‘philosophy’ his text is the speeches of Glaucon and Adeimantus in *Rep.* II.; for ‘theology’ nearly the whole of *Laws* X.; for ‘mythology’ considerable extracts from the *Timaeus*. Last comes an account of the Religious Life, prefaced by a translation of sections of *Laws* iv and v. The translations occupy more than a quarter of the whole volume, and some will think that so much space could ill be spared. If Dr. More were writing primarily for students of Plato, clearly he would not have adopted this method; but to a more general public, to which Plato is not so easy of access, these extracts will be of great value and will materially fortify the exposition. To such readers this volume must be warmly recommended. The impression is too widely spread that the educated Greek was a sceptic and not in earnest with his religion. Dr. More’s sane and discriminating admiration of the Greek genius and the deft touches by which he premonitorily indicates its contribution to Christian thought will provide a valuable corrective.

The volume is also to be recommended to students of Plato. Dr. More seeks to set before us a great tradition, and is able to offer to those whose studies are solely or mainly occupied with the classical writers much that they too often miss. It is those portions of Plato’s works which had most influence on later writers that are his chief concern, and in dealing with them he is ready with illuminating quotation from the commentators and from the Greek Fathers. And Dr. More is surely right in thinking that the Plato of the ‘Greek Tradition’ is nearer to the real Plato than the Plato of Hegel or Lotze.

Dr. More has a definite and consistent view of Plato’s general philosophical position, into which it is scarcely possible to enter here; but there are details which may be questioned. Speaking of the relation between ideas and phenomena, he says: ‘In the *Parmenides* he had ended by denying the right of metaphysics to meddle with the matter at all’ (p. 202). There may be some subtlety hidden in the word ‘metaphysics’; but is not this a misstatement? Plato seems to us to end by saying that the way out from these perplexities can be found by *διαλεκτική* alone. On pp. 242–3 Dr. More’s own subsequent exposition seems to show that Plato’s acceptance of the dogma ‘virtue is knowledge’ is rather seriously overstated. We observe two misprints—‘*amnēsis*’ for ‘*anamnēsis*’ (p. 157) and ‘Simias’ for ‘Simmias’ (p. 132). And why should Dr. More soil his usually excellent English by the ugly and unnecessary neologism ‘self-origining’ (pp. 234, 237)?

J. L. S.

Der junge Platon. By ERNST HORNEFFER. I. Teil, Sokrates und die Apologie. Pp. iv + 170. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1922. M. 27.

Prof. Horneffer’s essay on the *Apology* of Plato is an attempt to show, against most of the arbiters of German opinion in these matters, that it contains a historically sound and accurate account of the beliefs and activities of Socrates, and that no valid reason has been adduced for doubting its general fidelity to the tenor of Socrates’ speeches in his own defence at his trial. The argument is predominantly controversial in character: Prof. Horneffer starts as a rule from some statement with which he disagrees, and develops his own view in reply to it. He professes general agreement with H. Maier’s view of Socrates except in regard to the *Apology*, and much of the argument has reference to Maier’s points. He also engages in controversy with Wilamowitz, Schanz, Pohlenz, Pöhlmann, and Ivo Bruns. He does not seem to be acquainted with English contributions to the subject, or, if he is, he does not mention them. In view of the close relation of certain of his theses to points already made in greater detail by Taylor and Burnet, this defect in his equipment, or in his statement, is regrettable.

The main points of Dr. Horneffer’s argument are the following. That the Socratic movement was a heroic attempt at reconstruction necessitated by sophistic individualism; that what Socrates attempted was a religious and moral reform animated by a profound

and simple reverence for tradition; that his respect for Delphi and the ancestral religion generally was genuine and not assumed; that the Daimonion, which was the real ground of the charge of heresy brought against him, was to him a private oracle, a special means of communication with the god of Delphi; that Chaerephon's oracle is a historical fact, to be dated just after the publication of the *Clouds*, and was the beginning of Socrates' public mission; that this public mission (on which, apart from the *Apology*, Plato is practically silent) was essentially a religious activity, a call to repentance, and was hortatory or edifying in character, as well as elenctic. There is a useful appendix by Prof. Herzog, which collects and discusses the evidence for Delphic decisions, similar to that elicited by Chaerephon, as to primacy in piety, virtue, or wisdom.

No doubt many of these theses may be disputed. Some are certainly left rather vague, e. g. the nature of Socrates' philosophic activities before he began his public mission and the burden of his religious preaching. The only mention of the Orphics implies that their influence was on Plato, not on Socrates. The autobiography of the *Phaedo* is not mentioned at all. But Prof. Horneffer is always clear, vigorous, and lively, and he brings out well in more than one passage the paradoxes inherent in the conception of Socrates now orthodox in Germany. We shall be particularly interested to see how he will deal with the *Phaedo*. For the *Phaedo* is surely the crux in this matter. If he really agrees with Maier as closely as he says he does, Dr. Horneffer is in danger of wrecking his ship over this dialogue. We recommend to him a study of Burnet's edition. In the meantime, we congratulate him on a good start and wish him a good voyage.

J. L. S.

Plotin. Forschungen über die plotinische Frage, Plotins Entwicklung und sein System.

By FRITZ HEINEMANN. Pp. xiii + 318. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1921. 10s.

In this important book Heinemann raises the question of the order in which the works of Plotinus were composed. In his life of Plotinus Porphyry distinguishes three periods in his master's literary output, and the order in which he enumerates the treatises belonging to each period has been commonly supposed to be strictly chronological. Heinemann undertakes to prove that Porphyry's lists are by no means chronological, and further, that some of the treatises included in them are not by Plotinus at all. Thus he rejects III. 9 as the work of an Eclectic with strong Gnostic leanings, he rules out V. 7 for its triviality and the un-Plotinian character of its *logos*-doctrine, he holds I. 8, II. 2 and II. 6 to be abstracts of discussions in Plotinus' school with editorial additions, and he finds serious discrepancies between I. 9, II. 8, IV. 1 and the genuine books. After reading Heinemann's arguments one at least begins to feel some doubts about Porphyry's trustworthiness as an editor.

A more interesting question than the authenticity of these tracts, none of which is of great importance, is that of the order of Plotinus' writings. Heinemann first indicates various cross-references in the treatises, which seem to contradict the received order. But his chief results are obtained by a minute examination of the subject matter of the whole of Plotinus' works. He believes that three very distinct periods, roughly coincident with those marked out by Porphyry, may be traced in the development of Plotinus's thought, and in each period he finds two or three sub-stages. His conclusions are, very briefly, as follows. In his earliest writings Plotinus is 'Platonic'; he does not speak of the One, but of God or the Good,—the One first appears in VI. 9, the seventh treatise according to Heinemann,—and he deals with ethics in Plato's manner, describing the ascent of the soul in terms borrowed from the Mysteries. The second period, which begins with Porphyry's arrival in Rome in A.D. 263, is the Golden Age of Plotinus' teaching. While the keynote of the first period is transcendence, that of the second is immanence, or rather a 'will to immanence,' for the transcendentalism inherent in the system can never conceal itself for long. Matter becomes pure potentiality or pure not-being, into which the *logos* descends, or (a little later) the mirror which reflects the rays that stream from the One. 'The Idealism of Plotinus here finds its sharpest expression.' In his third

period (A.D. 268–270), old, ill and lonely, but courageously rising above his own troubles and those of his time, Plotinus makes indeed no metaphysical advance, but attempts to justify the ways of God to man. Here Heinemann, perhaps unnecessarily, sees definite Iranian influence. Matter is regarded as original evil; the struggle of the *logos* with it is parallel to that of Ormuzd with Ahriman. Man is not by nature evil—in this Heinemann scents an attack upon Christianity; his soul is good; it is only matter that makes him evil. Upon these views of Plotinus' doctrinal evolution Heinemann's chronological arrangement of the treatises largely depends. His arrangement can only be proved or disproved by very close study of Plotinus' text. Indeed Heinemann looks forward with some complacency to a long controversy on the question. The problem of Plato's writings has not been settled in a hundred years. How long, he wonders, will be required for the settlement of the Plotinian question?

The last section of the book is a valuable general account of Plotinus' system, which at times he criticises vigorously, though not, we think, unfairly. It is not a unitary system, deriving all from the One, but it sways between two opposite poles, the One and Matter, or, in other words, it is fundamentally dualistic. The One itself is riddled with contradictions. If abstract, it can be the source of nothing, if concrete, it cannot be merely one. We feel some sympathy with these and similar complaints. However much one may admire Plotinus' metaphysical acumen or the amazing eloquence of the mystical passages in the *Enneads*, it is sometimes hard not to feel impatience with his answers to problems that are no answers, his 'deductions' that really 'deduce' nothing, and his continual shiftings of ground, as from transcendence to immanence and back again. Heinemann's book is, in our judgment, one of the most suggestive and original works that have appeared on Plotinus, and account will have to be taken of it by all serious students of the philosopher. It has the additional merit of being beautifully printed. The author promises another work under the title *Plotin und die Gnosis*.

J. H. S.

Diogenes Laertius. Übersetzt und erläutert von OTTO APELT. 2 vols. Pp. xxviii + 341, 327. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1921.

The book on the Lives and Opinions of Famous Philosophers, which dates from the first half of the third century A.D. and passes under the name of Diogenes Laertius, has not been rendered as a whole into a continental language for a century, though there is an English translation in 'Bohn,' which has apparently escaped German eyes. Dr. Apelt's version is intended, as he says, for the benefit of philosophically-minded laymen rather than for that of scholars. It is not, he tells us, a work preparatory to a critical edition, upon which, we gather from his preface, another scholar is now engaged. Dr. Apelt's introduction is written in very general terms; he dwells upon the respect which the Greeks (herein so unlike Germans!) felt for their philosophers and the consequent demand for popular histories of their doings and sayings; he refers briefly to the doxographic and biographical traditions, and concludes with an appreciation of the indefatigable but uncritical compiler, whose passion for giving references and taste for verse composition do not add to the attractiveness of his invaluable work. A discussion of the many interesting, but perhaps insoluble, literary problems raised by the book, Dr. Apelt purposely avoids, lest he burden the ears of the laymen for whom he writes. As to the translation, we have found few places where, granted the correctness of the original text, alteration is desirable. The English scholar will probably find it easier to read Diogenes' straightforward Greek than Dr. Apelt's German, and will be more likely to turn for assistance to the notes, which, though short, are much to the point. They contain a number of textual suggestions and emendations, e.g. in I. 5 the insertion of οὐδέ after οὐκ οἶδα; III. 72 διαλύεσθαι, ὡς τὸν θεόν for διαλύεσθαι εἰς τὸν θεόν; VII. 14 ἐνδιδούς for ἐνίους; V. 37 διδακτηρίου, 'das Wesen des Unterrichts' (?), for δικαστηρίου. In V. 54 Apelt, instead of emending with others, takes συνείρηται as the subjunctive of συνείρω (ὅπως συνείρηται is rendered by *ut dictum est* in Hübner's edition) and inserts τὰ before περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, but the passage does not seem cured. In II. 15 ὦν ἐν οὐδενὶ φανή for ὦν ἐν οὐδενὶ πάντα and in V. 15

κατόπτου (? κάτοπτος) for καὶ ὅπου would, like perhaps the majority of emendations, have been better unprinted. The book concludes with a good index of proper names and subjects.

J. H. S.

Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der Christlich-palästinensischen Texte. Pp. 378. By ANTON BAUMSTARK. Bonn: Marcus and Weber, 1922. M.150.

The history of Syriac literature is a subject on which Germany has hitherto been behind Great Britain and France; for, while we have excellent histories by Wright and Duval, earlier German publications on the subject have been of a semi-popular character, and the present work is the first complete scientific history of Syriac literature that has appeared in Germany. As a literary production it is perhaps not equal to its predecessors, but as a bibliographical handbook it far surpasses them, for Dr. Baumstark gives all the MSS. which contain any part of a work as well as the editions, and we are amazed to find it stated in the preface that he only began the work in the summer of 1918. For the readers of this journal the translations from Greek, especially of lost works, will be the main interest, and they will, if they search for it, find the most complete information; but unfortunately this is a point on which the book is not well arranged, for there is no clear division or distinction between original works and translations, and in many cases the translations are given not under the author's name but under the translator's. For instance, the voluminous works of Severus of Antioch are almost entirely lost in Greek; but he has no paragraph to himself in this book, and a reader who wishes to know what works of his are extant in Syriac, and where they can be found, must turn to the eleven references under his name in the index, and will eventually find what he wants under Paul of Callinicus, Paul of Edessa, Athanasius of Nisibis, and James of Edessa. Logically this is perhaps defensible, but for purposes of reference it would have been more convenient to place the translations in a separate section under the original authors' names. The book is difficult reading on account of numerous strange abbreviations, which necessitate frequent references to the list at the beginning; but this is done to save printing, and under present conditions the author must not be blamed for it. In spite of these small defects Dr. Baumstark has produced a monument of industrious scholarship which will add to his high reputation, and will be a priceless mine of information for all who are concerned with Syriac literature.

E. W. B.

The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.
By RHYS CARPENTER. Pp. 263. Bryn Mawr College; New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921. \$1.50.

This is No. 1 of 'Bryn Mawr Monographs.' We hope there may be many more of the same series, though we doubt if they can all be as good as this. For Professor Rhys Carpenter has done us a great service. Preoccupied, on the one side, with the fascination of studying origins, and, on the other, with the no less fascinating pursuit of that will-o'-the-wisp, the nature of beauty, our criticism of the fine arts, especially those of ancient Greece, has rather lost sight, in the last generation or so, of its most important question, stated by our author in the words, 'What does the artistic process do? How does it behave?' In this little monograph of just 250 very small pages, Professor Rhys Carpenter presents, clearly and adequately, the results of a powerful effort of imaginative criticism. We say imaginative, for imagination, and that of considerable strength, is needed in order to divest oneself of present-day prejudices and enter into the intellectual consciousness of a great series of craftsmen whose methods are strange to our 'modern' age, wherein most of our everyday surroundings are manufactured by a process of quantity-production to suit the taste of the shop-walker, and the 'artist,' poor man, professes to rely not at all upon tradition, but on the unaided strength of individual inspiration.

It is just possible that the amateur of Greek antiquity, who should read and ponder deeply upon the author's penetrating analysis of the methods of Greek sculptors and architects, may be 'headed off' by the introductory section. In it, the author, during an approach (by the twisting path of analogy) to his treatment of 'the Subject-Matter of Greek Art,' finds occasion to note that the wizardry of poetry consists largely in an animistic process of metaphorical personifications and the like; in the course of which he quotes a portion of Shelley's *Wild West Wind*, putting twenty-two words into italics in the course of about half as many lines. A mistake, in our opinion; but 'twere pity on my life' if this were to prevent anyone from reading the book. Again, right at the end, there is an interesting passage which appears, nevertheless, a little out of keeping with the rest of the book. The author, in this passage, makes a quasi-propagandist excursion in which he attacks the widespread and hard-dying fallacy, of dour and Ruskinian aspect, according to which architecture, to be beautiful, must 'express its construction'—a fallacy that is disproved by some of the greatest works in every period, by Albi Cathedral as much as by the Salute Church and our own St. Paul's. Our author admits that he is himself a convert from that fallacy, and he exhibits a convert's zeal in his support of the humanist theory, whereby the beauty of architecture has nothing to do with construction, but consists quite simply in a purely visual appeal to 'our susceptibilities of mass, outline, colour and pattern, our muscular sense of balance, of strain, of freedom of motion and confinement, of size and weight and power.' With all this we most heartily agree; but our author seems to spend himself too much on the refutation of that particular fallacy. (He professes himself much indebted, for the rest, to the keen and serious dialectic of Geoffrey Scott's *Architecture of Humanism*: it is high praise, but not at all too high, to say that Professor Rhys Carpenter's own book, in its central discussion of the methods of Greek art, is on a level with that most valuable work.)

Our author sets out from the all-important fact that the Greek artists realised, better than anyone before or since, that 'art's true province is the representation of animate things'—above all, of the human body; which being admitted, he proceeds to lay down the dogmatic assertion that the real aesthetic quality of art consists (*not* in the artist's mode of self-expression, *nor*, again, in any particular quality in the emotion to be aroused in the spectator; *but*) in the perpetual repetition, in each perfect work of art, of the miraculous *fusion* of the imitative, representational *content* or subject-matter of art with the non-representational excellence of *pure form*. It is perhaps too much to expect universal or even general adherence, nowadays, to such a dogma: it does away with so much individual licence, and makes the artist's task so much harder than is generally admitted. Many may disagree with the author's indignant attack on 'our friends the Outragists,' who ask us 'not to think how we should scream if we encountered in the open a woman with cubical hips and a mouth curling vaguely beneath one ear'! But, apart from contemporary propaganda, this does appear to be a true analysis of the Hellenic method. For instance, it enables our author to put his finger on the nature of that spiritual decline which affected the majority (or at least a great part) of the Greek artistic production of the later fourth century and subsequent periods.

For this perfect fusion of representational and purely formal qualities, our author holds, was approached (after the excessive formalism of the Archaic Period) in the Period of the Transition, and was achieved to perfection in the Strong Period (by which he means, perhaps unexpectedly, the Age of Phidias and Polycletus). After a long moment of perfect beauty in the Fine Period, it began to be lost again during the Free Period; and was not to be achieved (or but rarely, might we suggest?) in the succeeding Eclectic and Imitative Period. This exposition—it reminds one rather of Plato's or Polybius' theory of the Cycle of Constitutions—is illustrated by the author, most convincingly, from familiar works of various dates. He follows out the implications of his doctrine with an admirably courageous logic. 'Lysippus,' he holds, 'is already of the decadence.' (One rather hopes he means the Lysippus of the Apoxyomenus, not of the Agias; two very distinct personalities, as different almost as the Beethoven of the early sonatas and of the post-humous quartets.) An interesting discussion arises, in regard to the true meaning of the famous tag '*ab illis quales essent homines, a se quales viderentur esse*'—as of some other famous and controverted passages; he finds that there is here no question of impressionism;

for 'Pliny's *essent* is Plato's τῷ ὄντι ὄν and Aristotle's τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, which is not in the least like artistic realism or representational fidelity to natural appearances; and his *viderentur* refers to τὰ φαινόμενα, which is the very thing which we nowadays call reality.' (Of course, to the artist, the appearance is the reality.) Even Praxiteles, on this view, has already started on the fatal slope of excessive attention to representational detail; incidentally, this lends a special contemporary interest and application to Plato's criticism of art as mere imitation.

Spiritual decadence sets in, inevitably, according to Professor Rhys Carpenter's theory, at the moment when, and in so far as, the *formal content* (derived from but in essence differing from those general mental images of which archaic art supplies the un-realistic copy) becomes diminished and obscured by too much insistence upon realism in imitating the *actual appearance* of objects. (The converse would also be just as possible; but Greek artists seldom, if ever, allowed themselves to lose touch with reality, *once approached*, in the direction of an artificial and therefore unsatisfactory devotion to 'pure form'; and so the discussion of that possibility does not directly arise.)

But this consideration of the general nature of the methods of the Greek sculptors (which must be judged in its full extent in the book itself, and not from our bald and unconvincing summary) does not exhaust Professor Rhys Carpenter's contribution to the Aesthetics of Greek Art. It would even be true to say that the main object of his book is to analyse, as he does for architecture as well as for sculpture, the actual working out of those principles of wise limitation of scope by which the Greeks were able so quickly and so surely to approach and achieve absolute perfection. The nature and value of the conventions of one- and two-dimensional design (in the form respectively of pure line and of 'pattern'), the problems of the relation of line to mass, of chiaroscuro and so forth, are all most ably dealt with in regard more especially to sculpture; and the special uses of the Orders, in architecture, as forming a sort of artificial world of recognisable shapes by the special variation and constructional arrangement of which architectural emotion can be aroused with the least possible disturbance of the spectator's concentration upon a purely visual effect: all this and much more, into which we cannot now enter, is given us with the greatest clarity of language and precision of thought. The argument often makes a strenuous demand on one's power of concentration; it is none the worse for that. There is no detailed index or table of contents to help one out; but there is a very excellent marginal summary.

Last, but by no means least, Professor Rhys Carpenter must be praised for evading throughout that death-trap which has closed over so many art-critics—from Aristotle to Mr. Berenson—that, namely, of paying more attention to the emotions to be aroused in the cultured spectator than to what is really the only important matter, the object and methods of the artist himself.

Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue, with Texts. Vol. V. By H. I. BELL. Pp. xvi + 376. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1917.

This fine volume, which deserved a more punctual notice here, while not rivalling its predecessor either in bulk or importance, makes a valuable addition to the papyrus evidence for the later Byzantine period, concerning which there is still much to be learnt. The documents are a miscellaneous collection from several sites,—Aphrodito (the source of the contents of Vol. IV.), Antioch, Thebes, Syene, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere; and they exemplify a variety of types, official and private. 1663, a sixth-century order by a *praeses* for a payment of corn to a Numidian corps stationed at Syene, affords a clear instance of the use of the Constantinopolitan indiction beginning on September 1. A sporadic employment of that mode of computation in preference to the Egyptian indiction, at any rate in documents relating to taxation, has now to be seriously reckoned with by papyrologists, and may account for some of the chronological inconsistencies frequent at this period. An unusually long and interesting text gives a report (1708) of an arbitration in a family dispute about an inheritance. The pleadings on both sides are set out in

extenso, followed by an elaborate award, which occupies eighty lines, of the arbitrator. On the verso of this is a marriage contract, of which a draft is preserved in the Cairo Museum. It was drawn up after the consummation of the marriage, a fact which M. Jean Maspero proposed to connect with the ancient *mariage d'essai*. That explanation may not be the true one, but it is hardly to be rejected on the ground that 'a reminiscence of so primitive an institution' would not be looked for in Christian times. Something not very dissimilar is said still to be practised in the north of Great Britain. The 'curious and interesting undertakings' of the husband and wife are really of much the same kind as those found in the earlier contracts of marriage. Another welcome acquisition is 1718, which contains a series of metrological tables referring to measures of capacity, weight and length. It provides a number of new data and is an important addition to the sources for a subject on which much uncertainty prevails, especially with regard to the dry measures. Among the papyri not printed in full but briefly described on pp. 263 ff. are to be noted two from Herculaneum presented by King Edward VII. (fragments of Epicurus *Περὶ φύσεως* xi and an unopened roll), and some minor literary pieces, both prose and verse, of the Roman age: these no doubt will be dealt with more fully elsewhere.

Mr. Bell is especially at home in the Byzantine period, and the editorial work is carried out with all the skill and care that would be anticipated from him. At times, indeed, the desire for accuracy carries him almost too far. It is hardly necessary, for instance, to point out, as is repeatedly done, that a reading is uncertain when the fact is already indicated by the dotted letters of the text, nor is it consistent to suggest doubts about letters printed as if they were read with certainty (cf. *e. g.* p. 130). On p. 151 it is stated that a [τ]οῦ is unexpected, that the space seems too small for anything else, but 'perhaps' [νέ]ου is possible. Notes of this ultra-cautious kind, which cannot be very helpful in any case, seem uncalled for in dealing with business documents of no special importance, and their omission would appreciably have lightened the commentary. In the early volumes of this Catalogue the explanatory matter was perhaps somewhat jejune; now the tendency is rather in the opposite direction. It is to be hoped that Mr. Bell will not allow himself to be influenced by the long-winded method of exegesis favoured in certain Continental quarters. Or can it be that a protracted immersion in Byzantine Greek is having an effect upon his style (see *e. g.* p. 121)?

No facsimiles were issued with this volume, but reproductions of the more important papyri in it are intended to accompany Vol. VI., to which we wish a prosperous and speedy course.

Etruscan Tomb Paintings: their Subjects and Significance. By FREDERIK POULSEN. Pp. 63, 47 illustrations. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1922.

After years of undeserved neglect Etruscan tomb paintings appear to be coming into their own again. Körte and Weege have led the way in scientific publication; and, judging from the number of works on the subject recently published on the Continent, there seems to be a recrudescence of the popular enthusiasm which actuated the generation of George Dennis. Under such circumstances the English-speaking world will welcome the present translation of a Museum guide-book from the pen of the learned keeper of classical antiquities at Copenhagen. The important collection of facsimile reproductions and drawings formed during the 'nineties by the late Carl Jacobsen makes the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek a convenient centre for the study of the subject; for while, as Dr. Poulsen points out, the facsimiles are not always free from error, there is no other place where a general idea of the development of the art can so easily be obtained.

Accompanied by adequate illustrations from these facsimiles, Dr. Poulsen leads us briefly through the whole range of Etruscan painting, commencing with the Campana Tomb at Veii of the seventh century B.C. Then follow the group of sixth-century tombs in style reminiscent of contemporary Ionic vase paintings, down to the Tomba del Barone at Corneto, which, as has long been known, was by the hand of a Greek painter. The influence of Attic art prevails in the fifth century, after which comes the long period of

Etruscan decline, to which the greater part of the extant remains belong. It is interesting to observe how, as the national fortunes of Etruria grew clouded with disaster, their once cheerful art turned for inspiration to the morbid horrors of the under-world or to horrible scenes of bloodshed and massacre. In fact, the book is not only a comprehensive and modern sketch of Etruscan pictorial art; it is a penetrating and suggestive study of the whole field of Etruscan civilisation, and it is surprising how many aspects of that civilisation Dr. Poulsen contrives to touch upon in a work of such small compass. The translation by Miss Ingeborg Andersen has been revised by Dr. G. F. Hill; we have been unable to compare it with the original, but it reads crisply and pleasantly.

Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom. By EDUARD SCHMIDT. Pp. 92 + 24 plates. Munich: B. Heller, 1922.

A collection of essays dealing with various examples of archaistic art, and intended to form part of a more general treatment of the subject. The writer's aim is mainly chronological, to define the period at which deliberate imitation of the archaic appears in Greek art, and to determine what is older than Roman, or Graeco-Roman in the mass of archaistic remains. The first series to be examined is supplied by the fourth-century Panathenaic Amphorae; here the archaistic type of Athena—striding to right, the drapery drawn tight with swinging tails—first appears between 366 and 363 B.C., in place of the traditional Athena with drapery hanging naturally and moving to the left. This indicates a date early in the century for the first appearance of the new style, allowing a few years before the vase-painters adopted it. Similarly the base in the Acropolis Museum at Athens with four deities in relief, No. 610, is dated between 390 and 370 B.C.; to which period, or thereabouts, also belongs the theme of Pan and the Nymphs, known in many replicas. On the other hand, works of the late fifth century which have an archaistic look—such as the Pergamene Herm of Alcamenes, or the type of triple Hecate, probably by the same sculptor—are to be considered belated survivals rather than conscious imitations of the archaic. The conclusion is that the archaistic style was the deliberate creation of one artist working in the early decades of the fourth century, and for this artist the identification of Callimachos is proposed.

A long appendix follows on the dating and development of Panathenaic Vases. Graef and after him Brauchitsch supposed the existence of a gap of over a century between the early and late groups of these prize-amphorae, and produced several explanations to account for the gap. Following Hauser, Schmidt denies the existence of any considerable gap, and with the aid of new material endeavours to limit it even more closely than Hauser. The key to the chronology lies in the drawing of the back picture, and the artists, working in a traditional style, lagged behind the red-figure painters. Thus of the early group some must be dated well down in the fifth century, and of the later group some must be placed earlier than 400 B.C. Carefully compiled lists of vases showing the typological variations complete a work which is compactly written and unusually suggestive.

Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker. By GAWRIL I. KAZAROW. Pp. 122, 38 illustrations. Sarajevo: J. Studnička and Co., 1916.

This monograph, unlike many of the works of Balkan scholars, has no modern politico-ethnological thesis to support. It consists mainly of a concise and useful assembly of facts culled from historical and archaeological sources concerning the habits and nature of the ancient Thracians. As such it covers much the same ground as the standard articles of Tomaschek on the Thracians, but is not vitiated, as are the works of that scholar, by the appeal to dubious and often unacceptable philological views. No new evidence that has not already been published is here brought forward, but the details of the most recent discoveries in Thrace up to 1916 are carefully considered.

* An attempt is made to see the germs of an indigenous Thracian art in the gold and silver treasure of Panagyurishte (p. 97). The artistic affinities of this treasure have

already been pointed out by Rostovtzeff: what is not purely Seythian is purely Hellenic. We have at present no monuments of purely Thracian art, and there is no reason for believing that the Thracians of the historic period were in any way artistic. In the same way the author accepts the famous Ezerovo ring with its inscription of sixty-one letters as a Thracian object of the fifth century B.C. bearing a Thracian inscription. It has been shown recently by Seure that the inscription, although Thracian, consists of a series of proper names and belongs to the second or third century A.D. As such its contribution to the study of the Thracian language is small.

A few small points call for comment. The Derronians on p. 23 are placed near Pangaeum, while on p. 37 they are placed near Dysoron in the Krusha Balkan. This is, no doubt, a slip. But in any case neither identification is acceptable. The bulk of the Derronian octadrachms come from near Shtip, which is far north even of the Krusha Balkan, and there are other reasons for placing the tribe north of Lake Doiran. The so-called Hermes on the octadrachms (p. 23) is later (p. 37) called a tribal hero. This latter, despite the views of Svoronos, is the more probable interpretation.

On p. 19 it is suggested that the Odrysian kingdom began to take shape about 480 B.C. This seems too early a date by at least twenty-five years.

On p. 42 the figures on the lower part of the relief shown in Fig. 9 are called 'satyrs.' There is nothing to distinguish them from ordinary human figures.

On p. 3 line 19 'Dussand' is a misprint for 'Dussaud.'

The author accepts but does not attempt to explain the remarkable fact that in prehistoric times the culture of the latest Neolithic or Chalkolithic period comes to an abrupt end all over Bulgaria and Thrace and is not followed by a Bronze or Early Iron Age, except in a very few places. This is the outstanding problem of the prehistoric period. Macedonia, on the other hand, possessed a flourishing Bronze Age which, as Schmidt has shown, has strong Trojan affinities. This is noted by Kazaroff without explanation, and he does not seem to appreciate the difference between the Moldavian painted pottery group and the incised pottery tradition of Serbia and Macedonia.

In his account of Thracian weapons the author does not discuss the *ἄρπη* or the *πέλτη*. Except for these minor errors and omissions the monograph is of great use and is packed with useful material.

S. C.

A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C. A Study in Economic History. By MICHAEL ROSTOVITZ. Pp. 209, 3 plates. Wisconsin: Madison, 1922. \$ 2.

This important work, which forms No. 6 of the University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, is an attempt to examine the correspondence of Zenon as a whole and to appreciate its interest from the historical point of view. No man could be better qualified for this task than Rostovtzeff, a recognised master in economic history. The fact that not one half, perhaps not even a quarter, of the correspondence has yet been published is no doubt a drawback; but we are thankful that this has not deterred Rostovtzeff from formulating his general conception. His book, besides its permanent value, will be of immense help to the editors of the remainder of the correspondence. When that has been published, no doubt Rostovtzeff will have a good deal to add to his exposition, and not improbably a good many things to correct.

Excellent as the book is, it would have been improved by a more thorough revision; for, apart from those points in which Rostovtzeff's general views are disputable, there are not a few errors of fact. For instance, on p. 57 *παράγνμι* is translated and commented on as if it were in the third person, *παράγννται*; the meaning is not that Panakestor was going to Alexandria, but that Zenon was coming to Philadelphia. On p. 178 is a curious passage about the production of gum-styrax in Upper Egypt, founded on a mistranslation; in the Greek text, P. Mich. Inv. 40, it is quite evident that *Στύραξ* should be written as a proper name, and in fact *Styrax* is a well-known figure in the correspondence. On p. 76, *προκοπήν ποιήσασθαι* is translated 'to pay anything in advance,' whereas it only means 'to make a step forward.' Kerke (see p. 122) did not lie on the main canal of the

Fayoum, but on the Nile itself. But such small blemishes do not detract from the value of the book, whose strength consists in its generalisations and its striking pictures of economic conditions.

The different phases of Zenon's career are put before us with greater clearness and fullness than had been hitherto attempted. Rostovtzeff explains the title of *δικονόμος* as 'steward of the private property of Apollonios.' I doubt, however, whether Rostovtzeff is right in supposing that during the period when Zenon was in direct contact with Apollonios he dealt exclusively with his master's private interests. Not one only, but several of the letters preserved by Zenon at this time (including a long text of great importance which I hope to publish soon) are concerned with questions of public economy. We may surely infer from this that, apart from high politics, Zenon had a hand in the conduct of Apollonios' official as well as private correspondence.

But the main subject of the book is the *δωρεά* of Apollonios at Philadelphia. Chapter v contains an admirable sketch of the institution of *δωρεαί*, estates granted by the king to courtiers and high officials for their personal use, but not as their absolute property. Especially interesting and novel is Rostovtzeff's explanation of Zenon's official activities as manager of the *δωρεά*. His position according to Rostovtzeff conferred on him the administrative authority usually exercised by the *ἐπιστάτης* and the other regular officials of the village; and thus it was that though he had no definite rank in the official hierarchy, he yet had administrative powers and responsibilities. Rostovtzeff's discussion of the other *δωρεά* which Apollonios apparently possessed at Memphis or in the Memphite nome, is not altogether happy (pp. 53-55). It is not true that the contract which Harmais wishes to make with Apollonios about the dykes at Memphis was subject to the subsequent approval of the oecnome and engineer; the text (see P.S.I. 488) only means that the work was to be executed to their satisfaction; in other words, they were to certify that he had fulfilled his contract. Nor can one endorse Rostovtzeff's suggestion that Philadelphus attempted to degrade or internationalise the city of Memphis; for the foreign communities of which he speaks were of ancient standing.

Chapter vi is a very useful and original study of reclamation work on the *δωρεά*. Rostovtzeff has done much to make intelligible the relations to each other of the different parties mentioned in the papyri, engineers, contractors, Government controllers and agents of the landlord. That many points still remain obscure is inevitable. I cannot believe, for instance, in his explanation of P.S.I. 488, in which Apollonios seems to me to be acting merely as the *διοικητής* and not as the owner of a *δωρεά*. Rostovtzeff may be right (pp. 60, 61) in identifying Petechon with the Petechonsis of the Petrie papyri, but P.P.II.IV. 4 does not bear out his statement that Petechon took the liberty of rebuking his superior officers; the rebuke was administered by Clearchus, a very different person.

In Chapter vii Rostovtzeff uses the evidence of an unpublished papyrus in the British Museum to prove that part of the *δωρεά* was rented collectively to a body of peasants brought *en bloc* from another district. Other parts of the land, he says, were rented not to groups but to individual farmers. I have no wish to dispute this latter statement, but I doubt whether the instances adduced by Rostovtzeff are quite to the point (pp. 81-83). Zenon, as we know from several documents, e.g. P.S.I. 522, was a great exploiter of the *κλήροι* of military settlers who did not care to work their own land. He took over many such *κλήροι*, paying rent to the holders and cultivating the land by means of his own farmers. Now the farmers of whom Rostovtzeff speaks in his argument seem to me to have been, for the most part at least, Zenon's employees on the *κλήροι*. Take in particular P.S.I. 400, where we read that a piece of land was in danger of being confiscated by the Treasury. How could this apply to a parcel of the *δωρεά*? The *δωρεά* might indeed be confiscated, but only as a whole. Again, in ll. 7-10 the writer undertakes to pay over to Zenon ten drachmae on each arura, saying that Zenon will be able to pay the rent out of this and make a profit of six drachmae. Rostovtzeff supposes that the rent mentioned was paid to the Government, but the obvious explanation is that it was rent paid by Zenon to the cleruchs. In spite of what Rostovtzeff says in this chapter, I see no reason for thinking that the holder of a *δωρεά*, any more than the holder of a *κλήρος*, paid rent (*ἐκφόριον*) to Government for his land.

Chapter viii deals with the cultivation and taxation of vineyards. One point on which

I venture to offer a criticism is Rostovtzeff's explanation of P.Z. 38 (see p. 100). The officials, he says, assessed the vineyard of Stratippos for one half of the produce, taking the average of the produce for the last two years, instead of assessing it for one-third, taking the average for the last three years. The Greek text does not say so; and, in fact, the supposed procedure is essentially absurd. The real point of the complaint is this: the officials knew that the vineyard had not been long planted and that three years ago it had not begun to yield to any great extent; so, in order that it should not be assessed at an unduly low figure, they took its average yield for the last two years only, instead of taking the average, as they usually did, for the last three years. *Hinc illae lacrimae*. On p. 103 Rostovtzeff expresses a confident opinion that Zenon was the general farmer of the taxes on vine land for three nomes at least. This sweeping statement goes far beyond the meagre inference which I drew from P.Z. 62, but does the evidence justify it? On p. 106 Rostovtzeff refers to P.S.I. 510 without observing that the correct reading is evidently not ζ μηνῶν, 'seven months,' but ζμηνῶν, 'bee-hives.'

In Chapter ix, which is largely concerned with stock-breeding, there is one important point on which I doubt whether Rostovtzeff is right; it is the nature of the φόρος paid for pigs, sheep, goats, etc. (see pp. 109-110 and p. 114, note 1). Rostovtzeff thinks that a φόρος in kind was paid to the State by the herdsmen, and that, in the case of the pigs at least, the collection of this φόρος was farmed to Zenon. I do not see any clear evidence of this. In P.Z. 53 and 60, verso, the φόρος seems certainly to be paid by the herdsmen to the owners of the herds, and I think that this is also so in P.S.I. 379 and 381 and P.Z. 49. As in the case of land, it seems to me that Rostovtzeff does not distinguish clearly enough between rent paid to the owner and taxes paid to the State. He keeps his eye so constantly fixed on the figure of the State in the background that sometimes perhaps he overlooks what is happening in the foreground.

These are but a few of the points that have struck me in reading this thoughtful and original study. Perhaps I have criticised it too freely; but one of its attractions is that it challenges criticism on almost every page; and a tribute of vague admiration would be a poor compliment to its stimulating power.

C. C. E.

Observations sur les premiers habitats de la Macédoine. By LÉON REY.
Pp. 175, 139 illustrations. Paris: de Boccard, 1921.

This volume (the first of two), originally issued as a war volume of the *B.C.H.* (vols. xli.-xliii. in one), contains the report on Macedonia drawn up by M. Rey of the Archaeological Section attached to the French G.H.Q. of the *Armée d'Orient*. The report contained in this volume deals principally with the surface remains of the prehistoric period in Macedonia. Accurate and detailed maps and surveys of prehistoric and other mounds, illustrated with excellent photographs and section-plans, form the bulk of the material here dealt with. There is also a preliminary geographical chapter and reports of two excavations.

The Macedonia of M. Rey does not correspond in area to the Macedonia of antiquity. His area includes the Monastir plain but excludes the Struma valley and South Chalcidice. The Vardar valley is examined as far up as Vardarovtsi, but the whole of the Ardjani plain, which is in the same latitude and contains many important sites, is omitted. These omissions should have been noted in the preface, for the work is expressly called an 'inventory of mounds.'

In the geographical chapter M. Rey calls particular attention to the 'uninterrupted chain of mounds that stretches from Gumuldjina to the Vardar.' No such 'uninterrupted chain' exists; in fact one of the great problems of prehistoric Macedonia is to explain the remarkable absence of such mounds in the large area between the Angista and the Maritsa. The coast bordering the Thermaic gulf is really the great mound area.

The classification of mounds (p. 16 ff.) into (1) the 'Toumba' or conical mound, (2) the 'Table' or flat-topped mound, (3) the 'Toumba sur table' or flat-topped mound

with a conical projection, is quite unsuitable. The 'table' is, as the inventory shows, almost invariably a town-site of the historic period. The 'Toumba sur table,' on the other hand, is always a prehistoric site. But the title of the latter suggests that it is a prehistoric mound of type (1), combined with a classical site of type (2). This is, in fact, never the case. Type (3) is always a prehistoric type in which the flat-topped area resembles the classical mounds of type (2) only superficially. A further objection to this classification is that type (1) must include conical burial mounds of the historic period. The best classification is surely into (A) conical burial mounds of the historic period, (B) long ovoid mounds of the prehistoric period, (a) with slightly flattened summits and steep sides, (b) with a conical projection on the flattened summit, (C) mounds of the historic period of great area and low height with an entirely flat surface.

M. Rey on p. 114 ff. and Fig. 92 classes the site of Gnoina as late Roman, doubts Drimiglava and omits Yenikeuy (near Gnoina). The first has been clearly established as prehistoric as well as Roman; the second is the most important prehistoric site in the Langaza area; the third is, from its position, one of the most interesting. This region has obviously been examined by M. Rey with too little care.

The method of excavation, by means of narrow pits and trenches, of the mounds at Gona (p. 141) and Sedes (p. 158) is such as to render the classification of the strata and pottery and the terminology used for them precarious in the extreme.

S. C.



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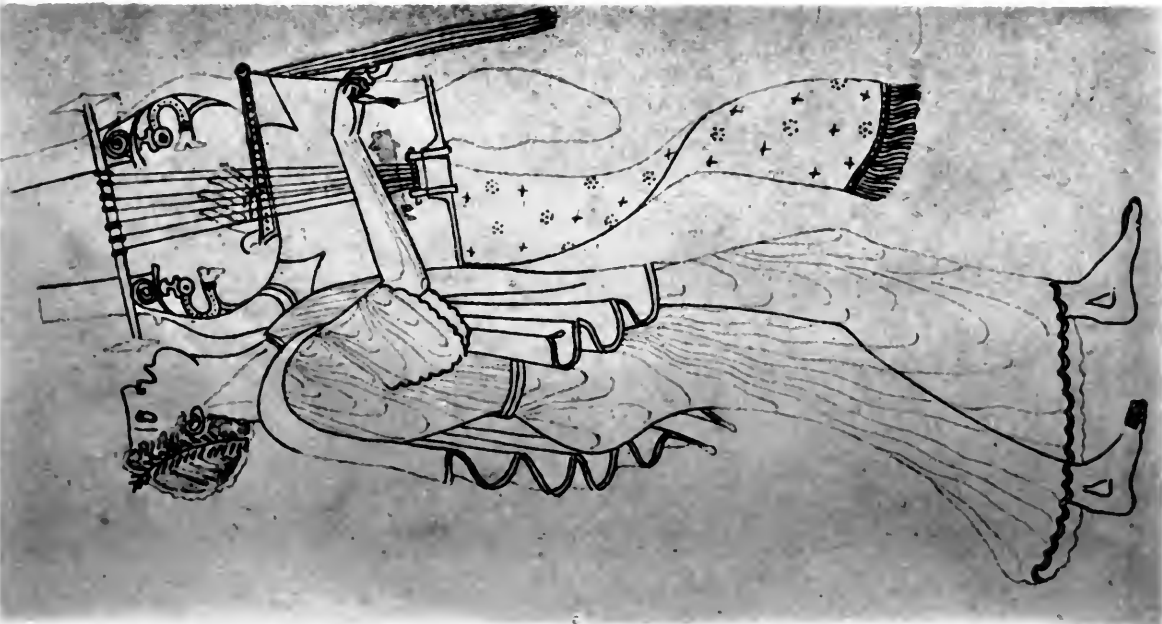
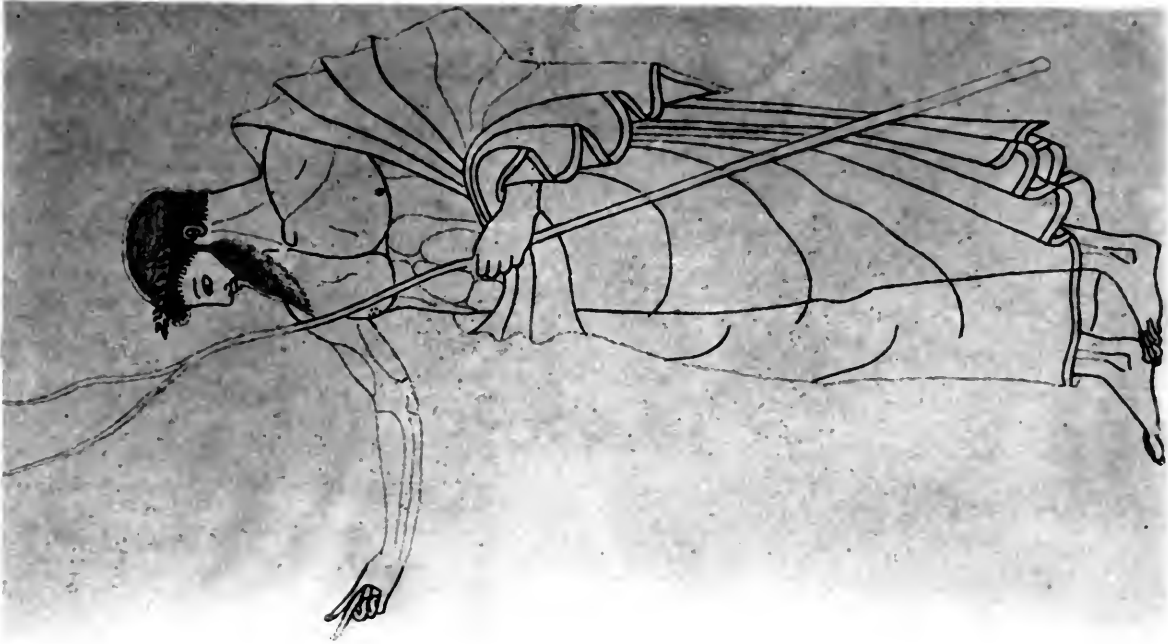
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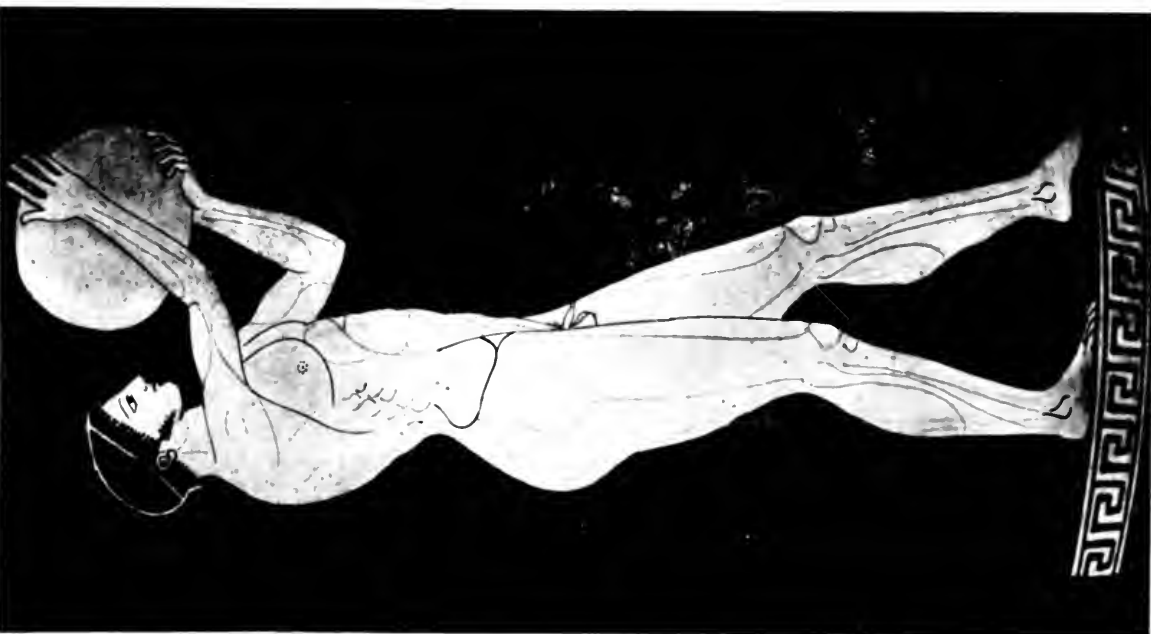
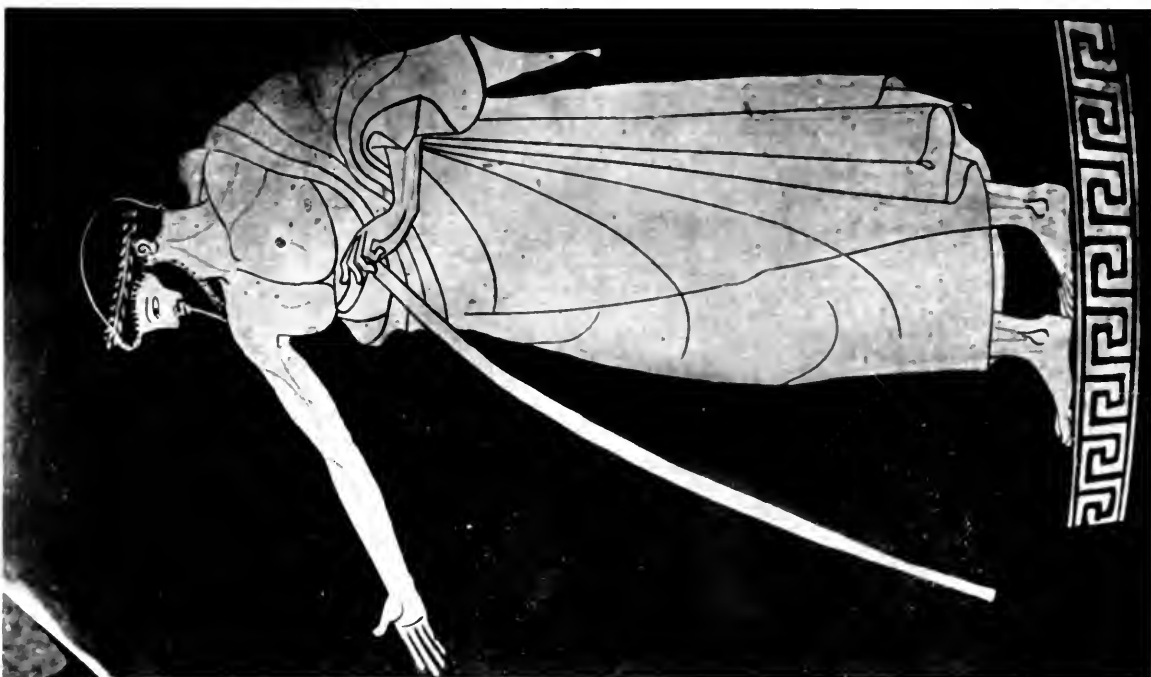


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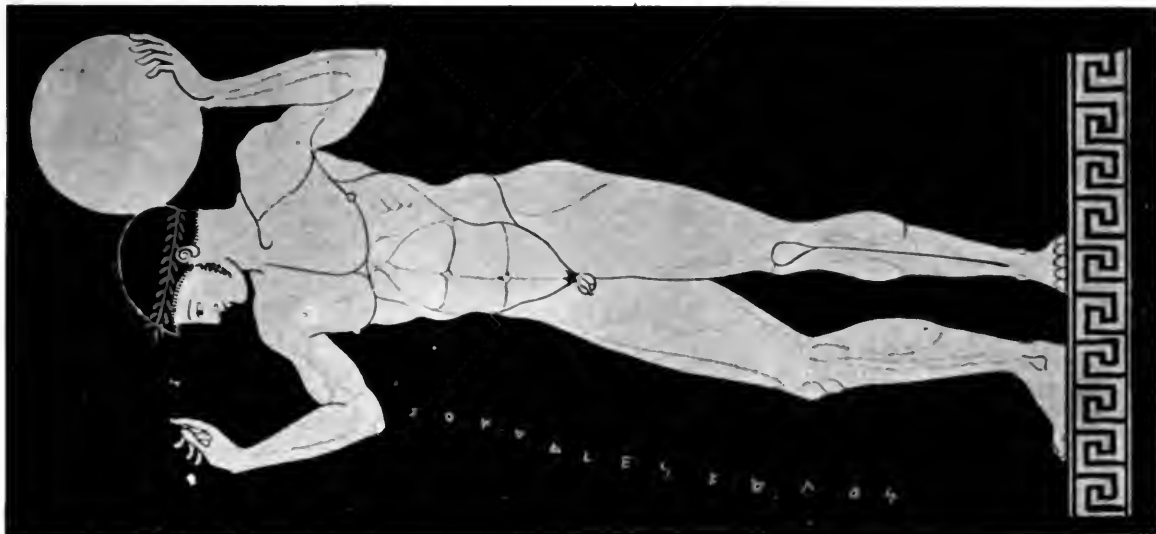


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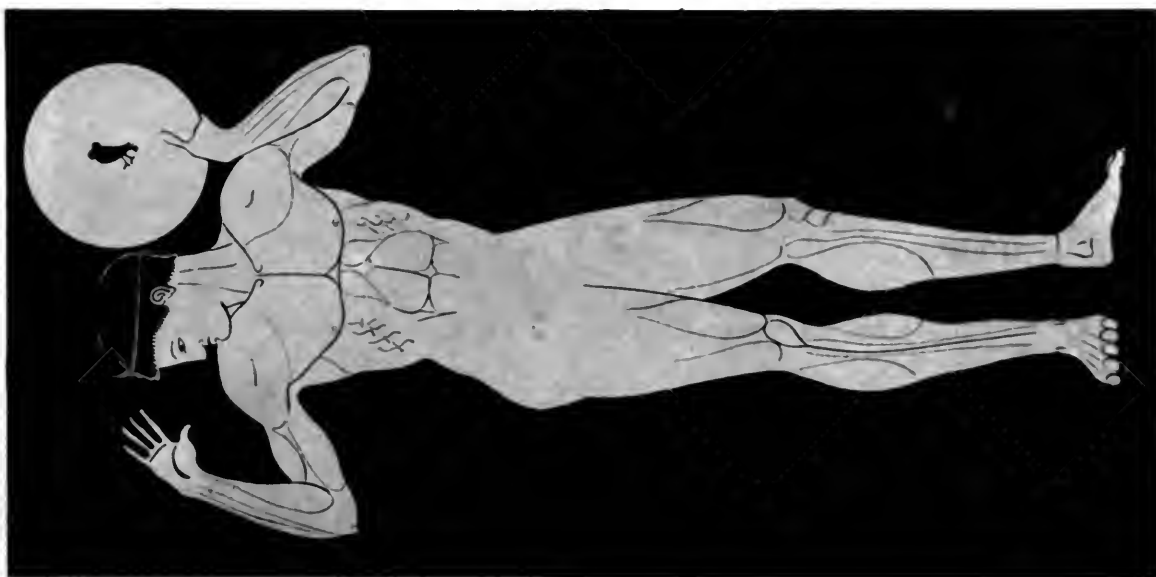
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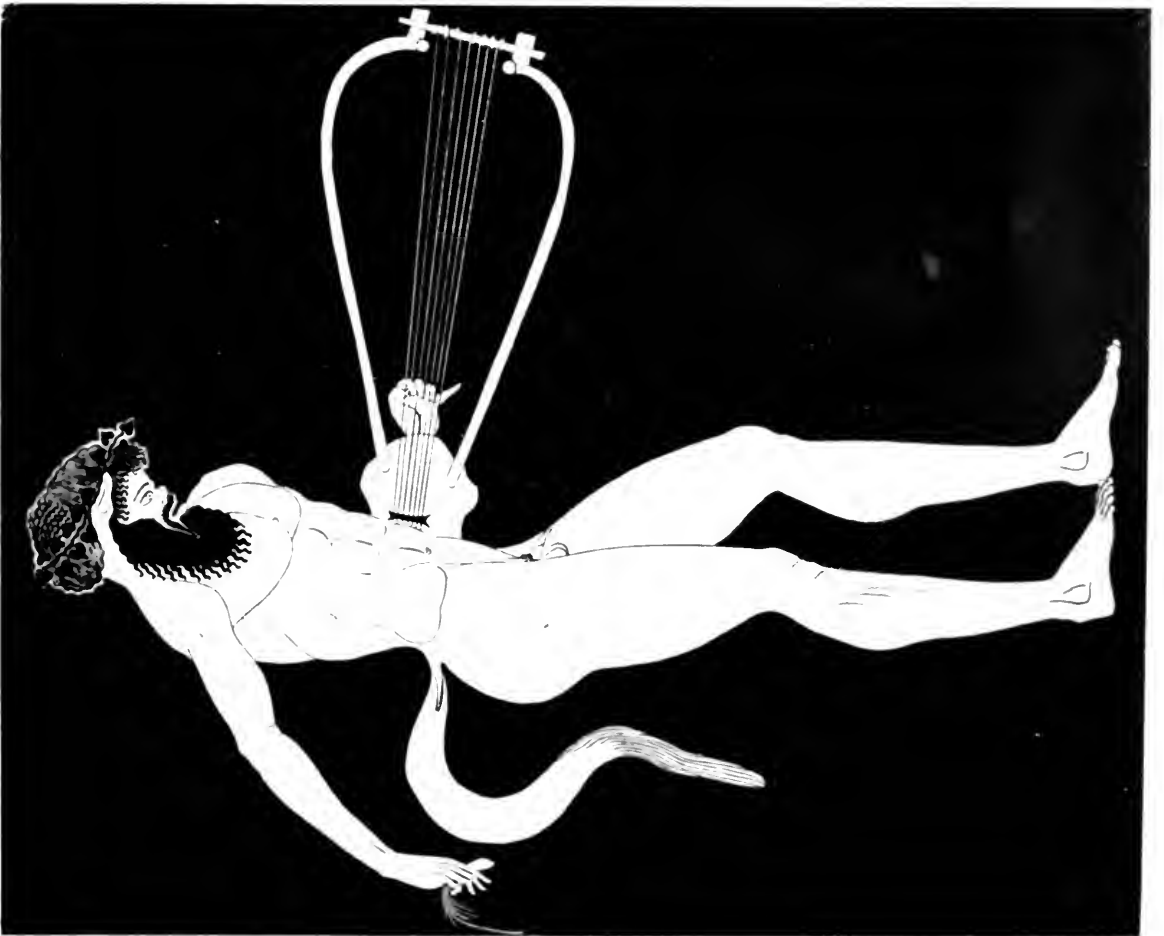
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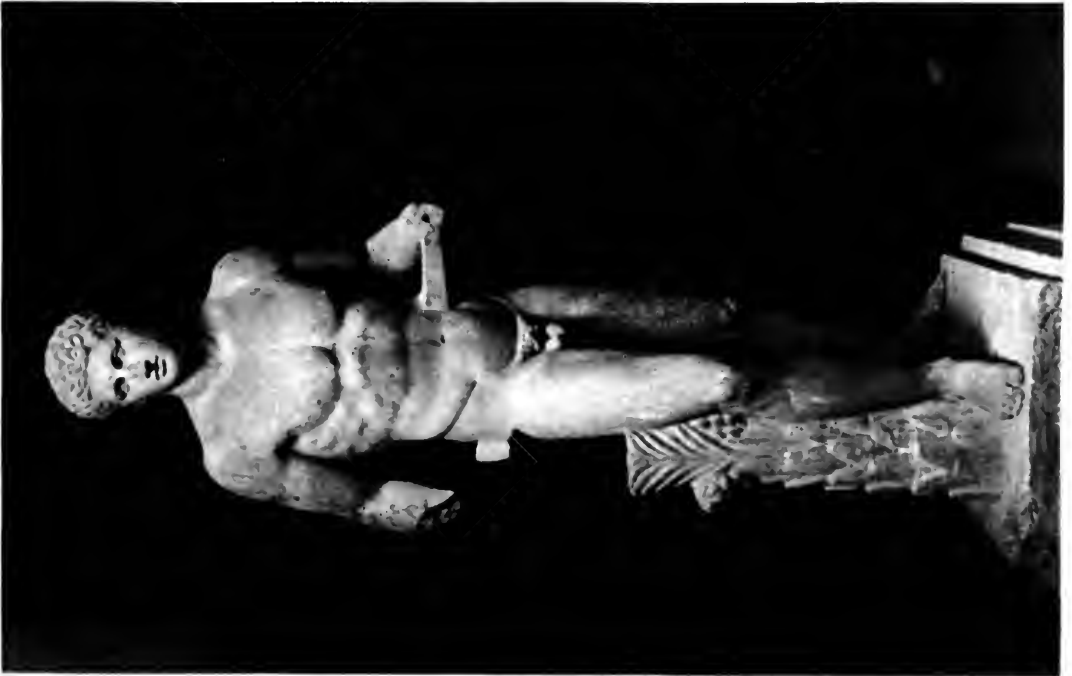
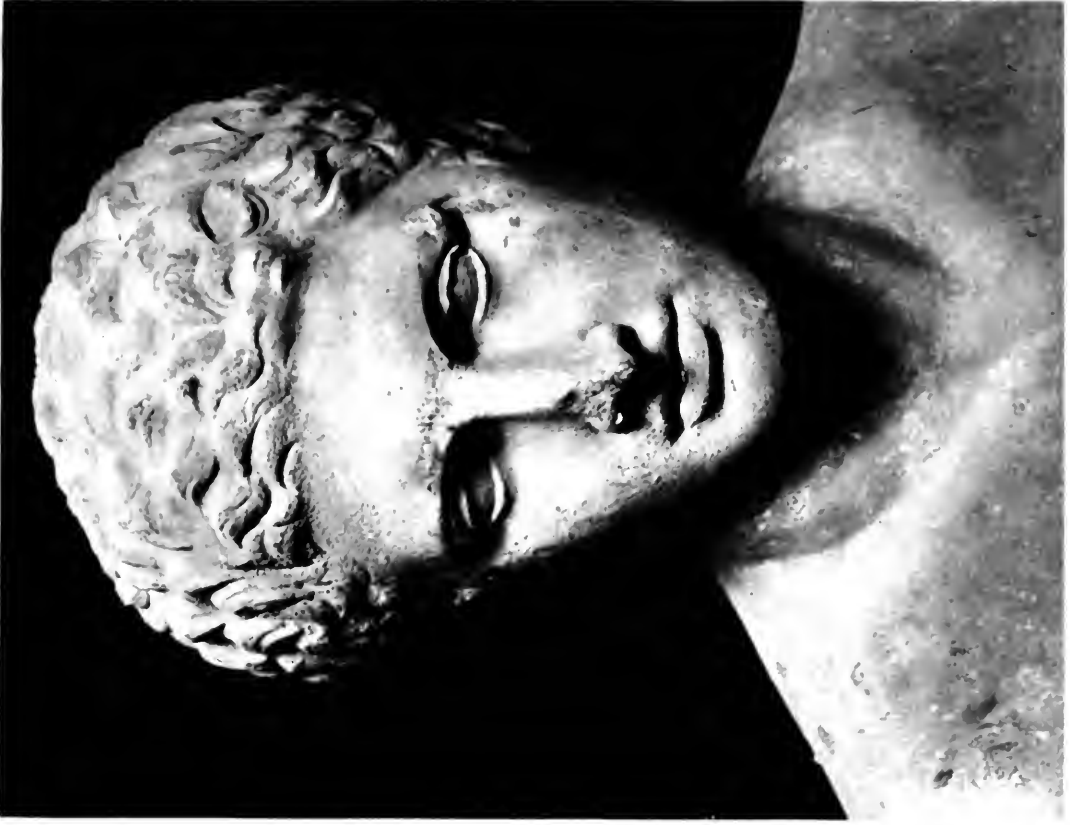
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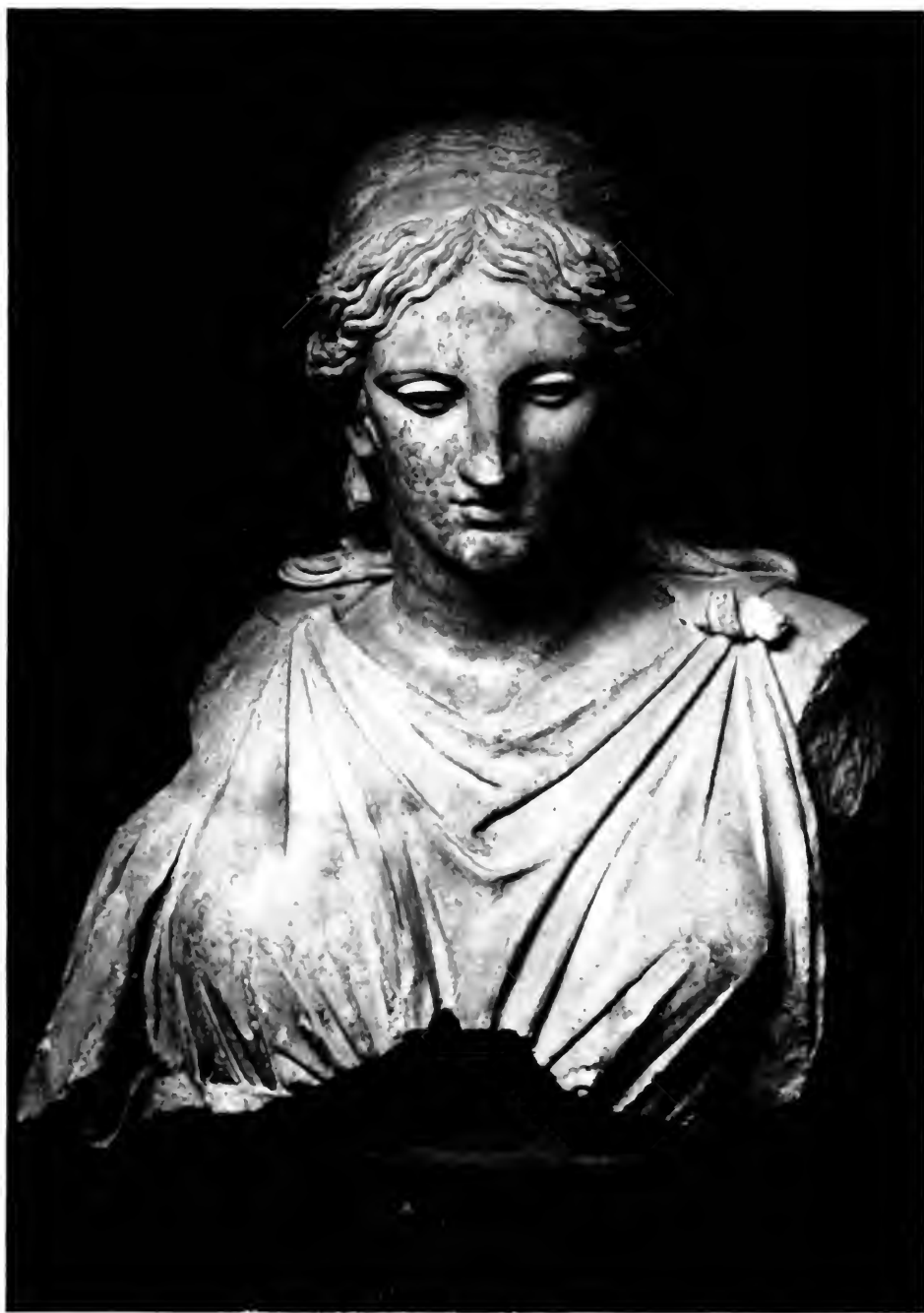
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ATHLETE





STATUE OF A GIRL (FRAGMENT)

ROME, PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.





SLEEPING EROS

ROME, PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.





MARBLE RELIEF FROM THE ESQUILINE

ROME, PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.





BOWL (SCALE 1:3). RED, BLACK AND WHITE.



LARGE URNS (SCALE 1:7). *b*, BLACK OVER RED ON BUFF CLAY. *c*, RED, BLACK AND WHITE.

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